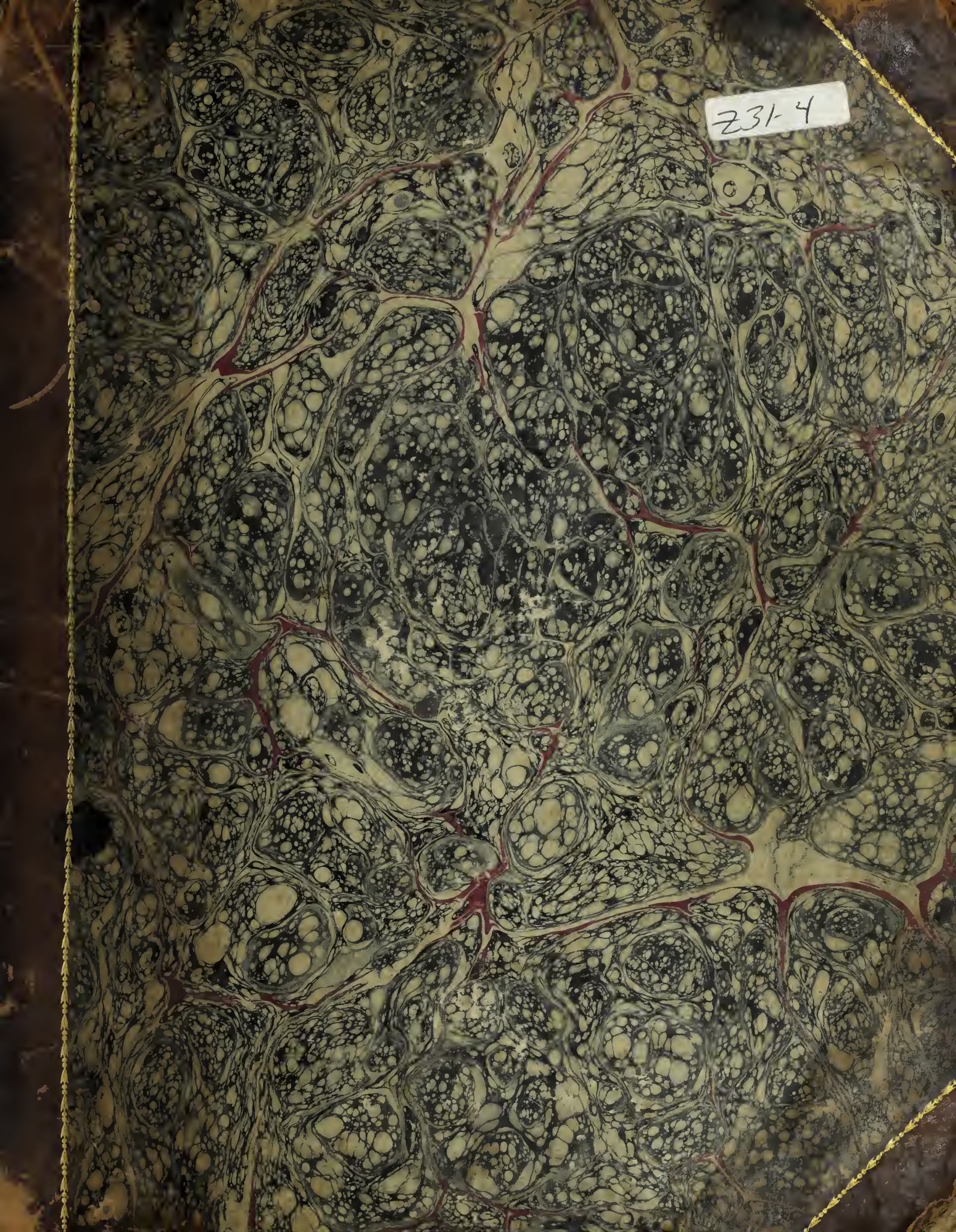


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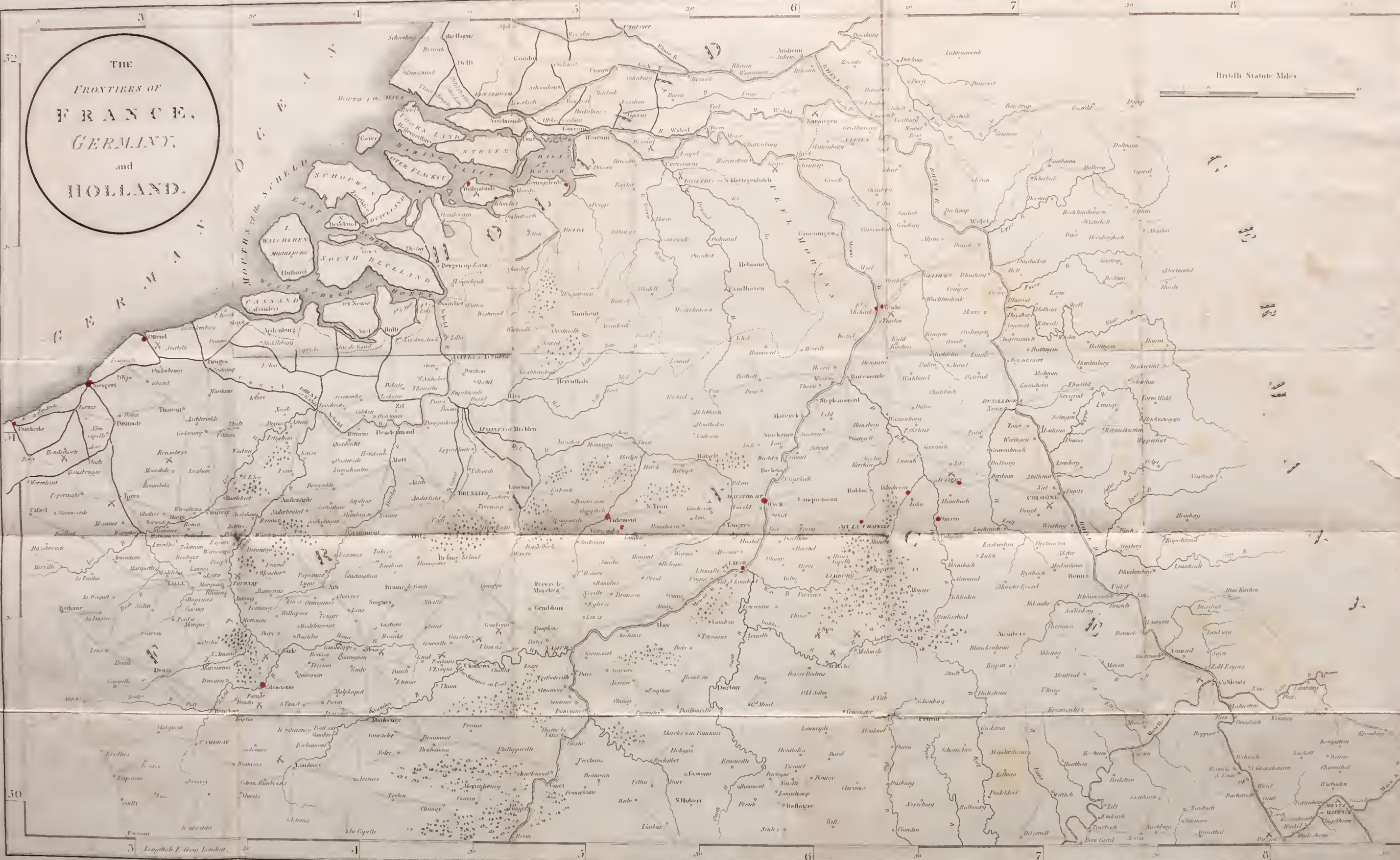
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THE
FRONTIERS OF
FRANCE,
GERMANY,
and
HOLLAND.

British Statute Miles

THE
FRONTIERS OF
FRANCE,
GERMANY,



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARS

WHICH AROSE OUT OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THAT EVENT.

BY ALEXANDER STEPHENS,
OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

statui res gestas populi Romani strictim, uti quæque memoria
digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus
reipublicæ animus liber erat. *SAL. de conjurat. Catil.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1803.

BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITE-FRIARS,

P R E F A C E.

THE epoch of the French Revolution, and the wars to which that celebrated event gave rise, almost justify the assertion, that the annals of mankind contain little more than a record of their crimes and calamities.

At no period either in ancient or in modern times have the revered names of religion, liberty, and social order, been so frequently invoked or so audaciously prostituted; and it is to be feared, that the civil rights of individuals, as well as that system of publick morals called the law of nations, have received a deep and incurable wound.

But, on the other hand, it is a series of singular, magnificent, and disastrous events, like that just alluded to, which affords suitable imagery for narrative, and constitutes at once the miseries of society and the materials for history. He who is destined to detail recent transactions, if actuated by the spirit of truth and independence, will have to recapitulate such a multitude of enormities, that the reigns of Nero and Domitian must

PREFACE.

appear less intolerable from comparison. The murder of prisoners in open day; the publick detention and assassination of ambassadours; the uncontrouled reign of that panick terrour which appalled the innocent, and not unfrequently spared the guilty; the triumph of men of blood over the publick enemy as well as the most virtuous of their fellow citizens; one faction swallowing up another, while the instrument of destruction was stretched forth, and the tomb yawned, for the victors; a frantick populace dividing the palpitating members of their victims, and a King coolly murdering those subjects who had yielded to the faith of a solemn treaty; the torture, at once the mark of a barbarous age and the opprobrium of a civilised one, publicly inflicted; while, as if to form a climax and realise the metaphor of the ancient poets, the dogs of war were literally unchained, and the canine race employed to hunt down the human species;—such is the galaxy of crimes presented during this night of wonders.

Yet, notwithstanding these hideous pictures, Europe has displayed many uncommon instances of heroism, and some scenes have occurred in a neighbouring country, which surpass all that is to be found during the boasted reigns of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonines. Never did any nation exhibit such magnanimity, when threatened with subjugation, slavery, and dismember-

PREFACE.

ment, on the part of the combined monarchs of the continent. Never did so many oratours, philosophers, men of letters, and statesmen, evince such a perilous and deadly enmity to anarchy, injustice, and bloodshed; or prefer with so much readiness the uplifted axe of the executioner to the scorn of their contemporaries and the reproaches of posterity. Even the softer sex, assuming a masculine courage, maintained their principles on the scaffold, and perished without a sigh before the statue of outraged liberty.

The art of war too, during this memorable period, has been carried to a greater degree of perfection than in any former age; and the young tacticians of the new school have overcome generals grown hoary under arms. The machinery of battles has been calculated on a more gigantick scale; fleets have not only fought with greater fierceness, but exhibited evolutions hitherto unknown or unpractised; a single army sometimes extended its wings from the frontiers of France to the heart of Italy, while at other periods, one immense line of soldiers has occupied the intervening countries from the banks of the Rhine to the shores of the Adriatick.

The sciences also, have on this occasion followed in the train of Mars, and the fate of kingdoms appears to have been not unfrequently decided by their influence. In consequence of the introduction of one instru-

PREFACE.

ment, intelligence has not only been communicated with a degree of celerity nearly equal to that of sound, but with all the exactitude of literary communication ; while another, until lately considered as a toy, has been rendered subservient, on one occasion at least, to the attainment of victory.

It is evident, therefore, that the field for the annalist is spacious: instead of a deficiency, there is a superabundance of materials: selection, rather than amplification, is required upon this occasion, and it becomes necessary to vary by means of episodes the sickening detail of unavailing crimes, and the languid pauses occasioned by interminable slaughter.

WHILE recording the transactions of so long and so variegated a war, I have endeavoured to divest my mind of national prejudices, and wished to do ample justice to the exploits of foes as well as of allies ; but I have in no case omitted to celebrate the naval and military achievements of a people, who, after maintaining the glory of their flag on every sea, and proving victorious in every general engagement, completed the triumph of their arms by the conquest of Egypt.

The introduction, which was written upwards of nine months since, contains a rapid sketch of an interesting

PREFACE.

period, as it was deemed necessary to prefix an account of the leading causes of the French revolution, to the narrative of the wars which arose out of that event.

Upon the present occasion I have been furnished with abundance of information, and have no-where applied in vain ; even those with whom I had not always the happiness exactly to agree in respect to opinions, have favoured me with hints, observations, and remarks. From a nobleman who lately occupied a high situation in the government of this country, I was honoured with an important communication relative to a subject that excited the indignation of France, and occupied the curiosity of Europe, at the beginning of the late war ; I have also enjoyed the satisfaction of acquiring information at the fountain-head, and chiefs who have fought and gained the battles of their country have not disdained to read and to correct my account of them.

As the cessation from war precludes the necessity of secrecy, some important documents have been occasionally introduced, and I have readily inserted an original letter from the late grand-master of Malta, just communicated to me by his nephew, a major-general in the service of Great Britain.

In the Appendix, among other papers necessary for the elucidation of the work, will be found a journal of the action of the first of June, which ushered in so many

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naval victories ; it was drawn up by an officer, who from position as well as situation was enabled to convey a correct account of that engagement, and had been formerly seen and approved of by the veteran admiral who commanded on that memorable day.

CHELSEA-PARK LODGE,
MIDDLESEX,
May 1, 1803.

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INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL societies, like the individuals who compose them, ^{INTROD.} are subject to variation, decay, and dissolution : for the principles of change lurk in, and are equally interwoven with the texture and materials of both. During the lapse of the two last centuries, no great alteration had, however, taken place in the annals of what some have rather fancifully termed the European Commonwealth ; but an important epoch hath at length intervened, and the fate of this favoured portion of the globe appears manifestly to have experienced a violent and portentous concussion.

IT must be at length frankly confessed, that the revolutions which occur in the history of great nations, are but seldom either sudden or unexpected ; the germe, indeed, unfolds more or less gradually, according to circumstances, yet it is still in a state of progressive vegetation, and, however difficult the task may appear, is frequently detected by the curious and intelligent observer. Thus, while the crowd was content to wait for, and follow the current of events, a few enlightened individuals were enabled to foresee and to predict two grand convulsions which have happened in our own time.

INTROD. **THAT** which preceded the emancipation of an interesting portion of the new continent, has long ceased to puzzle and perplex; and it must now be acknowledged, that it was not productive of the great and fatal changes which were so fondly prognosticated. The parent state, instead of being involved in inevitable ruin, seemed immediately to acquire greater energy from compression, and it has undoubtedly displayed more gigantic efforts since than before: while the relative situation of other countries has been but little altered, the two kindred nations have become more powerful, if not more happy, than they were previously to the contest.

It is to be hoped, perhaps, rather than expected, that results equally favourable may arise out of the French revolution: appearances, however, do not justify the prediction. On the contrary, a new destiny seems to be preparing for Europe. Partitions of territory; change of dominion; ancient opinions and establishments overturned; mighty conquests achieved; an old commonwealth swallowed up in Poland; new republics erected in France, Italy, and the Archipelago; Holland bereft of her stadtholders; Belgium severed from the house of Austria; Venice annihilated as an independent state: all these novel circumstances indicate, and perhaps demonstrate, a change in the social and political world. A great and important one had already taken place in respect to human knowledge, and become the precursor, if not the harbinger, of many of these extraordinary events.

WE learn alike from history and experience, that grand national struggles are but seldom unaccompanied by memorable consequences. The Swiss, at once poor, resolute, and virtuous, freed themselves from a foreign yoke with peculiar felicity: neither spoliation nor proscription preceded or followed the contest; the only blood that was shed flowed in the field of battle, and

whole centuries of happiness rewarded their courage and forbearance. INTROD.

HOLLAND, during her long and bloody strife with Philip II. displayed all the energies of republican vigour, and while yet struggling for her own independence, acquired colonies in America, and created an immense empire in the East, which enabled her to soar above the vengeance of the Spanish monarchy. But that towering genius was at length fettered to the ground, by the fatal ascendancy of an illustrious family that had contributed to her liberation; instead, therefore, of upholding her national glory, she has been frequently reduced to despair, and forced sometimes to court, and sometimes submit to, the degrading protection of the neighbouring states.

ENGLAND has proved more fortunate. By the change of her dynasty towards the end of the seventeenth century, she, without doubt, involved herself both in foreign and in civil wars; but she arose more happy and more vigorous from the contest, and after vindicating her liberty and independence, covered the ocean with her fleets, and rendered the most distant nations of the earth tributary, by means of her manufactures.

NOT only the local position, but the disposition and pursuits of the inhabitants of the Trans-Atlantic states, have as yet precluded any grand or immediate effects from arising out of that revolution which rendered them a people. Placed at an immense distance from the intrigues and the disputes of Europe, and happily destitute of that military genius which inevitably leads to war, foreign conquest, and domestick servitude, they are content with cultivating the arts of peace.

THE fate of France has been more singular, and is pregnant with far greater events. Placed in the centre of the civilised world, possessing an immense internal strength, displaying an astonishing degree of enthusiasm, her struggles have been those of a giant, and all the neighbouring nations were convulsed in

INTROD. consequence of her Herculean efforts. Accordingly, the events of the last twelve years are not to be equalled in any similar portion of the annals of modern times. During that period we have beheld one of the most general and bloody contests that our portion of the globe has ever witnessed; we have seen a formidable combination of powerful potentates fail in the attempt to subjugate a single state, although visited by famine, distracted by contending factions, and overwhelmed with all the miseries of civil war. We have at the same time viewed a great nation trying and exhausting every scheme of government in search of political security and social repose, and after wading through the blood of her first magistrate, a number of her own citizens, and a countless multitude of her enemies, we now behold her acquiring and maintaining that superiority under consuls, which was vainly attempted to be achieved during the reign of her kings.

To investigate the circumstances, both immediate and remote, that gave birth to this mighty revolution, not only becomes an object of curiosity, but of practical use. It is therefore necessary to recur to history, for the symptoms of its decay may always be discerned in the civil annals and political organisation of every government; it will be accordingly incumbent on this occasion, to trace abuses up to their source, to compare cause with effect, and form an estimate of the consequent good or evil as connected with the previous advantages or defects.

PHILOSOPHY, of late so much and so unjustly decried, will deduce many instructive lessons from the grand *drama* that has been recently acted on the theatre of Europe; and the inhabitants of free states, whose happiness and prosperity were vainly and ignorantly supposed to be menaced and undermined by a recurrence to argument and reason, while they learn how to prize and preserve the blessings resulting from a well-regulated liberty, will at the same time derive both benefit and consolation from the awful spectacle.

SECTION I.

A COLONY of robbers settling on the banks of the Tiber, SECT. I.
 after perpetrating a publick rape on the females of a neighbouring
 tribe, at length found it necessary, for their own security, to esta-
 blish laws, and respect justice. The manners of their descendants,
 of course, became less vicious; they feared, invoked, and sa-
 crificed to the gods; thus superstition combined with policy to
 instil the first principles of morals into a rude nation. Frequent
 contests with other states, and successful struggles with their own
 chiefs, rendered them at once warlike and free. Equally im-
 patient of the yoke of kings, and of the narrow boundaries of
 Italy, the gigantick ambition of the new commonwealth at length
 aimed at universal dominion under the consuls, and the virtues
 and courage of her citizens enabled her to attain, and perhaps
 also to deserve it. The impulse of republican institutions con-
 tinued to operate for a while during the despotism of the em-
 perors; the victorious eagles, which at first only hovered around
 the capitol, at length extended their flight to the remotest regions
 of the habitable world: even at this day, the common law and
 common language of almost every European nation attest that
 the polity and manners of Rome were successfully engrafted on
 a barbarian stock. Conquests
and jurispru-
dence of the
Romans.

THE subversion of the Roman power forms another grand
 epoch in the history of the most civilised and most interesting
 quarter of the globe. The northern nations, a high-minded
 race of uncultivated freemen, were now destined in their turn to
 become the conquerors of a once mighty people, who had sunk
 by degrees into inglorious slavery: with the virtue, the power
 and glory of the empire became diminished, and the hoof of

SECT. I. the feudal system at length trod on the splendid ruins of Roman jurisprudence.

The triumph
of the barba-
rians, and
origin of the
feudal system.

AFTER the anarchy attendant on so great and so general a change had abated, tribes settled into nations, and temporary leaders acquired a permanent authority, under the names of dukes, princes, and kings. Thus the chaos in which Europe had been involved gradually disappeared; and towards the beginning of the seventh century, we behold embryo states and kingdoms, arising out of the wreck of conquest, and the miseries of subjugation.

Excellence,
and

THE feudal system, respecting the precise origin of which some of the most enlightened writers among the moderns have differed, possessed two grand, original, and characteristick features;—the trial by jury, and the representation of all who were not reduced to a state of bondage: these placed our northern ancestors in a higher scale of existence than any of the oriental nations, and have contributed to render tyranny less disastrous and more transitory in Europe than in Asia. But, on the other hand, it exhibited many glaring defects, which were developed in the course of time; and whenever a remedy was not immediately prepared, became productive of the most disastrous consequences. The power of the feudal sovereign was extremely limited; while that of the barons, or great vassals of the crown, became at once formidable and extensive. Enabled at any time, by a combination, to war with and even impose terms on the prince, whom they termed their *liege lord*, they first obtained grants of their fiefs for life, then rendered them hereditary, and at length inalienable. As power always tends to cumulation, they also began to annex dignities and titles of honour to their families: they acquired or usurped the right of civil and criminal jurisdiction within their own territories; they coined money; they led their followers to the field; and, in short, enjoyed all the marks, power, and prerogatives, of petty sovereigns.

defects of
this form of
government.

IN the mean time this singular system, so favourable and even SECT. I.
 so licentious when applied to the great vassals of the crown, de-
 generated by degrees, and became at length harsh and terrible to
 the bulk of the nation, about the beginning of the tenth century.

At this period, commerce, arts, and manufactures, were almost
 alike unknown in the north of Europe; nearly the whole of Miseries and
bondage of
the people.
 the members of every community were therefore employed in
 cultivating the earth. These, originally consisting of three dif-
 ferent classes, the serfs, the villeins, and the petty freemen, ap-
 pear to have been reduced, at length, to the most intolerable
 slavery; indeed, in certain parts of Europe*, at this very day,
 the peasantry remain nearly in the same degraded state, and still
 exhibit a lively image of the bondage and the miseries of their
 unhappy ancestors. So late as the middle of the eleventh century,
 a lord presumed to exercise the power of putting his slaves to
 death. Yet in proportion as civility dawned upon Europe, punish-
 ments became more mild; but, instead of benefiting, this appears
 to have contributed to their insecurity, for the murder of these
 unhappy beings was then compensated by means of a fine.

THE torture also was inflicted on very slight occasions: they
 were not even allowed originally to marry; and when the nuptial
 benediction was at length conferred by the holy hand of a priest,
 the ceremony could not take place but by the consent of their
 master, without incurring the most grievous penalties; these,
 however, in progress of time, were commuted for money. Sold
 and disposed of along with the lands, they could not claim any
 benefit from the fruit of their labours: none of their effects, if
 fortunate enough to acquire any, could descend to their children:
 they were obliged to shave their heads, in token of servility: and

* In Poland and in Russia, the peasantry are sold with the estates on which they
 were born: in Bohemia, such are the feudal rigours, that a marriage cannot even
 now take place without the consent of the lord; but the virtues and humanity of
 the late count Bernstorff removed this opprobrium from Denmark.

SECT. I. such was the nullity of their testimony, that they were not allowed to give evidence against a freeman in a court of justice*. So great was the power of the principal vassals of the crown throughout Europe, and so intolerable the condition of those under them, that many freemen were reduced by despondency to surrender their liberty, and become the voluntary slaves of those whose interest it was to feed and to protect them.

It is impossible to survey this period of the history of human nature, or contemplate the degrading picture of European manners which prevailed for near five centuries, without the most lively emotions. The mind of every disinterested individual must be affected by the idea of a fellow-man, confined to a particular spot of earth, compelled to labour for another, unprotected by any efficient laws, exposed to the hourly caprice of a taskmaster, and finally condemned as he descends into the grave to be deprived of the consolation that his children shall become free and happy. These rigours are at length banished from among the more polished nations of our quarter of the globe. Like Africa at present, it once, however, actually possessed its *slave-markets*; even now the scallag† of the Hebrides, together with the boor of Russia and Bohemia, still exhibit a disgusting remnant of the ancient manerial bondage: happily, if we dare to contemplate the disgusting scene of man trafficking in man, and employing the torture of the whip, to quicken those labours

The scallag of the Hebrides, and slave of the West Indies.

* See Du Cange, voc. *Servus*.

† The lot of "the Celtick slave" is truly horrible; and I refer all such as wish to be acquainted with this barbarous remnant of feudal subjection, to "Travels in the Western Hebrides, from 1782 to 1790, by the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, A.M. Missionary Minister to the Isles, from the Church of Scotland." The following eulogy on a clergyman in North Uist, sufficiently indicates the cruelty with which this wretched race of men is treated in general: "Never was the minister and tacksmen of Ty-Gheary known to *kick, beat, or scourge*, or in any shape to lift his hand against his scallags, in the whole course of his life. Were he not so well tempered a man, *this moderation, not a little unusual in the Western Hebrides*, might

which are destined to administer to the exclusive enjoyment of a master, we must avert our indignant looks from Europe to her colonies in America, and weep over the triumphs of Columbus. SECT. I.

YET outraged nature, ever intent to uphold her dominion, constantly haunts the offender, by means of the demon of never-ceasing suspicion, and not unfrequently punishes him with the scorpions of never-dying revenge. She vindicated her cause, in respect to ancient Rome, by the horrors of secret plots, as well as by the more open dangers arising from the servile wars; and in modern Europe, the commotions arising out of servitude, did not cease to alarm and terrify her various governments, until the peasantry were released from a thralldom intolerable to humanity. However restrained, or subjugated for a time, the interests of the great mass of population must at length predominate. This important problem has been already demonstrated in these temperate climes; and slavery, in its most odious hue, as well as in all its gloomy shades, is now only to be met with in inhospitable extremes, either within or bordering upon the frigid or torrid zone. But even the regions of polar cold and equinoctial heat cannot long resist with impunity the unerring dictates of eternal wisdom: within the space of a single century, the hyperborean bondsman may, perhaps, break his chain on the head of his astonished lord; perhaps, at this moment, the same incontro-

be ascribed to motives of self-interest; for a few blows, even with his naked fist, would break their bones to pieces, and render them for ever useless to himself and to others." P. 41.

A false conclusion is, however, attempted to be wrested from the premises, with a view of lessening our antipathy to negro slavery: the scallags are not, like the Africans (*adsrieti glebæ*), attached to the soil; they cannot be either bought or sold; while the cruel punishments to which they are occasionally subjected, are only to be considered as so many violent infringements on those laws, which are intended to afford protection alike to all.

SECT. I. vertible principle is about to develope itself within the tropicks; and the æra may not be far distant, when a West-Indian archipelago, peopled by free blacks, will at once terminate and avenge the cruelties committed against Africa and the human race.

A BRIEF sketch has thus been given of two grand epochs in the history of Europe. In consequence of the first, we behold all its nations subdued by the arms, and civilised by the polity, of the Romans. The second presents to the incurious observer, nothing but a hideous mass of deformity, barbarity, and conquest, collected by force, cemented by oppression, and continually tottering to its fall. The skilful antiquary is, however, enabled to discriminate between the beauty of the original design, and the unseemly additions imposed by the rude hand of violence. It is unnecessary for him to imitate the modern *virtuosi*, and dig amidst the ruins in search of hidden treasure; for, at the first glance, he can still discern the form, strength, and dignity, of that majestick Gothick arch, which once constituted the security of nations, and on which two fortunate states* have contrived to erect the superstructure of their liberties.

SECTION II.

SECT. II. TIME, civilisation, and manners, at length contributed to soften the rigours of that barbarous code, which the conquerors had originally imposed on the subjugated nations. But it was in Italy, and from commerce, that it first received a deadly wound. *Free communities*, as they were then called, in the early part of the eleventh century began to be known, and traders and merchants no sooner tasted the sweets of opulence, than they every-where be-

Changes effected:—

1. By commerce;

* England and America.

came impatient to shake off the hateful yoke of their insolent lords. SECT. II.
 At length, great and powerful cities lifted their heads. A few obscure peasants, flying from the ravages of the Huns, found shelter amidst the marshes of the Adriatic gulf, and formed a little society of freemen, from whose huts, scattered over seventy-two islands, the haughty Venice arose. Genoa and Pisa, towering above the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Arno, not only became opulent, but began to feel the usual rivalry arising out of wealth and power. The spirit of commerce soon extended to the north, and the free cities constituting the Hanseatic league, exchanged the productions of the nations situate on the shores of the Baltic, for the manufactures of Italy, and the precious commodities of the East.

BUT it was not to commerce alone the people were indebted for a melioration of their condition: the clashing interests of the kings and barons, contributed not a little to raise the various nations of Europe from the lowly state into which they had been plunged, by the injustice of the feudal incidents. The former began this memorable reform on their own domains, for they could not exercise any similar jurisdiction within the fiefs of their subjects; but they thus contrived secretly and insensibly to sap that power which they were utterly unable to contend with in open day. Nor was the event unfaithful to their expectations. The emancipated slave diminished the alarming influence of the powerful baron, while the town or city, where the prince's power was acknowledged, became a counterpoise to the castle in which the feudal lord exercised a formidable jurisdiction.

2. by the disputes between the kings and the barons;

FORTUNATELY for mankind, the ignorance of these petty tyrants, whose minds were alone occupied about war and the chase, prevented them from perceiving the remote consequences of this happy innovation. They even caught the infection of example; and by granting certain privileges to their vassals, prepared for the subversion of the most egregious tyranny that mankind had,

SECT. II.

3. by the creation of courts of appeal ;

4. by the crusades ;

5. by prohibiting tilts and tournaments ;

6. by the spirit of the feudal institutions ;

7. by the charters granted to towns, &c. ;

perhaps, ever witnessed. Another grand engine recurred to upon this occasion, was the creation of courts of appeal, and the establishment of tribunals for the administration of justice. By taking advantage of the folly and fanaticism that prevailed during the crusades, the kings of Europe began also to increase their own power and consequence. At a later period they discountenanced tilts and tournaments, which collected numerous bodies of men around the castles of the nobility ; and, at length, adopted still more effectual measures for lessening their consequence, and diminishing their influence, by decreasing the number of their retainers.

BUT what contributed most to produce a change in the face of Europe, was the policy of her princes, as applied to the political privileges of the people. It was a grand and fundamental principle of the feudal system, that no freeman should be subjected to any new laws or taxes, unless he himself had previously assented to them. Accordingly, the chief landholders presided in the great council of the nation, and exercised these prerogatives in the same manner that their own subordinate vassals sat and decided in the baronial courts. The immunities granted to the towns and cities had already formed so many little commonwealths, in which the inhabitants were governed by their own laws ; these freemen, of course, possessed a claim to representation ; and we accordingly find some sovereigns calling them in to their aid, and assigning them a place in the councils of the nation.

ITALY being the first country in Europe that attained any considerable degree of civilisation, we ought undoubtedly to search there for the earliest traces of popular representation.

As the government of Venice, from the year 452 to the end of the thirteenth century, was either democratical or mixed, so the form we allude to seems to have been coeval with its foundation. In Spain also, we find the third estate claiming a remote origin, and the immunities of her cities conferring a vote in the Cortes immediately after the expulsion of the Moors. In

Arragon in particular, the burgesſes appear to have been con-
ſtituent members of thoſe aſſemblies from their very firſt inſti-
tution, although no decided proof of this fact exiſts anterior to
1133. SECT. II.

AN order of peaſants ſeems to have exiſted in Sweden ſo early and 8. by re-
as the twelfth century, and the deputies of the imperial cities preſentation.
formed a ſeparate bench in the diet in 1293.

IN England and France, the admiſſion of the citizens pro-
ceeded from different motives, and was attended with different
effects: in the former country, the barons who took arms againſt
Henry III. ſummoned them to attend in parliament, with a
view to counterbalance the power of the king; while, in the
latter, Philip the Fair convoked them along with the ſtates in
1301*, for the purpoſe of ſerving as a check upon the nobility,
and enabling him to repreſs the pretenſions of the papal ſee.

IT is generally allowed then, that in the monarchical ſtates of
Europe, and particularly in France, the cities obtained grants of
privileges, and the people a right of representation, in conſe-
quence of the policy or the neceſſities of their rulers. No ſooner,
however, had the barons ceaſed to be objects of jealousy, by
being deprived of a great part of their power and influence, than
the increaſing opulence of the third eſtate, or commons, to-
gether with their ſturdy oppoſition to whatever appeared arbitrary
and unjuſt, alarmed the ſuſpicions of aſpiring royalty. We ac-
cordingly find princes ſeizing on the franchiſes of thoſe cities and
towns which they had been before ſo zealous to protect, taking
meaſures that the ſtates, diets, or parliaments, ſhould fall into
diſuſe, and permitting the peaſants to relapſe into their former
ſlavery. Kings jealous
of the grow-
ing influence
of the people.

* Robertſon, in his Hiſtory of Charles V. mentions the firſt meeting of the
ſtates-general, as having occurred in 1302; but Mezeray expreſsly aſſerts, that
they met at “Notre Dame” in 1301. This is confirmed by Boſſuet, in his
“Suite de l’Hiſtoire Univerſelle,” p. ii. p. 92.

SECT. II.

Triumph of
bigotry and
oppression.

A NEW species of anarchy, not unfrequently under the forms of law, and the appearance of justice, ensued. The inhabitants of the great states of Europe were exposed for several centuries to the oppression of their monarchs. Arbitrary imprisonments, fines, and capital punishments, every-where prevailed: the people were destitute of protection; the nobles, instead of being the rivals of their kings, now formed part of their retinue; and what was still more sinister, and rendered the fate of the bulk of mankind almost entirely hopeless, the usurpations of the court of Rome, and the superstitions of Italy, contributed to spread the sombrous and portentous veil of ecclesiastical despotism over every christian state.

Great change
effected.

A FEW favourable circumstances, however, at length contributed to dispel the Gothick night, in which our portion of the globe was involved. The happy effects proceeding from the discovery of a new world by Christopher Columbus, and of a new passage to Asia by Vasquez di Gama, soon became evident in the increasing wealth, enterprise, and love of liberty, generated and acquired by the commercial states: the invention of printing also produced a sudden diffusion of knowledge, and finally the reformation, by emancipating the minds of those from bigotry whose bodies had been so recently liberated from thralldom, rendered all the northern nations more enlightened, more industrious, more happy, and more free.

SECTION III.

SECT. III.

Of the
Franks.

TOWARDS the close of the fifth century, the Franks, a nation the very name of which implies the free condition of the individuals who composed it, determined to leave their native

forests, situate in that part of Germany enclosed by the Rhine, SECT. III.
 the Elbe, and the sea. They accordingly crossed the former of
 these rivers under Clovis, defeated their enemies in a pitched
 battle, acquired full possession of an extensive territory, which
 some of their countrymen had before invaded, and imposed at
 once their dominion and their name on Gaul*. The ease with
 which they subdued a country where Cæsar once found the most
 formidable opposition, would appear singular, were we not told
 by one of the few writers worthy of the appellation of an his-
 torian†, that by being formed into a Roman province, the in-
 habitants had become at once refined and degenerate; and, in con-
 formity to the uniform testimony of experience, lost their bravery
 and their liberty together.

LIKE other nations, in similar situations, the conquerors enter-
 tained those lofty notions of individual liberty ever cherished
 during the infancy of society, and were, therefore, less the sub-
 jects, than the companions, of their leaders, who were generally
 selected by themselves. Even for many centuries after their set-
 tlement on this side of the Rhine, their notions of the royal pre-
 rogative were extremely limited, and they took care to keep their
 kings in constant dependence on the community. Their love of
freedom.

UNDER the first, or Merovingian, and the second, or Car-
 lovingian, race, the throne was accordingly elective; the successful
 candidate, in compliance with military usage, being placed upon
 a shield, and elevated on the shoulders of the surrounding war-
 riors. But the people not only possessed the power of nominat-

* Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27. This is said to have occurred about the year
 486; but some of the French antiquaries, contending more for glory than for
 truth, are desirous to convert the predatory incursions of a few individuals into a
 complete conquest, and have accordingly affected to date this event from the time
 of Pharamond, and even from a still earlier period.

† Tacitus, in vit. Agric.

SECT. III. ing, for, according to indisputable testimony *, they also exercised the right of deposing him, if he proved unworthy of his station.

Their institutions favourable to liberty.

THE great council of the nation was assembled regularly every year in the *field of Mars*, so called from the month in which they usually met; and the king, according to the simple manners of the age, being seated on a waggon drawn by oxen, proceeded to the spot, and presided as chief. It was on these occasions that they decided on publick affairs, declared war, consented to peace, and conferred all honours, commands, and offices, appertaining to the state. Even the mayors of the palace, who acted as the assessors of weak and timid princes, and finally seized upon the throne for themselves, were nominated by the nation †; and in a capitulary of Charlemagne, it is expressly enjoined, that the people should be consulted touching new laws; whence it may be reasonably inferred, that even in his time the French were to be bound by such only as they had previously assented to.

UNDER the third race the greater part of the people was reduced by the barons to the most degrading slavery ‡; but the

* See Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia*, cap. vi. This learned civilian, who composed his celebrated treatise in 1573, states a number of instances in which the prince was dethroned for a variety of causes. "Regno se abdicare, cœgerunt: propter inertiam; propter stuporem ingenii," &c. He begins with *Childeric*, and ends with *Charles the Simple*. While treating of the former, he expresses himself as follows: "And this most glorious and famous deed of our ancestors deserves the more diligently to be remarked, for having been achieved at the very beginning and in the infancy of the kingdom, as if it had been a denunciation and declaration, that the kings of Franco-Gallia were made such, upon *certain known terms and conditions*; and were *not tyrants with absolute, unlimited, and arbitrary power*."

† *Franco-Gallia*, cap. xii.

‡ It appears evident, that *villénage*, or slavery, in England, soon assumed a milder aspect than in France, although it did not altogether disappear even among us, until the reign of Charles II. The *neise*, or female slave, might have recourse to an appeal of *rape*, if the lord violated her person. Litt. § 189—194. The villein

national council long continued to exercise a large portion of power and influence. The nobles who sat there, cherished an uncommon degree of jealousy in respect to the crown, and out of this arose their future subjugation, and that of the nation: for they expressly avoided the enactment of general laws, because they must have been enforced by the executive power. This error

SECT. III.

also had a remedy at law against his lord, in case of the murder of his ancestor, or the maim of his own person: privileges which seem to have been unknown to the same unhappy class of persons in France.

In the great charter, procured by the gallant struggles of the barons, it was further provided, that the merchant should be exempt from arbitrary imposts, while the bondman was not to be any longer subject to the forfeiture of his instruments of tillage. On the other hand, we are told by Commynes, that the league for the public good in France (*le ligue de bien public*) was very justly termed by the serfs, who acquired nothing by it, but the chance of perishing in battle against Louis XI. (*le ligue du mal public*), the league for the public evil.

The memory of some very odious prerogatives, such as *prelibation*, *droit de cul-lage*, &c. was not entirely banished from the nation we allude to, even at a very recent period; and the peasants were treated with great rigour and harshness in our own times. A late author asserts, that feudal claims of a very extraordinary kind still continued to be enacted: "Plusieurs nobles avoient le droit d'exiger des payfans de leur seigneurie de venir battre les fossés de leur château, pour empêcher le croassement des grenouilles:" this, however, it must be confessed, carries an air of ridicule with it; but it was afterwards asserted in the constituting assembly without contradiction, and that too by a noble.

It is well known also, that so late as the time of Louis XIV. the Count de Charolois was accustomed to *divert* himself by shooting his peasants, and instead of being executed for these assassinations, was several times pardoned: the reply of the king to one of his solicitations, was worthy of a monarch, evidently an accomplice in all the murders subsequent to the first: "Je vous accorde encore celle-ci; mais en même tems, je promets aussi la grâce à celui qui vous tuera."

The inhabitants of Mount Jura were actually slaves at the commencement of the revolution, being the *absolute property* of the noble chapter of St. Claude; and Jean-Jacob, one of the natives who repaired to Paris in 1789, solemnly declared, that in his time, M. de Bauffremont, abbot of Clairvaux, was accustomed to fire at the peasants; and this amusement, he said, was then so common, that it obtained the appellation of *la chasse aux vilains*.

SECT. III.

The kings
become le-
gislators.

led to the most fatal consequences; for future kings, taking advantage of the neglect, first published edicts in their own domains, then promulgated general and popular acts, in the style of paternal admonition; after these followed proclamations for the continuance of former imposts, and finally, for the enactment of new ones. Thus out of the fear of the prerogative arose its extension; from the dread of adding to its weight, originated a despotism that prevailed for centuries, and the suspension of these very legislatures themselves.

The crown
ceases to be
elective.

Origin of
hereditary
nobility, and
nobility by
patent.

IN the year 987, on the demise of Louis V. a new dynasty, termed the *Capetian*, succeeded to the crown of *Franco-Gallia*, as it was then called, in the person of Hugh Capet *, son to Hugh, earl of Paris, to the prejudice of Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to the deceased monarch, and his heir by blood. This prince, after overcoming and imprisoning his less fortunate rival, associated his own son with him in the throne, and even contrived to get him declared his successor. The crown having thus become vested in his family, in the course of the same reign, and in consequence of this very event, the dukedoms, earldoms, and all the magistracies and honours of the kingdom, which before were temporary, now became hereditary also †: thus two great and important events occurred at this memorable period;—one of which consisted in the uniform transmission of royalty in a new family; the other, in the creation of an hereditary nobility: for that granted by letters patent is of a much more recent date, Philip the Hardy being the first French monarch who, about 1285, had recourse to this expedient.

* Mezeray, after mentioning that Hugh Capet had prevailed on the lords or great men assembled at Noyon, in 987, to *elect* him king, recapitulates some of his claims to the throne, but candidly admits at the same time that his best title was the general consent of the French people. *Hist. Chron.* part iii.

† This was before attempted during the reign of Charles the *Bald*, but without effect.

NOTWITHSTANDING these occurrences, it would appear that the authority of the national council was but little diminished during several centuries of the reign of the third race, as is amply testified by Froissart *, Commynes, and Hottoman. SECT. III.

THE kings of France were accordingly limited for ages, both in respect to the extent and exercise of the royal prerogative; their efforts to relieve themselves from restraint were, however, unceasing, and not always ineffectual. So early as the reign of Charles *le Gros*, we find that monarch imitating the policy of Italy, and adding to the power of his crown, by selling to and conferring franchises on the towns within his own domain, long before any of the neighbouring princes bethought themselves of this obvious mode of strengthening their authority. It proceeded from the same policy of humbling the power of the barons, that Louis X. and Philip *le Long*, afterwards proclaimed—"that all men were born by nature free; and as their kingdom was called the kingdom of the Franks, they were determined it should be so in reality as well as in name: they declared, therefore, that *enfranchisements* should be granted throughout the whole kingdom, upon just and reasonable conditions †."

No sooner had a middle class arisen among the people, and begun to acquire some degree of opulence and respectability, than Philip *le Bel* determined to introduce their deputies into the general councils; and, that they might be more at his devotion, these were chosen from the cities and towns within his own domain. This memorable event, which occurred in the first year of the

History of the
states-gene-
ral.

* The brevity of this Introduction will not permit me to enter into the particulars, but I refer the doubtful or inquisitive reader to Froissart, vol. iv. c. 44; who here, as well as on other occasions, quotes several memorable instances to this effect. The whole of cap. xvii. of Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia*, is dedicated to the same purpose.

† *Ordon.* tom. i. p. 583, 653.

SECT III. fourteenth century, was productive of correspondent consequences; and the third estate sat ever after in the assembly of the nation called the states-general, which was convoked occasionally during a period of three hundred and fifteen years.

THE situation of France, at the period when this important alteration in the constitution took place, affords reason to suppose, that Philip was extremely desirous to strengthen his authority against the church of Rome; and that he might have been partly induced to this extraordinary measure, in consequence of the arrogant pretensions of Boniface VIII. Nor was the king mistaken in respect to the event, for the states who met in the church of *Notre Dame* in Paris, immediately declared that they would recognise no other superior in *temporals* than their own prince*.

IN 1314 imposts were first voted by the three orders; and in 1317 they decided on the succession to the kingdom.

THE power and consequence of this assembly appears now to have been fully recognised; for in 1321, during the time of Philip *le Long*, we find the princes and prelates appealing from the arbitrary decrees of the king's council to the states-general, and leaguings with the cities to resist them. But it was during the reign, or rather the captivity, of John, that this body possessed the greatest share of authority. The dauphin, thinking it be-

* The bishop of Meaux expresses himself as follows on this subject: "Le pape Boniface s'étoit persuadé qu'il avoit droit de commander aux rois, & que toutes les puissances du monde devoient être soumises à la sienne. Cette opinion n'étoit point reçue en France, & il trouva dans le roi Philippe le Bel, un prince tout-à-fait déterminé à soutenir le contraire." *Suite de l'Hist. Univers. Sec. Part.* p. 90.

"Comme le point le plus important de la querelle entre le pape Boniface VIII. & le roi Philippe le Bel, étoit la prétention de ce pontife d'être le supérieur des rois, même au temporel, pour se fortifier contre cette entreprise, le roi fit assembler dans l'église de Notre Dame les états de son royaume, qui déclarèrent qu'ils ne reconnoissoient point d'autre supérieur au temporel que lui." P. 92.

longed to the three orders to provide for the government of the kingdom, and the release of the king, convoked them at Paris, in 1356. No sooner had they met, than, considering themselves as an independent body, that ought neither to be swayed by fear nor influence, they refused to deliberate in presence of the royal commissioners; they even instituted a council for the government of the kingdom, and managed the publick treasury by means of officers appointed by themselves. At their next meeting, which took place in the course of the succeeding year, they obliged the chancellor, who had been guilty of malversation, to resign the seals, and removed most of the great officers, even those of the parliament not excepted. SECT. III.

THE states general were again convoked under Charles V. in 1369, when they granted certain subsidies *during the war* only; and Charles VI. his successor, thinking, no doubt, that an assembly of notables might prove more tractable, summoned one accordingly in 1413. He appears to have solicited and obtained the consent of the university and citizens of Paris to this measure, which was rendered more agreeable by the plausible pretext of reforming the state: to keep up appearances, commissioners were therefore chosen from the three different orders of the notables, but nothing beneficial appears to have been effected. Assembly of notables.

A GREAT and important change was thus introduced into the French constitution; and, indeed, immediately after the accession of the Valois branch, a regular conspiracy seems to have been formed against the existence of the states-general. The kings were now in possession of large domains, whence they derived considerable revenues, and became, therefore, but little desirous of convoking an assembly, that might bridle their own power, and punish the delinquency of their favourites.

BUT it was not until the reign of Charles VII. that any thing resembling an uniform system of tyranny was aimed at; and it is Origin of despotism and

SECT. III. to the long and bloody contests with England, that we are to
 standing armies in France. attribute that despotism which overwhelmed France for ages. Nor ought mention to be omitted here, of the singular fact, that the same cause which, by leading to the introduction of a standing army, extended the bounds of the royal prerogative in the one country, tended not a little, by the impoverishment of our princes, to the establishment of that liberty which has so long flourished in the other. The victorious monarch, availing himself of the popularity he had acquired by his success against the invaders, and the impression of recent terror, on disbanding his other troops, in imitation of several princes beyond the Alps, retained a body of *men at arms* in his pay, amounting to no more, however, than seventeen hundred, according to Commines*. To this increase of power, Charles added the influence of corruption; and by means of both became the first king of France who, by his own royal edict, and without the concurrence of the states-general of the kingdom, levied subsidies at his pleasure. We are told by the same historian, that he was induced to this flagrant usurpation by the officers of the army, who had driven the enemy out of Guyenne and Normandy; and that in order to obtain the acquiescence of the nobility, he promised them pensions by way of indemnification for the subsidies that were to be levied on their lands.

LOUIS XI. who to the policy of our Henry VII. added a far more cruel and capricious tyranny than Henry VIII. succeeded but too well in reducing the innovations of his predecessor to a regular system. He also contrived to render his own despotism more formidable, by adding to the military establishment of his father; and, lest the national troops might be attached to the ancient institutions of their country, he took into his pay a body of six
 Progress of tyranny.

thousand foreign mercenaries. To support his army, which he appears to have increased to upwards of twenty-five thousand men, he levied a number of new taxes in his own name, and raised the publick burdens from 1,800,000 to 4,700,000 franks. To lessen the general odium, he had recourse occasionally to the states-general, which he garbled at his pleasure, taking care that his own creatures only should be permitted to repair to the assembly, where no one was permitted to deliver sentiments in opposition to the will of the monarch. SECT. III.

THIS prince also contrived to dissipate the influence, and break the spirit, of the nobility, whom he imprisoned in dungeons, carried about in iron cages, tried by illegal means and incompetent tribunals, exposed to torture, and condemned to death. Commines, who was in the service of the tyrant, had often seen many of the grandes imprisoned in close dungeons, composed of wood covered with iron plates, about eight feet wide, and seven feet high; and we are assured by Mezeray, the historian, that he caused above four thousand persons to be put to death by a variety of cruel torments.

BUT during his last illness, he appears to have been actuated by a consciousness of his usurpations on the constitution; for he advised his son not to levy any taxes without the consent of the states-general. Charles VIII. accordingly convoked a meeting of that body, in compliance with his father's request; but although he gained the president, many ecclesiasticks, and the deputies of Paris, this did not prevent the majority from redressing a variety of grievances, and annulling several taxes, which appear to have been afterwards re-enacted by the king of his own absolute authority.

THE states do not appear to have been convoked during the reign of Louis XII. although a good and economical prince, who, according to Brantome, was accustomed to say, "that he would rather his people should laugh at his parsimony, than

SECT. III. weep at their own oppressions." Francis I. set up his own authority in express opposition to the ancient laws of the kingdom.

HENRY II. after a long interval, assembled the states-general, and obtained what he demanded, which was three millions of gold: Mezeray observes on this occasion, "that since the time of king John, they had served for little else but to increase the subsidies."

Courage of
the Com-
mons,

DURING the reign of Henry III. we find the queen-mother and the Guises employing all the arts and practices of modern times to influence the elections of the deputies; but, notwithstanding this, the third estate proved refractory; "for in these assemblies," says an historian* often alluded to, "there were always some wise old men, who put the rest in mind of the ancient and natural rights of the people, against which they could not imagine there lay any prescription." The commons accordingly refused the two millions of gold demanded as a subsidy; neither would they consent to alienate the domains of the crown. By way of revenge, the speaker, contrary to usage, was allowed to kneel almost half an hour, and the deputies of that order were obliged to stand bare-headed during a considerable time.

WE do not find, however, that this produced any advantageous effect in behalf of the crown; for, on a second convocation, twelve years after, we remark the same king greatly offended, because the states-general had demanded the suppression of new offices, an abatement of the tailles and imposts, the punishment of financiers and favourites, and strenuously endeavoured at the same time to restrain the unjust exercise of the prerogative.

ALTHOUGH the duke of Mayenne, as head of the league, convoked an assembly during the war with Henry IV. yet that

* Mezeray.

prince appears to have summoned the three orders but once. In SECT. III.
 the time of his successor, the states met for the last time in 1614, and suspen-
 when the disputes between the different chambers, the intrigues of sion of the
 the court, and the pretensions of the parliament of Paris, pre- states-gene-
 vented their convocation from being serviceable to the nation. ral.
 In addition to this misfortune, Richlieu, a great and fortunate
 minister, about that period, undertook the management of pub- Tyranny of
 lick affairs, and bereaved his country even of the hope of re- Richlieu and
 gaining any portion of her liberties. During his administration, Mazarine.
 the catholick grandees were kept in subjection, and the protestants,
 who always entertained liberal notions respecting government,
 were completely humbled ; in short, the crown was rendered
 wholly independent both of the nobles and the people.

HIS successor Mazarine imposed a series of enormous taxes during the minority of Louis XIV. The long and extensive hostilities carried on by that monarch, after he had attained manhood, contributed also to subdue the spirit of the nation. The wars and dissipation of Louis XV. tended equally to harass the publick ; arbitrary arrests, by means of *lettres de cachet*, rendered personal liberty insecure ; and had it not been that the parliaments, from time to time, exhibited a noble spirit of resistance, every notion of publick liberty would have been extinguished, and the government of France must have speedily approximated towards an oriental despotism *.

* The French lawyers had by this time introduced the maxim, “ Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi ”—The will of the king is the will of the law ; which they undoubtedly borrowed from the axiom of the civilians, “ Quod principi placuerit legis habet vigorem.” They also employed the formula of “ car telle est notre plaisir,” with which the edicts always concluded, and which, according to Hotto- man (*Franco-Gallia*, c. 10.), is a gross falsification of the ancient expression of “ Quia tale est PLACITUM nostrum,” implying, that the decree had been voted by the national council.

SECT. III. HAVING thus briefly exhibited the means by which France lost her liberties, it now remains to enumerate the events in consequence of which the power of the monarch was first limited, and then wholly extinguished.

SECTION IV.

SECT. IV. AFTER the demise of Louis XV. who, like Francis I. fell a martyr to his debaucheries, the cares of government were destined to be endured, rather than sustained, by his grandson, a prince only twenty years of age. The young king had, however, conducted himself with great propriety while dauphin, and it was fondly hoped by the French that they had at length found a good and virtuous sovereign. Since the overthrow of their liberties under Charles VII. a period of more than three centuries, they could not boast of one regent who was entitled to their gratitude, and of scarcely more than two princes* who were worthy of their attachment; while in that space of time they had been governed by Louis XI. a tyrant, and a parricide; a Charles IX. who after plotting the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, coolly fired from a window of his palace at the unhappy fugitives; a Louis XIV. who beggared France, merely to extend the chain of despotism throughout Europe; and a Louis XV. whose private vices were nearly as ruinous to the state as the long, unhappy, and unjust wars of any of his predecessors.

Expectations
of the nation.

Maurepas
prime-minister.

LOUIS XVI. finding himself in want of a Mentor to superintend his conduct and regulate his judgment, selected the count de Maurepas; and that nobleman, formerly banished from court, and now more than seventy years of age, was

* Louis XII. and Henry IV.

immediately elevated to the post of prime-minister. This station, at all times arduous, was at the present moment particularly critical, for he found the finances in a ruinous situation, in consequence of the profusion that occurred during the late reign ; and the parliament of Paris, after acquiring celebrity by its opposition to a corrupt system, had been confined by an exertion of the prerogative to banishment, but not to disgrace. SECT. IV.

It was hoped that this august body would have been immediately recalled ; and the delay that occurred in respect to the measure endangered his majesty's popularity : for the nation, whose opinion now began to be of some weight, thought that as the members had been exposed to persecution on their account, they were fully entitled to their gratitude. It was with regret, however, that the young king consented to their return ; and the event itself is chiefly to be attributed to the spirited conduct of the *old* duke of Orleans, who refused to recognise the new tribunal that had been destined to supply the place of the parliament.

To restore confidence to the nation, and security to the state, Turgot. Turgot was soon after placed at the head of the finances, and exhibited a series of talents and virtues which rendered his administration uncommonly brilliant. While he remained in place, measures were taken to ease the servitude of the peasants, who were grievously oppressed, by being forced to labour on the highways ; he accordingly abolished the *corvées*, and took measures to prevent the recurrence of scarcity by rendering the circulation of grain free : he was also desirous of emancipating the protestants from the operations of cruel laws, to which they had been subjected ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz ; but in this last measure he was opposed both by the clergy and the king. The publick creditors in him beheld an inflexible administrator of the revenues of the state ; the courtiers, on the other hand, conspired against a man who was jealous of the publick treasure : his

SECT. IV. severe probity, and strict economy, accelerated his fall; and the queen, whose expensive habits began to give umbrage, solicited, and at length obtained, his dismissal *.

* A great and good minister, in an absolute European monarchy, like what France once was, may be considered as a kind of *political conductor*, which by coming in contact with the cloud of publick grievances, leads them harmless along his chain until he deposits them in the earth, and thus dispels their fury by giving them vent. Had but two or three eminent and virtuous men been permitted to follow each other in succession, a revolution in the state would have either proved unnecessary, or would have been harmless. But, with a very few exceptions, no country was ever worse governed than France, and a series of bad ministers constantly succeeded a good one.

Sully, by a rare union of prudence and abilities, prevented a violation of the publick faith, so often threatened in the early part of the reign of Henry IV.; but the administration of Conchini, during the minority of Louis XIII. reduced the finances to the same deplorable condition as before. Colbert, in the time of Louis XIV. was the first financier in Europe who recurred to enlarged principles, and the vivifying influence of trade, on purpose to enable the people to support their burdens. Turgot, rejecting the odious measures of a national bankruptcy, increase of taxes, and new loans, contrived, by economy alone, not only to render these unnecessary, but also to pay off a considerable portion of the publick debt. By abolishing the *corvées*, and imposing a petty tax on landed property in their stead, he rescued the peasantry from the most cruel oppression, at the same time that he improved the roads, and gave additional facility to commerce. He projected the formation of provincial assemblies, annulled a variety of fiscal regulations that proved grievous to the people without being advantageous to the state, and never had recourse to the prerogative of the sovereign but to serve his subjects. A friend to toleration, he proposed to emancipate the protestants from the civil and political thralldom in which they had languished ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and even to alter the coronation oath, which obliged a king of France either to perjure himself, or exterminate a meritorious class of subjects under the name of *hereticks*.

Devoted to virtue, he thought that bad laws contributed to produce bad morals; he was therefore an enemy to them: a philosopher, he believed, from conviction, in the immortality of the soul, and cherished the hope, because he considered it as contributing to the comfort of the individual and the benefit of society.

Such was the man, seemingly consecrated by nature and education, to serve the people and uphold the monarchy: but, in consequence of the bigotry and irresolution

WHEN the unhappy contest occurred between Great Britain and her colonies, although France was already involved in a labyrinth of debts and anticipations, it was thought that a fair occasion now presented itself of avenging the late inglorious war, and destroying the effects of the peace of 1763; which, although far from being unfavourable, was still felt to be humiliating. The capture of Burgoyne was accordingly considered as a favourable opportunity for the declaration of war; and the descendant of so many absolute monarchs, did not deem it either impolitick or unjust, to enter into a treaty with, and acknowledge the independence of a people struggling for liberty.

M. DE VERGENNES, a man well acquainted with the intrigues of all the courts of Europe, directed the department of foreign affairs with acknowledged ability; M. de Sartine fitted out, or rather created, a navy; while Necker, a protestant, a foreigner, and a banker, in whose favour so many prejudices were dispensed with, and of whose talents such exalted hopes had been formed, regulated the revenues as comptroller-general. A great financier, perhaps, rather than a great minister, he raised loans on the annual savings obtained by a reduction of the publick expences, and attempted the brilliant paradox of carrying on an expensive war without burdening the people by new taxes.

De Vergennes.

De Sartine.
Necker.

THIS was the first conflict with the same enemy, during some centuries, that did not prove inglorious to France; for although England displayed her ancient valour and superiority on the

of the prince, his administration proved short; and the minister, who would never pervert the publick revenue from the creditors of the state, was succeeded by Calonne and De Brienne, who were less indisposed to gratify the extravagance of a corrupt court.

During his retirement he dedicated his time to the good of his fellow-subjects and of mankind; and he was eager to apply every moment of his life to the perfecting of plans for the good of the state; because, according to his own account, which proved prophetic in respect to himself, "all his family died young."

SECT. IV. ocean, yet she failed in the object of the contest; while the alliance of the American states, the temporary humiliation of an ancient rival, and the triumph ever attendant on success, gratified in no small degree the national vanity of the people.

Consequences
of the Ame-
rican war.

BUT the scene was suddenly changed, and dismay succeeded to exultation, when the nation beheld the yawning abyss that undermined her good fortune, and even arose out of her prosperity. As France had been the first state in the north of Europe that recurred to the dubious and expensive policy of standing armies, so she was the first also to suffer from it. This, added to the ambition and the profusion of a succession of weak or profligate princes, had rendered the subjects a prey to the financiers; and, by weakening, prepared for the downfall of the monarchy.

Necker exiled
for the first
time.

Female influence, and the intrigues of a luxurious court, had long since banished the only man* of the age, capable, perhaps, of administering effectual relief, in regard to the publick revenue; while the disgrace of another† now bereaved the state of a minister whose integrity acquired the confidence of the monied men, and who, by means of occasional loans, might have propped up for a while the tottering edifice of publick credit.

De Calonne.

AFTER a few changes, a minister who affected a felicitous union of business with pleasure succeeded to the administration of the finances. The rival and the enemy of Necker, he enjoyed the reputation of possessing great abilities; but, unfortunately, his own countrymen did not give him equal credit for integrity. Bold, original, and daring, he projected gigantick schemes that involved the fate and the happiness of the people; while possessing, at the same time, aameleon-like versatility of character, he could be pliant, supple, and accommodating to the grandees.

AMIDST the wreck of publick credit, Rambouillet and St.

* Turgot.

† Necker.

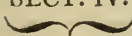
Cloud were purchased for the royal family, and the debts of the king's brothers paid off. To achieve this, some of the domains of the crown were mortgaged, loans were once more recurred to, a variety of taxes were devised; and such was the presumption of the new minister, that he is said to have promised to pay off the whole national debt of France in the space of twenty years *;—a boast in which he was afterwards imitated in another country with an equal disregard to probability.

BUT Calonne, who never possessed the confidence of the nation, soon began to be considered as a political quack, who was tampering too freely with an exhausted constitution. His imposts accordingly proved odious, his pecuniary schemes became inefficient, and the king, wearied out with difficulties and delays, at last determined that he would neither have any more loans nor taxes! On this the new financier, ever fertile in resources, determined to have recourse to an expedient which had often been recurred to during the reigns of Francis I. and Henry IV. This was the convocation of the notables, a body nominated by the prince, but yet possessing some resemblance to the ancient states-general, the memory of which was still dear to the nation.

THE notables were accordingly summoned by means of a circular letter, signed by the king, in which he appointed them to meet at Versailles; but the meeting was prorogued, in consequence of the death of Vergennes. At length his majesty repaired to the place where they were assembled in great state, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the ministers and principal officers of the royal household. On this occasion the comptroller-general displayed his usual address, by insisting on the deplorable state of the finances previously to his entrance into office: he also alluded to the immense expenditure

1st Convoca-
tion of the
notables :
22d Feb.
1787.

* *Précis de la Révol. par Rabaud de St. Etienne.*

SECT. IV.  occasioned by a glorious and successful war, the creation of a fleet, and the great national works carrying on at Havre, Rochelle, Dunkirk, and Cherbourg. To supply the deficiency of the revenue, it was recommended that neither clergy nor nobility should be any longer exempt from the territorial impost, or land-tax; all the domains of the crown were to be mortgaged, and it was intended that the landed property of the church should be subject to certain regulations, in aid of the publick burdens.

NOTWITHSTANDING M. de Calonne had been at infinite pains to gain the assembly, and adjust every thing according to his own wishes, yet *Monsieur*, the king's brother, declared against him: M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, attacked all his plans; and the attorney-general of Provence asserted openly, "that neither the notables, the parliament, nor the king himself, could assent the proposed imposts in the province which he represented, they being expressly contrary to the specifick and indefeasible rights of the people." This assembly, from whose labours the nation only learned the alarming deficiency of the old taxes, to the amount of one hundred and ten millions, and the scandalous and vexatious manner in which all the imposts were levied, was dissolved*; soon after which the projector himself was dismissed, and found it advisable to repair to England, that he might there shelter himself from the vengeance of the parliament.

Disgrace of
Calonne.

Cardinal Leo-
mine de Bri-
enne.

M. DE BRIENNE, who had so decidedly opposed the schemes of Calonne, succeeded to his office, and in some measure adopted the very plans which he himself had displayed so much zeal in rejecting. Recourse was now had to the odious measure of raising money by the king's edict alone; and the doubling of the land tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a

* May 25.

stamp duty, were immediately proposed. But, to render these effective, it was absolutely necessary they should be registered by an august tribunal, that had of late acquired the confidence of the people; and by its sacrifices during the last reign, had merited their esteem. The parliament of Paris, on whose deliberations the eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned, instead of a ready compliance, as was perhaps expected, exhibited a sturdy opposition, and even insisted, that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should be previously laid before it.

SECT. IV.
Conduct of
the par-
liament.

No sooner did the king learn that the parliament had refused to register the edict, than he had recourse to a *bed of justice**; at the best an equivocal, and at present a very unpopular, measure. It was upon this occasion that a prince of the blood entitled himself to the hatred of the nation, whose aversion he had before in some measure excited by his extravagance; for when the parliament assigned its reasons why it would not register the stamp duty, his royal highness was pleased to exclaim—"that if he were sovereign, the members should be forced to comply!" Nor did the answer of the president escape the notice and the applause of the publick: "If you were monarch," said he, "I should repeat what I have now asserted: my heart is the people's, my understanding is my own, and my head is the king's."

NEXT day the parliament entered a formal protest against the edict, declaring it to be "registered against its approbation and consent;" adding, "that it neither ought nor should have any force," and that "the first person who presumed to carry it into execution should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys."

* August 6, 1787.

SECT. IV.

1788.

Despotism of
the court.

IN a few days after this spirited and formidable protest, the king ordered the hall to be surrounded by a body of troops, and banished the members to Troyes, in Champagne, but not before they had drawn up a remonstrance, in which they displayed equal energy and eloquence. They were, however, recalled soon after, in consequence of a compromise, which was considered to have in some degree tarnished the glory they had acquired.

Resistance of
the provincial
parliaments.

ALL differences between the king, or rather the ministers, and the parliament of Paris, seemed now to be composed; and that great body presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for withdrawing the two unpopular edicts relative to the stamp duty and land tax. But the other parliaments, particularly those of Bourdeaux, Brittany, and Languedoc, displayed a spirit of resistance which alarmed the court. That of Grenoble menaced with annihilation the unconstitutional authority usurped and exercised by means of *lettres de cachet*, that most terrible engine of oppression, having solemnly declared it to be a capital crime for any person to attempt the execution of one of those arbitrary mandates within its jurisdiction.

Fresh disputes
with the par-
liament.

WHILE the publick mind was thus agitated by successive hopes and fears, the ministry persuaded the king to take a novel and extraordinary step. Accordingly, at nine o'clock in the morning*, he visited the parliament of Paris, and produced two edicts, which were required to be enforced, one of which indicated a new loan to the amount of 450 millions of livres†. After a speech of considerable length, in which his majesty, departing from his accustomed moderation, claimed the exercise of the royal prerogative with a zeal wholly unsuitable to the times, he added, that he had come on purpose to hear any objections that might be made in opposition to his will. Permission being thus given,

* November 14.

† About nineteen millions of pounds sterling.

a debate ensued in the royal presence, which continued during nine hours ; at the end of which period, the king, who was said to have been pressed by hunger, as well perhaps as chagrined at the freedom of the discussion, suddenly arose, and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered. This being considered as a direct violation of all the forms of this august assembly—for his majesty had not been pleased even to allow the question to be put to the vote—the duke of Orleans, with equal firmness and respect, protested against the proceedings, which he said had been rendered null by the unprecedented conduct of the sovereign. The parliament, finding itself thus countenanced by one of the most distinguished of its own peers, and knowing that on this occasion it would be supported by the voice of the people, remained firm, and declared the business of the day void.

THE king, in return, immediately sent the duke of Orleans into exile, and issued *lettres de cachet* against two other members, one of whom was confined at Mont St. Michel, an almost inaccessible rock on the coast of Normandy. Such arbitrary proceedings on the part of a monarch, hitherto respected for his humanity, produced the most spirited remonstrances on the part of the parliament. In one of these, no less celebrated on account of its eloquence than its boldness, they claimed, not the favour of the monarch, but his justice, which was subject, they said, to regulations, independent of the will of man ; they maintained that kings themselves were bound to obey it, and that his glorious ancestor, Henry IV. acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, “ God and the laws.” The reply of the king, “ that they should not demand from his justice what solely depended upon his will,” tended only to irritate the members ; who, recurring to the ancient principles of the constitution, at length declared, “ that it was neither in their power, in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to levy any new taxes upon the people !”

SECT. IV.
1788.

Remonstrance
of the first
prince of the
blood.

SECT. IV.
1788.

Cour plè-
nière.

THIS appeal to the paramount authority of the states-general, rendered the parliament of Paris the idol of the people; but the ministers were at that moment secretly meditating its humiliation. M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, had already projected the creation of a number of grand bailiwicks, on purpose to diminish the jurisdiction, the credit, and the revenues of this tribunal, as well as the reformation of the criminal laws; while his colleague, M. de Brienne, now become prime-minister, aimed a more deadly blow, by the project of a *cour plènière*, composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men, devoted to the court, by which the royal edicts were henceforward to be registered. Notwithstanding the care taken to conceal the edicts formed on these measures, which were to be presented to all the tribunals of France on the same day, a member * of the parliament of Paris found means to obtain copies, and presented them in an extraordinary session, convoked on the 3d of May, 1788. This produced a fresh remonstrance, containing an attack on the ministers, a protest against the plans in agitation, and a declaration, "that France is a kingdom governed by a king according to the laws; and that the right of raising subsidies is in the nation, represented by the states-general duly convened."

ON this, the palace in which the parliament assembled was once more encircled by troops, and some of its members seized and confined: the king also held a † *bed of justice*, in which he presented a number of edicts to be registered; among these was one for the establishment of the *cour plènière*, and another for the diminution of the members of the parliament of Paris, from one hundred and twenty to sixty-seven, as had been before done by Louis XI.

THE magistrates having entered a solemn protest, his majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations by means of an armed force: he at the same time suspended all the par-

* M. d'Espreminil.

† May 8.

liaments throughout the kingdom;—a measure which was opposed by an address, signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, “in behalf of themselves and the nation.”

SECT. IV.
1788.

COMMOTIONS of an alarming nature now ensued. In Brittany, the nobles and the people seemed to suspend their disputes on purpose to investigate publick grievances; the intermediate commission of the states exhibited great firmness on this occasion; and Rennes, the capital of the province, experienced an unusual degree of agitation. Of the members constituting the parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble, part were in exile and part in prison; and the inhabitants were so irritated, that they had driven the governor of Languedoc out of his capital; while the troops, hitherto the firm supporters of arbitrary power in every monarchy, and particularly in France, refused to fire on the populace. At Grenoble in Dauphiny, the peasants collected in large bodies from the neighbouring country, to assist the townsmen, if necessary, against the soldiery; and terror and indignation, rage and dismay, prevailed every-where by turns.

Commotions
in the pro-
vinces, and
defection of
the troops.

At length, the court being now seriously alarmed, the people triumphed over the ministry. M. de Lamoignon * retired in great poverty to his estate, while M. de Brienne was enabled

Disgrace of
the ministers.
[August 25.]

* Chretien François de Lamoignon, president à mortier of the parliament of Paris, and the descendant of a celebrated lawyer, succeeded M. de Miromesnil as keeper of the seals, and remained in office during the disputes between the court and the parliaments in 1787 and 1788. He at first opposed all the plans proposed by M. de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, and afterwards seconded and supported the measures of that minister, in whose disgrace he at length participated.

It must be allowed, however, that he had conceived the idea of a code of jurisprudence which, at any other period, would have entitled him to the gratitude of his countrymen. It was his intention to reform the courts of justice; to introduce the trial by jury in criminal cases; to suppress the scandalous fees received by the judges; to allow counsel and a full and publick hearing to all criminals; to abolish the cruel and odious custom of torture, and every other harsh and rigorous measure whatever.

In

SECT. IV.
1788.

to console himself with the archbishoprick of Sens, a cardinal's hat, and a retreat in Italy *. Nor is it to be denied that on this occasion several of the nobility conducted themselves with the most disinterested generosity, for the dukes de Noailles, Rochefaucault, Luxemburgh, and many others, as well as several of the ancient magistrates, actually refused to sit in the new tribunal, of which they had been nominated members.

In consequence of his engaging in the project of the *cour plénière*, the parliament of Paris drew up articles of accusation against him, which their president was enjoined to read in the king's presence; but the resignation of the keeper of the seals prevented this new instance of hatred.

On retiring into a private station, M. de Lamignon supported his *disgrace*, as it was then termed, as well as the hatred of the publick, and even poverty itself, with a constancy that could only originate in the consciousness of his having meant well.

The manner of his death was rather singular. On the forenoon of the 23d of May, 1789, he was seen walking in his park, with a small fowling-piece, with which he was accustomed to divert himself by shooting at magpies; and about half an hour after, a workman in the vicinity alarmed the family with the intelligence that he was weltering in his blood. His children, by whom he was greatly beloved, instantly ran to the spot, and found that a ball, after breaking his jawbone, had issued out of the opposite temple. As he was incumbered with debts, this unfortunate circumstance was differently interpreted; but it appeared most likely, from the position of the gun, and other concurring circumstances, that his spur had got entangled with the trigger, and produced the fatal accident.

* Loménie de Brienne began his career among the economists and encyclopedists, whose plans of government he affected to follow: but he was not proof against the seductions of ambition, and soon deserted, and even acted in opposition to, those principles which he had formerly cherished. The friendship of the bishop of Orleans obtained for him the archbishoprick of Toulouse. He himself acquired some credit by his attention to the affairs of the province in which his see was situate; and he afterwards added greatly to his reputation by opposing the plans of M. Calonne in the first assembly of the *notables*, of which he was a member. It is to this last circumstance that he was indebted for the appointment of comptroller-general of the finances, the post of prime-minister, the archbishoprick of Sens, and a cardinal's hat.

He seems to have acquired the king's confidence, but he soon proved himself utterly unfit for any of the civil departments occupied by him; and the recurrence

IN the mean time, such was the deplorable state of the finances, SECT. IV.
1788. that only part of the demands on the treasury was paid in cash; the remainder being liquidated by means of bills, due at the end of a year: and the appearance of a partial bankruptcy was only avoided by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* as money. In addition to this, a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread: the notion therefore became prevalent, that the states-general could alone rescue the nation from misery and despair.

THE recal of M. Necker, now rendered inevitable by the Return of
Necker. pressure of circumstances, produced general joy throughout the kingdom: nor were the people disappointed in their expectations; for although no more than half a millions of livres was found in the treasury, the publick funds immediately rose, credit was restored, and the parliament of Paris resumed its functions: but when that body exhibited a desire to prosecute the late ministry on account of their malversations, the king interposed his authority, and shielded them from publick justice.

AT the earnest entreaty of the new minister of finances, his New convo-
cation of no-
tables. majesty reluctantly consented to the convocation of the states-general, which had been promised by Brienne, and much debate took place relative to the mode of forming that assembly, as

to the arbitrary and unsuccessful measure of erecting a *cour plénière*, at length produced his disgrace.

At the commencement of the revolution he appears to have resumed his ancient opinions, and to have taken the constitutional oath, although he refused the see to which he was again nominated. Finding that Pius VI. wished to deprive him of the honours of the *Roman purple*, he transmitted a very respectful but bold epistle to his holiness, in which he intimated "that the struggle could not be long between his attachment to his country and his red hat, which he begged leave to reconvey to the sovereign pontiff." The archbishop died soon after this at Sens, in February, 1794.

SECT. IV.
1788.
New convo-
cation of no-
tables.

well as the specifick number of members appertaining to each of the orders. The parliament of Paris, which already began to anticipate its future insignificance, was desirous that it should resemble the model of 1614; while a new meeting of notables, summoned expressly for the purpose of considering this subject, declared it as their opinion, that the number of the deputies of the third estate should not exceed that of either of the other two*: but the former of these bodies perceiving the unpopularity of their conduct, deemed it prudent to retract; while the example of Dauphiny, and the declared wish of the nation, prevailed in express opposition to the mode alluded to by the latter.

Plan of the
third-estate.
[December
27.]

At length Necker procured an order of council, declaring, that the deputies to the states-general should, at least, amount to one thousand; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates†.

* The chamber or *bureau* over which *monseigneur* presided, decided, however, by a majority of votes, that the *third estate* should have a number of representatives equal to the sum of the two other orders.

† “Le roi ayant entendu le rapport qui a été fait dans son conseil par le ministre de ses finances, relativement à la convocation prochaine des états-généraux, sa majesté en a adopté les principes & les vues, & elle a ordonné ce qui suit :

“ 1. Que les députés aux prochains états-généraux, seront au moins au nombre de mille ;

“ 2. Que ce nombre sera formé, autant qu’il sera possible, en raison composée de la population & des contributions de chaque bailliage ;

“ 3. Que le nombre des députés du tiers-état sera égal à celui des deux autres ordres réunis, & que cette proportion sera établie par les lettres de convocation ;

“ 4. Que les décisions préliminaires serviront de base aux travaux nécessaires pour préparer sans délai les lettres de convocation, ainsi que les autres dispositions qui doivent les accompagner ;

“ 5. Que la rapport fait à sa majesté sera imprimé à la suite du présent résultat.”

THE meeting of this celebrated assembly being at length fixed for the 1st of May, 1789, the whole nation appeared to be electrified. SECT. IV.
1788.
The city of Paris was divided into districts for the elections, and the bailiwicks began to draw up their instructions to the deputies, for the reformation of a multitude of abuses that had prevailed for ages. A variety of pamphlets, all of them favourable to liberty, made their appearance at this period: one of the most celebrated of these*, was burnt by order of the parliament; while another, written by the abbé Sieyes†, obtained for its author the suffrages of the Parisians.

It may not be improper to pause here, and enquire into the cause of that imperious necessity, which forced one of the most absolute princes in Europe to invoke the assistance of the nation, and share his power with its representatives.

SECTION V.

A VARIETY of causes conspired to shake the foundations of a throne upheld by the veneration of fourteen centuries, and to threaten the downfall of a prince, the successor of sixty-eight kings. In Asia, where knowledge is stationary, the blind vengeance of a nation is satiated with the sacrifice of the reigning despot; the most terrible crisis produces a change, therefore, not in the fate of a whole people, but of a single individual. On the contrary, in Europe, where learning and science are pro- SECT. V.
1788.
The Revolution originated—

* “L’Ultimatum d’un Citoyen du Tiers-état.”

† “Qu’est-ce-que le Tiers-état.”

SECT. V. 1788. 1. in the natural progress of the human mind: gressive, an alteration insensibly takes place in the publick opinion; and if this be resisted with violence, either a new dynasty, or a new species of government, generally ensues. This immense difference, which ensures a certain portion of liberty to one quarter of the globe, and perpetual slavery to another, is chiefly produced by the art of printing: the men of letters then, in the northern states, may be considered as the arbiters of the destiny of nations.

2. in the extension of letters and philosophy; THESE, as a body, have uniformly cherished a love of freedom in every country; and in that of which we now treat, the influence of their writings and their example can scarcely be appreciated *. In consequence of the frequent intercourse with Italy, knowledge and learning began to dawn on France, during the reign of Charles VIII. Francis I. not only cultivated a taste for letters, but established publick libraries. Mezeray asserts, that his “was the reign of men of learning †.” Charles IX. like Nero, seemed to delight in low debaucheries and midnight assassinations: like him, too, he was a very indifferent poet: yet his example could not be unproductive of effect. But it is the reign of Louis XIV. that has been considered as the Augustan epoch; and it must be confessed to have exhibited whatever was exquisite in the fine arts, admirable in polite literature, or useful in every branch of the sciences. It was at this period too, and under the shelter of royal despotism, that those weapons began to be forged, which were afterwards destined to break its chains.

AFTER architecture, poetry, and the fine arts, by improving the taste of the nation, had contributed to the pleasures and the enjoyments of society, a new race of men arose, and undertook the daring task of correcting its errors. The succeeding reign

* Mr. Burke was accustomed to estimate their number in Paris alone at twenty thousand, but this is evidently an exaggeration.

† Hist. Chron. V. de Fr. I.

beheld Montesquieu settling the principles of government, and withdrawing part of the veil that concealed the horrors of tyranny; while Mably, after searching into their ancient records, proclaimed to the French that they had been once free and happy. Raynal familiarly arraigned tyranny before the tribunal of publick opinion, and thus contrived to render it more generally odious. Rousseau, born and educated within the walls of a republick, was inspired with high notions of liberty: such were the charms of his eloquence, that he at length taught the subjects of one of the most absolute monarchies in Europe to speak and think like himself. Although fond of brilliant paradoxes, and romantick theories, his pen was uniformly devoted to the cause of virtue, and his writings contributed not a little to regulate the spirit of the times in which he lived.

THE age of Voltaire forms an epoch in the history of his country. The steady and enlightened friend of humanity, he was equally eager to assist the oppressed and assail the guilty. He conferred eternal infamy on the members of the parliament of Toulouse, who had immolated innocence on the altar of oppression; and acquired the best and most permanent title to true glory, by rescuing the family of Calas from infamy and despair. He assisted the parliament of Paris to annihilate the most singular and formidable society that has existed in modern times:—a politico-religious corporation, the branches of which extended to China, while its head was lost in the clouds. Such was the skill with which he conducted his enterprizes, that he influenced both popes and princes to dismiss the most devoted of their satellites:—a body which he himself considered as the pretorian guards of civil and religious despotism, ever obedient to the pontiffs, at times dangerous to kings, but invariably attached to an absolute monarchy. Sometimes he condescended to flatter despotism, but it was on purpose to disarm it of its rage; the arrows with which he assailed superstition, inflicted the most

SECT. V.

1788.

deadly wounds; yet they now and then unluckily took an oblique direction, and glanced against the buckler of religion. Arriving at a patriarchal age, this great man enlightened and instructed two generations; and, like Mably and Rousseau, became the immediate precursor of a revolution, which he himself had predicted.

NOR did the disunited efforts of individuals alone tend to change the ancient government of France. Three great academies, devoted to science and instruction, fostered a number of celebrated members, who dared to think with equal freedom on every subject connected with the history and happiness of society. The mathematicians, astronomers, and naturalists, aspired to the gratitude of their fellow-creatures; for, after measuring the bounds of space, calculating the orbits of the planets, and unveiling the wonders of nature, they condescended to become the benefactors, by rectifying the prejudices, of mankind. Bailly; strenuously laboured to dispel the mist of popular error. Buffon; opened a new career to the human mind, by the boldness of his theories. Condorcet; intermingled a love of liberty with the study of the sciences; although a noble by descent, he inveighed against exclusive hereditary distinctions, while they yet flourished and were revered*; and proclaimed aloud, at the very foot of a throne still absolute, that no government ought to be tolerated in which the people had not a share.

THE encyclopedists, without possessing the forms or being encumbered with the ceremonies of an academy, contrived to extend their empire over the public opinion. By the discussion of political subjects, and the dispersion of every species of knowledge, they contributed first to disarm tyranny of half its rage, and then to overturn it altogether. Notwithstanding this,

* See "La Vie de Turgot," published about the year 1785.

Diderot and d'Alembert were courted and caressed by two of the greatest monarchs Europe has ever witnessed; for both Frederick and Catharine were proud to behold them at their courts, and eager to confide the future hopes of two absolute thrones to their enlightened counsels.

SECT. V.

1788.

Diderot, and
d'Alembert;

THE economists were flattered at beholding ministers selected from among them; and considered Turgot, while regulating the finances and meliorating the fate of an oppressed nation, as at once their ornament and their chief. They were a learned and enlightened body, had devoted their attention to the science of government, and, by uniting with the philosophers, actually obtained for a time, two out of the three great objects to which they aspired;—the liberty of the press, the free circulation of grain, and the establishment of an intermediate power between the king and the people, under the name of provincial states. These various societies and individuals, at once cultivated and propagated a detestation of tyranny: some of them beheld its first gleam; others lived to see the meridian splendour of the revolution; and, alas! a few witnessed, but were not permitted to survive, its horrors.

SUCH were the men who beheld the approach of, and endeavoured to render their country worthy of liberty: happy had it been for the nation had it either remained longer under their tutelage, or that such only had been called to preside over them: for, although a spirit of intolerance and calumny hath gone forth, yet it is a fact, and truth requires it should be everywhere proclaimed, that the philosophers, mathematicians, and men of letters, were neither the instigators nor perpetrators, but uniformly the victims, of crimes; and that in no one of the horrors of the revolutionary conflict, have any of these embroiled their hands!

BUT it ought not to be omitted, that there were writers of another kind, who conspired, sometimes involuntarily, against the

SECT. V.

1788.

Necker, and
even Calonne:

established despotism. Necker's famous production on the finances, disclosed secrets that proved ruinous to the credit of the monarchy ; while the plans and writings of his rival Calonne, who meditated important changes relative to the privileged orders, demonstrated that a new and a better system of government must necessarily be resorted to, on purpose to save the state from bankruptcy and disgrace. The contentions of these celebrated men, by enlightening the nation respecting its revenues, must be allowed to have produced a surprising effect : for the grand primary and pre-disposing cause of the revolution, originated in the disorganisation of the finances, which excited the clamours of the people ; the spirited and eloquent protests of the parliaments ; the impotent vengeance of the prince ; and finally, an appeal to the states-general, which, by awakening the multitude from their lethargy, prepared the catastrophe that so speedily ensued.

3. the disorder of the
finances :

4. the zeal
of the par-
liaments :

5. the ex-
ample of Eng-
land and Ame-
rica :

THERE were also many other circumstances which did not fail to operate, although in an inferior degree. The liberties and prosperity of England—a country separated only by a narrow arm of the sea, and which by its free constitution had been enabled to combat with, and not unfrequently to humble, the monarchy—could not be contemplated with impunity. It is difficult to suppose that so many thousand officers and soldiers had visited and fought in behalf of the rights of America, without being imbued with something of a kindred spirit : there they beheld a new and happy nation, among whom the pride of birth and distinctions of rank were alike unknown ; there they, for the first time, saw virtue and talents and courage rewarded ; there they viewed with surprise a sovereign people fighting, not for a master, but themselves, and haranguing, deliberating, dispensing justice, and administering the laws, by representatives of their own free choice. On their return, the contrast was odious and intolerable :—they beheld family preferred to merit, influence to

justice, wealth to worth : they began to examine into a constitution in which the monarch, whom they were now accustomed to consider as only the first magistrate, was every thing; and the people, the fountain of all power, cyphers : they beheld a weak king and an unpopular princess, surrounded by favourites and minions ; they felt that they themselves and their services were overlooked in the crowd of petitioners, or eclipsed by the pretensions of less meritorious claimants, and they may be supposed to have wished, and even to have languished for a change !

THE great body of the army, hitherto the bulwark of the monarchy and the scourge of the people, participated also in some measure, although, perhaps, from different causes, in the general disaffection. Ever since the days of Turenne and Condé, the French troops had been flattered into obedience, and the *principle of honour* substituted in the place of harshness and rigour. But the ancient discipline was now perverted. The soldiers of Germany, subdued into mechanical correctness by the canes of the corporal and the adjutant, and possessing all the facility of a well-regulated machine, without being animated with any portion of that heroick ardour which gives such a decided superiority to the armies of free states, had become models for the imitation of all the kings of Europe.

DURING the administration of the count de St. Germain, who had served many years abroad, Louis XVI. was persuaded to adopt the military punishments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia ; it was unwisely attempted to subdue the refined sense of delicacy of which the French soldier had always boasted, and to overcome his vanity, by subjecting him to the humiliating discipline of the fable. Many preferred a voluntary death to such a degradation ; and so far was the point of honour carried, that several of the drummers, deeming themselves debased by the infliction

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7. the inherent love of freedom :

alone, actually imagined that nothing but the grave could obliterate their disgrace.

It ought not however to be omitted, that other motives might have also operated. The vilest wretch, the basest and most degraded of the human species, even the slave himself, will sometimes feel the lambent flame of freedom illuminating his mind and warming his heart : at those periods too, when a loose is given to the passions, and allurements of every kind are held out, the man will insensibly burst forth in the warriour ; the soldier will be proud to feel that he is an armed citizen ; and the troops, subject to the perpetual restraint of subordination, will be easily captivated by the fascinating sounds of liberty and equality. Certain it is, the French soldiery were soon taught that they had hitherto mistaken the object of their glory : they learned to distinguish between the monarch and the monarchy ; they were impressed with the great and important lesson—that allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties, and that true patriotism consists in serving our country alone.

THE clamours of the people, the disorders of the court, the deranged state of the finances, the tyranny of an arbitrary government odious even to soldiers, and the hope derived from the convocation of the states-general, had reached their ears, and began to affect their understandings. They were also piqued to find that they were suspected by the courtiers ; and they could not behold without indignation, the foreign troops selected, trusted, and preferred to themselves. Those who had served on the Trans-Atlantic continent, recollected the cause in which they had been already victorious ; those who resided in the capital, had formed an intimacy and a friendship with the citizens ; a numerous and formidable body, by a long continuance there, had begun to imitate the manners, the customs, and even to adopt the political sentiments, of the inhabitants. France also, the most

warlike nation in Europe, scarcely possessed a single individual who had not served in her armies: a great portion of the Parisians were therefore already enured to discipline, and familiar with arms. In addition to all the other motives, which this class of men possessed in common with their fellow-subjects, the seductions of interest ought not to be omitted. The French guards secretly coveted the honour of being employed about the persons of their kings; the veterans in the line were taught to hope that they might become subalterns, for, although plebeians, they aspired to those distinctions hitherto, with a very few exceptions, conferred on blood alone.

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8. the warlike
genius of the
nation:

No sooner, therefore, did the revolutionary volcano burst forth, than the troops of the capital were entangled in, and carried along with, the burning lava. Dazzled with gold, gratified with women, intoxicated with wine, inflamed by patriotism, it was utterly impossible for them to resist so many allurements; accordingly they at length joined, and, in a great measure, actually decided the fate of the most general conspiracy Europe had hitherto witnessed against the despotism of a throne, upheld by a powerful clergy and nobility, surrounded by numerous armies accustomed to implicit obedience, and strengthened and supported by the inveteracy of custom, and the prejudices of ages.

At this critical period, when union and ability might have protracted the fate of the monarchy, the court was distracted by private jealousies, and divided by petty feuds. It no longer awed by talents, or dazzled by dignity, or intimidated by terror. The crown, in compliance with the recommendations of a citizen of Geneva *, was shorn of its lustre; for he had prevailed upon Louis XVI. to reform his brilliant but expensive establishment of household troops, consisting of the light horse, the

9. the state
of the court

* M. Necker.

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10. character
of the king
and queen :

gendarmes, and the musqueteers, whose gilded trappings attracted the admiration of the multitude, and whose haughtiness was in some measure calculated to awe them into obedience ! The royal authority, frequently and unjustly exercised against the parliaments, had at length yielded to their firmness ; the prerogative, omnipotent in theory, was now, for the first time, bounded in practice. The king, possessing many virtues, but feeble, irresolute, and uxorious, excited pity, and even contempt. Vibrating between the violent counsels of his consort, and the timidity of his own nature, he appears to have been eminently capricious, for he was by turns tyrannical and compliant.

MARIA-ANTOINETTA, while dauphiness, had acquired the respect of the nation, by refusing to countenance the mistress of the reigning monarch. On a variety of accounts, this beautiful but imprudent princess now experienced its hatred. Until her time, the queens of France, restrained by certain accustomed formalities, had never dined in the company of the other sex ; and, in consequence of a strange inconsistency, her majesty was accused by the inhabitants of a gay and debauched capital, with having overleaped the bounds of punctilio, and even of decorum, by living and conversing familiarly with her courtiers and favourites. But it cannot be denied that some parts of her conduct were subject to more serious reprehension. Her expences were enormous, her demeanour haughty ; her aversion to every thing that bore the name of liberty was conspicuous, and the manner in which she governed the prince, exposed both him and herself to unceasing suspicion. The people were jealous of her early partialities : they imagined that she was a better sister than a wife, and more attached to the interests of Austria than of France ; they even pryed into and loudly arraigned her pleasures : in addition to this, the recent transaction about the diamond necklace, in which her character was unfortunately implicated with that of the debauched cardinal de

Rohan, and a female adventurer of the name of la Motte, had SECT. V.
1788. also generated suspicions that were revived, from time to time, by the clamours of discontent, and the virulence of party zeal.

HER majesty and the king's two brothers were also at open 11. conduct
of the princes: variance among themselves. The elder of these had acquired and retained the respect of the nation until the period of his flight; but the profusion of the younger, and still more his zeal against every innovation on the ancient despotism, at length rendered his name odious. On the other hand, the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, openly aspired to popularity. His ancestor had been invested with the regency by the parliament of Paris, in express opposition to the will of Louis XIV.; and both his father and himself, moved perhaps by gratitude and affection, had ever warmly espoused the claims and privileges of that august tribunal. Arrested and exiled by the king, considering himself as the object of the queen's unceasing vengeance, and a victim destined to bleed on the restoration of the monarchy, he and his adherents engaged in the political contest with unceasing ardour, and expended an amazing fortune to produce, strengthen, and support a revolution, that in the end proved their destruction.

THE numerous and notorious abuses in the government, also 12. abuses
and tyranny
of the govern-
ment: produced an effect correspondent to the knowledge of an inquisitive and critical age. France, a prey by turns to cruel, contemptible, or fanatical princes, ambitious or profligate regents, tyrannical ministers, avaricious financiers, corrupt favourites, and devouring courtizans, had not for whole centuries enjoyed either happiness or repose. She was denied even the *sleep of despotism*, the only consolation that a people can derive from the degradation of servitude, having twice experienced all the horrors of a national bankruptcy, and been in succession the theatre of domestic, foreign, and religious wars.

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13. the injus-
tice of the
nobles :

THE feudal hierarchy * had become burdensome and oppressive. Instead of softening, as formerly, the exercise of the royal prerogative, and presenting a barrier between the king and the people, the grandees were now considered as wholly devoted to the monarchy ; some were invested with high commands in the army, some governed the provinces, while others, under the names of grand butlers, grand chamberlains, and grand masters of the wardrobe, had become its menial servants : divided into casts of old and new, nobles of the sword and of the robe, of the court and of the provinces, they all claimed an exemption from taxes ; and, although jealous of each other, cordially united in treating the inhabitants of the towns with the most insufferable haughtiness, while they considered those of the country as little better than their slaves. Addicted to war, to the chase, and to the pleasures of the table, residing chiefly in courts and in camps, they did not perceive that the invention of printing had destroyed the prejudices of chivalry ; while that of gunpowder, by equalising the danger, had removed the difference between an aristocracy coated in mail, at once armed and invulnerable, and the naked plebeian, exposed, dispirited, and defenceless †. Some few, indeed, rising superior to their order, considered their privileges as the chimeras of a Gothick age, and taking refuge in literature and the sciences, did not deem themselves degraded, because they had become at once happy and useful. But the far greater number still continued to harass their unhappy vassals by means of obsolete and intolerable claims, to enforce the exclusive right of the chase by the terror of cruel punishments, and to snuff up the incense which the compliant priest removed periodically from the altar of the divinity, to strike the manerial bondsmen with awe, and

* See Appendix to vol. I. A.

† Tableau Hist. & Polit. par L. P. Segur, vol. I.

gratify the senses of their haughty lords. They had thus become odious to the peasantry, whose obedience sprung only from their fears, and who sighed in secret for retribution and revenge !

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WHAT the possessors of fiefs originally acquired by their swords, the clergy had obtained by the profusion of a barbarous age. Taking advantage of the weakness of kings, and the ignorance of nobles, they extended over both the chains of superstition, and seized on the better portion of France in the name of Heaven : but they were careful to add terroure to supplication ; and, while they conferred the blessings of another world with a lavish hand, eager to ensure to themselves the riches of the present, they menaced, with eternal punishments, all those who opposed either the increase or the duration of their power. Yet, in the early periods of an amiable and beneficent religion, the ecclesiastical hierarchy must be allowed to have exhibited frequent instances of the most edifying piety, in addition to the most scrupulous austerity. But wealth, as usual, had corrupted their successors : they now mingled in the intrigues of the court ; they yielded to the cravings of passion, and the sollicitations of luxury ; they even caballed to become placemen, financiers, and ministers. Some aspired to and actually obtained the Roman purple, through the medium of minions and mistresses ; and others had brought contempt upon their order, by the irregularity of their lives, and the scandalous impropriety of their conduct : all the pride of the mitre remained, but the crozier was no longer considered as the pastoral staff of the patriarchal times.

14. degeneracy of the dignified clergy :

It is also worthy of remark, that the influence of superstition, and even of the clergy, was now visibly on the decline throughout the nation ; and that an age devoted to the cultivation of literature and the sciences, felt itself but little interested in those polemical contentions which at once occupied and disgraced the two former reigns. The frivolous and unprofitable disputes about speculative points of theology, were either wholly

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exploded, or confined solely to the cloister. The very names of the contending sects had become obsolete ; and with the holy fervour about grace, heavenly love, and free-will, had disappeared the molinists, the janfenists, and the quietists.

THE amazing wealth possessed by nineteen archbishops, and one hundred and twenty-two bishops ; the immense revenues belonging to twelve hundred and eighty-eight abbeys, twelve thousand four hundred priories, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty convents ; excited the surprise, and perhaps also the envy, of the laity. They began to enquire into the original intention of the founders ; and as their zeal was no longer kept alive by miracles, a carnal and selfish age repined at the misapplication of so much useful treasure ; while the publick creditor, vibrating between his interest and his prejudices, at one moment wished to preserve the institutions of his forefathers, and at another longed for a reformation similar to that which had occurred in England during the early part of the sixteenth century ; in consequence of which, the wealth of the church might be applied to the service of the state.

15. injustice
of the pre-
lates :

IN the mean time the dignified clergy, leaving the care of their flock to others, generally resided at the court, or in the capital. Their numerous and extensive royalties were administered by delegates, who abated nothing of the feudal rigours ; the exclusive rights of the chace were enforced with unrelenting severity ; the peasantry, already oppressed by the nobles, groaned under the exactions of the church ; and tithes, ever viewed with an evil eye even in rich countries, were peculiarly grievous to impoverished cultivators residing in unproductive soils. The parochial clergy, although poor themselves, constituted the only stay and consolation of the people ; they also were oppressed by their more opulent brethren, for the prelates had continued to throw the burden of the *voluntary gift* upon the great body of the priesthood, whose complaints had long proved unavailing,

but whose resentment, at a subsequent period, by inducing them to join the third-estate, produced a schism in the church, and put an end to the established hierarchy. SECT. V.
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WHILE the claims and privileges of the nobility and clergy had become stationary, and remained nearly in the same state as during the middle ages, when they were at once consecrated and shielded by the prejudices of the times, the acquisitions of the people were utterly incompatible with their situation. The fine arts had inspired them with taste, commerce had diffused wealth, and knowledge had taught them to detest the pride and the injustice of the nobles. Under the degrading forms of an absolute monarchy, they had imbibed a republican education. While they beheld all the emblems of tyranny around them, the youth were taught to admire the institutions of Greece and of Rome. At the moment their native country was exposed to the joint spoliations of Pompadour, Debarre, and Louis XV. a Themistocles, an Aristides, a Cato, a Cicero, and a Cincinnatus, were the models held up for their imitation. So strong was the current of opinion, that Condillac became the preceptor of princes; and the descendants of absolute monarchs beheld, with a benignant eye, the triumph of that celebrated Roman, who had avenged the crimes of a tyrant with his blood. Such, in short, was the unaccountable perversity of the age, that the hands of a king engaged during the morning in signing decrees of proscription, were employed at night in applauding Brutus at the theatre!

AMONG the other changes that had insensibly taken place, that of the liberty of speech was not the least conspicuous. Writings were every-where read and circulated against the weight, number, inequality, and misapplication of the taxes; the vexations of the farmers-general; the venality of offices; the imperfection of the criminal code; and those arbitrary and illegal imprisonments produced by *lettres de cachet*. There was a general outcry

17. the outcry
against
abuses:

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against the tributes paid to the pope, the wealth of the clergy, and the profusion with which pensions were assigned on an exhausted treasury. The provincial nobles, who in Brittany and Dauphiny had resisted the royal authority, hoped to profit by the approaching assembly of the states, and wished to annihilate the superiority claimed by their rivals at Versailles; the inhabitants of the country aspired to obtain a relaxation of the imposts, the weight of which was chiefly borne by them; the creditors of the state, at once numerous and clamorous, were desirous to avoid a publick bankruptcy; in fine, every portion of the nation, the grandes and the dignified clergy alone excepted, seemed to long for rather than to avoid a crisis.

18. influence
and popula-
tion of the
capital:

ALL the great cities in the kingdom were eager to reform the abuses of government. On this occasion, the immense wealth and population of the capital gave it a decided preponderance, and at length rendered it alone able to overthrow the ancient despotism. Poverty, which always takes up its abode in the neighbourhood of luxury, in addition to the want of occupation and of bread, the cry and the hope of liberty, the harangues of popular orators, and the daily productions of a press teeming with inflammatory productions, rendered Paris the scene of perpetual agitation. The inferiour classes of the nation, ignorant, neglected, debased by servitude, goaded by misery, disposed to excess, and far better fitted to acquire than to preserve their freedom, every-where presented the elements of convulsion: in short, a civil war, as well as a revolution, became almost inevitable.

19. the in-
justice of the
government:

NOR can it be denied that the fountain of power was corrupt, and that its turbid stream at once polluted and disgusted the nation. A multitude of grievances existed, delinquencies of the most criminal nature had been long perpetrated with impunity, and the abuses were so numerous as to extend to every department of the state, and every province of the empire. The monarch affected to unite in his own person the executive and

legislative authorities, and often interfered in the judicial administration. The finances were reduced to the most deplorable condition; and the nation, forgetting the immense expenditure of the late war, and the expensive schemes entered into for obtaining a port in the Channel, contemplated the profusion of the court, as the sole cause of their misery. The parliaments, although of late the victorious defenders of their own and the people's rights, had not always been able to withstand the blaze of majesty; and a royal session might at any time have rendered a determined king paramount to all resistance*.

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THE nation was thus left naked and defenceless, while the crown was armed with the support of custom and prejudice, a numerous nobility, all the dignified clergy, and an army of 150,000 men, a large portion of whom were foreigners.

THE Bastille, and a variety of subordinate prisons, had always opened their dreadful dungeons at the voice of a resolute prince; a free press, which leaves to a bad minister the choice of his duty or his dishonour, was still unknown; *lettres de cachet*, sold publicly towards the end of the late reign, had been granted during the early part of the present with the most scandalous impunity; and, however amiable, or however timid the present monarch might be, yet, according to the pretended rights of the crown, another Louis XI. might have fabricated new iron cages for his victims, or another Charles IX. perpetrated new massacres on his miserable subjects.

20. Bastille
and lettres
de cachet :

NOR were the grievances of the people confined wholly to the exercise of the royal functions. The administration of justice was a source of continual censure and perpetual despair. The offices of the judicial magistrates were venal, and they were supposed to reimburse themselves, not only by fees and per-

* See Appendix to vol. I. B.

SECT. V. 1788. quifites, but even by the sale of their decisions: to such a shocking pitch was this carried, that certain females, known by an appropriate name *, were employed to solicit favour from, and even to corrupt, the fountain of justice.

21. the excessive taxes:

THE bulk of the people was overburdened with taxes, many of which were rather oppressive than productive; offices conferring nobility were publickly bought and sold; while the nobles were exempt from the operation of imposts, and the clergy contributed only what they pleased under the name of a *benevolence*.

22. the exemptions claimed by the privileged orders;

THE occupations of the merchant and the farmer were considered as discreditable; the plebeians were excluded from all the high offices in the state, and the profession of arms, alone honourable, was consecrated to the enjoyment of a particular *cast*: to command a regiment, or a man-of-war, it was necessary to be a noble.

MANY of the rigours of the feudal system still disgraced the code and the practice of an enlightened nation. The game laws were enforced with a barbarous, unfeeling, and unrelenting oppression: the death of a hare or a partridge was sometimes expiated by slavery in the galleys.

and 23. the feudal rigours.

THE manerial claims were at once odious and degrading. In several of the provinces the possessor of a fief, under pretence of digging a pond, could rob such as held under, and displeased him, of a garden or an orchard. The right of *free warren* was carried to an alarming extent; the numerous dove-cots not unfrequently aided the artifices of the monopoliser to produce a dearth; the peasant beheld the rabbit, the pheasant, and the pigeon, devouring the fruits of his labours with impunity, while the scanty remnant of his harvest, after being diminished by ecclesiastical exactions, was to be ground at the mill of his lord alone.

* *Les Solliciteuses.*

THE farmers in the remote districts had reached but a single step beyond the boors of the northern nations. Tied down by the hand of poverty to the soil where they were born, while they maintained the clergy by their tithes, and assisted the nobles by their personal services, they were scarcely able to support their own families; and in years of famine, which frequently occurred, multitudes actually perished from want: nor was this all, for at the period of which we now treat, some of the inhabitants were actually in a state of bondage.

THE people being thus left entirely destitute of redress or protection; the royal authority paramount and unbounded; the laws venal; the peasantry oppressed; agriculture in a languishing state; commerce considered as degrading; the publick revenues farmed out to greedy financiers; the publick money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with justice, policy, and reason: a change became inevitable in the ordinary course of human events, and, like all sudden alterations in corrupt states, was accompanied with temporary evils and crimes, that made many good men look back on the ancient despotism with a sigh.

SECT. V.
1788.
Summary of
grievances.

BUT at this period the cry of liberty resounded in every possible direction from Paris, the city where the revolution was engendered, to the Alps, the Pyrenées, the plains of Flanders, the borders of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantick. So great and so instantaneous was the impulse, so ominous, so dangerous the example, that some, affrighted at the terrible and portentous explosion, and carefully averting their eyes from the real and palpable motives here attempted to be detailed, have sought for a solution of this grand political paradox in obscure, occult, and contemptible causes: thus, a learned professor* lately illustrated his theory of the *phenomena* in the

* Robinfon.

SECT. V. French hemisphere, by recurring to the incantations of the *illuminati* ; while an expatriated abbé* has unriddled the enigma of the revolution, by deducing it from the mysterious arts and alarming progress of free-masonry !

1788.

SECTION VI.

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1789.

Assembly of
the states-
general.

AT length the states-general, which had been by turns promised, delayed, and precipitated, after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years, assembled at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion ;—the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the king, having repaired to the temple of the Deity amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. The splendour and variety of the robes of two of the orders added greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle : for the dignified clergy were dressed in a style of grandeur suitable to their respective ranks, being adorned with scarfs, crosses, and croziers ; while the nobility were decorated as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles covered with lace, plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribbands calculated to produce a theatrical effect, and swords glittering with gold and diamonds. The third estate, on which the people chiefly relied, on the other hand, seemed to affect simplicity, the members appearing in plain clothes, surmounted by short woollen cloaks, as in the time of Philip le Bel ; but they were hailed by

* Barruel.

the surrounding multitude as the hope of their country, while a solemn and inauspicious silence prevailed during the procession of the rest of the assembly. SECT. VI.
1789.

HAVING returned towards the hall, the king, the court, and the deputies of the two first orders, were suffered to enter through the folding doors, at the principal gate ; while the commons, after waiting for several hours in a small wooden mansion adjoining, were at length suffered to pass, through a postern, and behold that blaze of grandeur by which they were at once surrounded and eclipsed*.

* The following account seems to have been written by an attentive spectator :

“ Quel grand & magnifique tableau s’est déroulé sous mes yeux ! Je n’ai pas de termes pour vous rendre, pour vous exprimer mon extase & mon ravissement soutenus pendant neuf heures de suite sur ce tableau. Une vaste salle, construite & décorée d’un grand goût, soutenue par vingt colonnes Doriques, exécutée dans toutes ses parties en style du même ordre, dans ce style d’architecture le plus noble & le plus imposant de tous. Mille à douze cents représentants de la France occupant le fond de la salle, divisés en trois ordres.

“ Le clergé vis-à-vis de ma tribune, dans son plus riche costume. Les députés de la noblesse vis-à-vis du clergé, couverts de plumes ondoyantes sur des chapeaux de forme féodale, propres aux tems héroïques de la monarchie, & de manteaux noirs éclatans de dorure, & d’une coupe à la fois élégante & théâtrale ; tous, l’épée au côté. Dans le fond de la salle, à ma gauche, les cinq au six cents députés du tiers-état, tous en noir, habits & manteaux de laine, cravates blanches, & chapeaux rabattus ; sans épée.

“ A ma droite l’estrade qui soutenoit le trône, placé sous un dais éblouissant. Le roi, la reine un peu plus bas. A la gauche du trône, & du côté de la reine, les princes & les princesses du sang, les grands officiers de la couronne, chacun dans le costume qui leur est propre. Ensuite les ducs & pairs, & tous rangés sans confusion & dans l’ordre le plus pittoresque.

“ Au bas de l’estrade, une grande table couverte d’un tapis verd ; des écritaires, plumes, & papiers. Autour de la table, les ministres & secrétaires d’état. Près d’eux, & à leur droite, tous les conseillers d’état en corps. Le garde des sceaux près des marches du trône. Au devant des bancs du tiers-état, sept on huit hérauts d’armes, vêtus d’un manteau court & violet en forme de tonnelet, tenant à la main un long bâton couvert & parfume, ainsi que le manteau, de grosses fleurs de lys

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AFTER a long and tedious ceremonial, the king, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the queen on his left hand, and the princes and princesses of the blood around him, delivered the following discourse, which he read from a paper in his hand, in a loud and distinct voice, and with all the confidence of an orator accustomed to address a numerous assembly :

“ Gentlemen,

Speech of
Louis XVI.

“ THE day is at length arrived which my heart has so long panted to behold, and now I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation which it is my glory to command.

“ A LONG interval hath elapsed since the last convocation of the states-general ; but although these assemblies have not for some time been held, I have not been dissuaded by the example of my late predecessors from re-establishing a custom by which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

“ THE publick debt was already immense at my accession to the throne, and has increased under my reign ; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause, and the augmentation of taxes the consequences of it ; but an unequal levy has occasioned them to be more severely felt.

“ A VERY general discontent, and a too eager desire for in-

brodés d'or. Toutes les femmes de la cour, éclatantes dégagé d'or, d'argent, de broderies, & de diamants, remplissoient les deux premières entre-colonnes à l'opposite l'une de l'autre, &c.

“ Deux milles spectateurs d'élite, hommes & femmes, occupoient le reste des entre-colonnes, & toutes les tribunes qui regnoient au-dessus. M. Necker se faisoit remarquer par son vêtement, précisément parceque vêtu comme tout le monde il ne l'étoit comme personne de la salle ; il avoit un habit gris de fer, chargé d'une riche & large broderie d'argent,” &c. Correspondence d'un Habitant de Paris, &c. p. 1. 2.

novation, have taken hold of the minds of the people, and will end in misleading their judgment if they do not hasten to fix it by wise and moderate counsels. SECT. VI.
1789.

“ IT is in this confidence, gentlemen, that I now assemble you ; and I rejoice to think that the measure has been justified by those dispositions which the two first orders of the state have shewn, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the publick good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

“ I HAVE already ordered very considerable retrenchments in respect to my own expences ; you will moreover furnish me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly : but, in spite of the resources which the strictest economy can suggest, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish.

“ I WILL give orders that the exact state of the finances may be laid before you ; and when you have examined this, I am assured you will propose to me the most effectual means of establishing them on a permanent footing, and strengthening the publick credit. This great and salutary work claims your most earnest attention ; it is that which will secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain its consequence among foreign powers.

“ THE publick spirit is in a ferment ; but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counsels but those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, gentlemen, have been able to judge on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided ; but the spirit which will rule over your deliberations will also evince the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has been the love of their prince. I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

SECT. VI.

1789.

“ I KNOW the authority and power of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; these have occasioned the glory and splendour of France; I ought, and I ever shall support them.

“ BUT whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the publick good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

“ MAY a happy union reign in this assembly! And may this epocha become ever memorable by the felicity and prosperity of the country!

“ IT is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

“ THE keeper of the seals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the state of the kingdom.”

Speech of the
keeper of the
seals, and

WHEN his majesty had ended a speech, several passages of which were received with a marked applause, M. Barentin arose, and paid many compliments to the monarch, who had listened to the publick voice, and granted a double representation in favour of the most numerous of the three orders—that on which the burden of taxation principally fell. He also enlarged on the advantage of a limited government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on one hand, and anarchy and republicanism on the other. Necker succeeded the keeper of the seals, and in a speech of great length, insisted on the necessity of directing the principal attention of the assembly to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged; but he at the same time reduced the *deficit* to fifty-six millions of French livres, which he affected to consider as a trifle for a great and opulent nation. His harangue, however, gave satisfaction to no party; the courtiers deemed it alike unfavourable to their prejudices and

the comp-
troller-ge-
neral.

their privileges; the third-estate was astonished that nothing was said of liberty, reform, and a new constitution; and all were surprised that, in respect to the great and important question of deliberation by poll, or by chambers, the speech of the comptroller-general was dark and ambiguous.

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1789.

THAT very evening the deputies of the commons, having assembled by provinces, agreed to meet in the hall of the states, and wait the arrival of the two other orders, for the purpose of deliberating and verifying the returns of all the members; for they knew, by the experience of the preceding states-general, that without this their numbers would be of no advantage, and their mission unattended with any beneficial consequences to their constituents. On the next day they repaired again to the hall, and the other orders to their particular chambers, where each began to verify its respective powers. This proceeding was not satisfactory to the third-estate, the members of which insisted that the verification should take place in common, and in their hall; and that until the clergy and nobles had fulfilled this ceremony, they were not to be considered as legal bodies. Having chosen the eldest representative as president, and the youngest as secretary, they accordingly dispatched a deputation to the two other orders, requesting their presence; but the nobles proceeded as if nothing had occurred: the clergy, however, suspended their deliberations.

Proceedings
of the third-
estate.

Disputes be-
tween the
orders.

AT length, the first of these bodies notified to the commons that they were constituted; on this the clergy, who foresaw the approaching storm, proposed a committee of conciliation, which was agreed to by the commons, but the nobles would not listen to the proposition of a joint session. The third-estate then transmitted a message * to the clergy, inviting

* “ Messieurs les députés des communes invitent messieurs du clergé, au nom du Dieu de paix, & de l'intérêt national, à se réunir à eux dans la salle de l'assemblée générale, pour y opérer de concert l'union & la concorde.”

SECT. VI. them to a junction; and this being supported by the eloquence of Target, one of their members, produced such an effect, that Leceſve, Ballard, and Jallet, three pariſh prieſts of Poitou, perſuaded that their powers ought to be inſpected in common, repaired immediately to the national hall, and were followed next day by ſeveral others.

1789.

Third-eſtate
becomes the
national af-
ſembly.

AT length the commons, to the number of five hundred and eighty-three, having verified their powers, reſolved to declare that they were the representatives of the nation; and after Sieyes, Mirabeau, and ſeveral other members, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion by their abilities and zeal, they accordingly proclaimed themſelves by this title, while the roof of their hall re-echoed with the ſound of “ Long live the king and the national aſſembly !” The next ſtep was to take an oath to diſcharge their functions with fidelity to their conſtituents; they afterwards elected Bailly preſident for four days, while Camus and Piſon du Galand were nominated ſecretaries during the ſame period.

Bailly,
1ſt preſident.

Popular acts.

THEIR firſt operations diſplayed great vigour and energy, for they began by proclaiming all the impoſts illegal, becauſe they had not been conſented to by the nation; they, however, re-enacted them inſtantly in the name of their conſtituents, declaring at the ſame time, that they were to ceaſe on the very day on which the preſent aſſembly was diſſolved. They, moreover, promiſed inſtantly to adopt meaſures, in concert with his majeſty, to fix the principles of national regeneration: they alſo determined to devote their attention to the examination and conſolidation of the publick debt; to enquire into the cauſes that had produced the preſent ſcarcity; and in the mean time they placed the creditors of the ſtate *from that moment* under the protection of the honour and loyalty of the French nation *. Theſe particulars, drawn

* “ L’affemblée nationale, conſidérant que le premier uſage qu’elle doit faire du pouvoir dont la nation recouvre l’exercice, ſous l’auſpices d’un monarque qui, jugeant quelle eſt la véritable gloire des rois, a mis la ſienne à reconnoître les

up in the form of an address, by interesting all descriptions of men in their favour, added at once popularity to their proceedings, and stability to their power. SECT. VI.
1789.

IN the mean time the two other orders were divided and agitated by a variety of contending passions. In the chamber of the clergy, a majority of one hundred and forty-nine voices had decided against one hundred and twenty-six, for an union with the commons; while in that of the nobles, M. de Montesquieu moved that they should invite the clergy to join them, and constitute an upper house. This proposition, however, was immediately rejected, and a numerous and respectable body contended for an union with the third-estate; but all further proceedings

Proceedings
of the clergy,
nobles,

droits du peuple François, est d'assurer pendant la durée de la présente session la force de l'administration publique ;

“ Voulant prévenir les difficultés qui pourroient traverser la perception & l'acquit des contributions, difficultés d'autant plus sérieuses qu'elles auroient pour base un principe constitutionnel & à jamais sacré, authentiquement reconnu par le roi, & solennellement proclamé par toutes les assemblées de la nation, principe qui interdit toutes levées de deniers & de contributions dans le royaume sans le consentement formel des représentans de la nation ;

“ Considérant qu'en effet les contributions, telles qu'elles se perçoivent actuellement dans le royaume, n'ayant point été consenties par la nation, sont toutes illégales, & par conséquent nulles dans leur création, extension, ou prorogation :

“ Declare, consentir provisoirement pour la nation, que les impôts & contributions, quoiqu'illégalement établis & perçus, continuent d'être levés de la même manière qu'ils l'ont été précédemment, & jusqu'au jour seulement de la première séparation de cette assemblée, de quelque cause qu'elle puisse prévenir ;

“ Passe lequel jour, l'assemblée nationale entend & décrète que toutes les levées d'impôts &c. cesser ont entièrement.

“ L'assemblée s'empresse aussi de déclarer, qu'aussi-tôt qu'elle aura, de concert avec sa majesté, fixé les principes de la régénération nationale, elle s'occupera de l'examen & de la consolidation de la dette publique, mettant dès à présent les créanciers de l'état sous la garde de l'honneur & de la loyauté de la nation Française.

“ Enfin, &c.”

SECT. VI. were prevented in consequence of an extraordinary step on the part of the king.

1789.

and king.
[June 20.]

HIS majesty having repaired to Marly for eight days, several of the *grandeės* took advantage of the absence of the comptroller-general, to produce an entire change on the royal mind. Accordingly, when the deputies of the commons were repairing to their hall, where they were to have been joined by a large portion of the clergy, a proclamation, read by the heralds at arms, intimated that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that the king intended on the 22d to hold a *royal session*. This must be allowed to have been an unusual, as well perhaps as an unconstitutional assumption on the part of the executive power; and being wholly unprecedented in the history of the states-general, it led to the most disastrous consequences.

M. BAILLY, on repairing to the national hall, found the doors shut and guarded by foldiers: on this, he sent for the count de Vassan, who was the officer on duty, and who said “that he had received positive orders not to permit any one to enter.” “I protest against such orders!” exclaimed the president; “and I will give an account of your conduct to the assembly.” Some of the members proposed to repair to the terrace of Marly, and invite the king to join them; but by this time M. Bailly, accompanied by the secretaries and a few deputies, was seated in the Tennis-court * of Versailles, and sent an invitation to all the representatives to repair thither. The people, electrified by the conduct of their deputies, in their turn excited new zeal by their plaudits; some of the soldiery, partaking of the general enthusiasm, formed a guard of honour at the entrance †, while one of the members, who had been confined to his bed, caused himself to be carried into the hall. Nor

National assembly meets in a tennis-court.

* This building is situate *rue de Vieux Versailles*.

† Précis de la Révolution Fran. par Rabaut de Saint-Etienne.

was the conduct of the assembly unworthy the occasion ; for, as SECT. VI. if actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies arose and 1789. took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be Oath. formed, and the regeneration of France completed. So odious was the conduct of the court, that Mounier *, one of the most moderate men in the assembly, suggested this measure ; that one deputy † only objected to the proceedings ; and that upwards of six hundred, after walking through a torrent of rain, solemnly pledged themselves to each other and to the nation, to save their country, and to resist every effort that might be made by tyranny to dissolve them.

THE heralds having prorogued the royal session to the 23d of June, to give time for the removal of the galleries destined for the spectators, the third-estate presented the extraordinary spectacle of the representatives of a nation wandering from street to street in search of a proper place to assemble in. The Tennis-court, the scene of their deliberations on the preceding day, was completely filled with spectators : they were once more repulsed with rudeness from their own hall ; and the church of the Recollets was found inconvenient. At length they took refuge Junction of the majority of the clergy. in that of St. Louis ; and on the 22d of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon, their numbers were augmented by one hundred and forty-nine deputies of the clergy, with the archbishop of

* Mounier has since asserted, that his reason for proposing this oath, proceeded from a wish to prevent what he considered as a greater evil—the adjournment of the states-general to Paris. It is certain, however, that at the period alluded to, he professed himself a friend of *reform*, and was then as much dissatisfied at the measures of the court, as he was afterwards displeased with the proceedings of the assembly. It cannot indeed be denied, that on this and many other occasions the states-general were expressly driven to measures of hostility for their own defence.

† The sole dissentient vote was given by M. Martin, deputy from Castelnaudari ; and as he persisted in his opposition, a minute was made of this circumstance in the journals, as a proof the liberty of opinions.

SECT. VI. Vienne and the bishop of Chartres at their head. They were
 1789. also joined by the marquis of Blacon, and the count d'Augoult, two of the nobility of Dauphiné, a province which had long evinced its love for liberty, and never despaired of the publick cause, while it was confided to the care of virtuous men.

[June 23.]
 Royal session.

ON the day appointed, the three orders were assembled by the king's command, and the court appeared with more than usual splendour: but the eyes of the deputies do not appear to have been dazzled by this display of grandeur; neither were their minds terrified by the numerous detachments by which they were surrounded; nor their pride mortified by entering, as before, at a back door, and being exposed to the rain, while the two privileged orders were permitted to seat themselves at their ease in the chief places which had been exclusively assigned to them. The speech which the king was advised to deliver on this occasion, was not in the least calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes that had taken place, his majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulling the celebrated decree, by which the commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He, at the same time, alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the states-general in the enactment of laws: on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of *lettres de cachet*—subject, however, to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal incidents, the most cruel of all the restraints to which any nation can be subjected.

HAVING thus decided as to the organisation of the states-general; exhibited the extent of his inclinations in respect to those reforms, which he appeared to consider as favours; and acted in the presence of the representatives of the nation with

the same inconsiderate haughtiness, as if he had presided at a parliamentary bed of justice, or a meeting of the notables; Louis withdrew, having previously commanded the deputies to break up immediately, and repair on the following day to their respective chambers.

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His majesty was immediately followed by the nobles and the minority of the clergy; but the commons remained motionless; while the workmen, who had received orders to take down the throne, and the other decorations, being appalled by their presence, desisted from their labours. Amidst the awful silence that ensued, M. de Brezé, grand-master of the ceremonies, approached, and intimated the king's orders to retire*; but he in his turn was struck with awe, and withdrew, after receiving a severe rebuke from the count de Mirabeau, who already began to distinguish himself by the strength and promptitude of his eloquence.

Firmness of
the assembly.

CAMUS, Barnave, Gregoire, and Petion, names intimately connected with subsequent events, inveighed loudly against the aggression committed on the representatives of the nation; Sieyes, at the same time, delivered his opinion with epigrammatick sententiousness†; and it was instantly and unanimously decreed—"that they persisted in their former resolutions."

No sooner had this been voted, than, on the suggestion of Mirabeau, the persons of the deputies were declared sacred and

* "Messieurs, vous connoissez les intentions du roi!" "Oui, Monsieur," lui repond M. de Mirabeau, "nous avons entendu les intentions qu'on a suggérées au roi; & vous, qui ne sauriez être son organe auprès des états-généraux, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes fait pour nous rapeler son discours. Cependant, pour éviter toute equivoque & tout délai, je déclare que si l'on vous a chargé de nous faire sortir d'ici, vous devez demander des ordres pour employer la force, car nous ne quitterons nos places que par la puissance de la bayonette."

† "Messieurs! vous êtes aujourd'hui ce que vous étiez hier."

SECT. VI. inviolable, by a great and decided majority of four hundred and
 1789. ninety-three to thirty-four.

Union of all
 the orders.

THE triumph of the commons was now so complete, that forty-seven of the nobles, headed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, repaired to the hall of the states; and on the 27th, the minority of the clergy, and the majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the king, followed their example, only four days subsequent to the royal speech, which had prohibited this very junction. No sooner were the people of Versailles made acquainted with this memorable event, than they repaired to the palace, and saluted the royal family with the most grateful acclamations: they then repaired to the house of M. Necker, who had not been present at the royal session, and hailed him as the tutelar divinity of the empire. A general illumination closed the evening.

Conspiracy
 against the
 assembly.

IN the mean time, notwithstanding all these appearances of joy, the most violent counsels were recurred to by his majesty's secret advisers; and it cannot be denied, that the first act of perfidy was plotted on the part of the court. Orders had been for some time issued to collect a large body of troops; and as the French soldiery could not now be depended on, foreigners were preferred to the national regiments. Thirty-five thousand men were already cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital; twenty thousand more were expected; a formidable train of artillery was provided at a prodigious expence; camps began to be traced out; the commanding eminences were crowned with batteries; the roads and bridges occupied by military posts; and the marshal de Broglie, who had acquired great reputation by his exploits against the enemies of his country, and had become grey under arms, was nominated to the chief command*.

* Dumouriez, although at that period in Normandy, was made acquainted with the intentions of government: he disapproved, however, of the military measures, and actually transmitted his own plan to the court.

THE capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now agitated to an extraordinary degree. A little before the assembling of the states-general, some commotions had taken place there, and a paper manufactory belonging to an ingenious tradesman of the name of Reveillon, falsely accused of starving his workmen, was plundered. The whole odium of the tumult, said to have originated in the perfidy of the abbé Roy, one of the royal censors, and secretary to the count d'Artois, fell entirely on the court, notwithstanding the indemnification presented by his majesty to the sufferer, at the

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“The marshal de Broglie,” says he, “had crowded his infantry into three or four little camps, very near the city; his cavalry occupied the two plains of Grenelle and St. Denys; and his heavy artillery had already arrived in the latter place. He had only thrown a garrison of fifty Swiss into the Bastille.

“Dumouriez instantly told his friend, that if they persevered in maintaining so absurd and unmilitary a position, they would most assuredly be beaten; that the defection of the French guards ought to serve as an example of the folly of placing the troops so near the women of the town, the seduction of good cheer, and the blandishments of the Palais-royal. He besought him immediately to transmit the following disposition, and to press its adoption if it were still in time:

1. “To garrison the Bastille with a major-general and four battalions, who ought to occupy the arsenal as far as the river, and throw up a trench in their front, to separate them from the suburb St. Antoine, and the quay.

2. “To post five hundred men with cannon in the isle of Louviers, on purpose to produce a cross-fire from the batteries there, at the Bastille and the arsenal, in case the people should attack them by the quays.

3. “To post six battalions behind the first division, with a *corps* of cavalry in the peninsula of St. Maur, occupying Vincennes, so as to succour the Bastille.

4. “To withdraw all the little camps of the *Champ de Mars*, the *Bois de Boulogne*, and the *Champs Elysée*, and assemble them on the heights of St. Cloud, Sevres, and Meudon, with the river before them; and to entrench another *corps* of eight or ten thousand men at St. Denys, continuing to occupy the two plains of St. Denys and Grenelle with the cavalry and hussars.

“By these means Paris would have been blockaded, and the king saved; for the first movement made by Dumouriez, would have been to insure the person of Louis XVI.”—*La Vie de Dumouriez*, t. I.

SECT. VI. intercession of the comptroller-general of the finances. The
 1789. foldiers, on this occasion, had acted with the most scrupulous devotion to the will of their officers, and taken signal vengeance on the misled and frantick rabble, by killing such as appeared on the top of the buildings, with ball cartridges, and putting all those found either in the cellars, or the apartments, to death with the bayonet.

It was generally supposed that the secret advisers of the king intended, by this early instance of military execution, to terrify the Parisians into submission; but the desired effect was not produced. On the contrary, although this event was still fresh in their memory, the people now assembled in prodigious multitudes, in the gardens of the *Palais-royal*, and, dividing into groupes, were addressed by certain persons whom they styled "Orators," with a degree of eloquence that did not fail to please, and even to fascinate. These zealously defended their own rights in those of the assembly, and were accustomed to receive summaries of its proceedings from Versailles, which they read aloud to the multitude; contriving by these means to excite their curiosity, and animate their zeal. The cry of liberty at length became infectious, and extended even to those who had hitherto been the blind supporters of every measure of the court, and had more than once shed the blood of their fellow-subjects without remorse, on the most trifling provocation.

Defection of
the French
guards.

A LARGE body of the soldiery becoming part of the people themselves, in consequence of their long residence in and connection with the capital, began to make a common cause with its inhabitants, and discriminate between the rights of men and the duties of soldiers. Nor were other means of seduction wanting: they were loaded with presents and caresses; they were feasted for whole days and nights in the *Palais-royal*, the residence and property of the duke of Orleans; and to the delights of wine, were added the fascinations of gold, and the blandishments of

women. Eleven of them having been confined to the abbey, it was reported that their sole offence consisted in refusing to fire on the citizens; on this they were instantly freed from their bondage by the populace, and led home in triumph: but, on mature deliberation, they suffered themselves to be reconducted to prison, and the national assembly having interceded for their pardon, they were released by his majesty's command. Nor was the defection confined to the military inhabiting the capital alone; for although the hussars and dragoons had received instructions to attack the multitude who had forced the prison, instead of obeying the orders of their superiours, they laid down their arms and joined the insurgents.

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NEVERTHELESS the spirit of disaffection had not as yet extended further than Paris, and the most formidable preparations still menaced the speedy dissolution of the national assembly, and even the punishment of some of its members. The life-guards were kept constantly mounted at Versailles; the Swiss were also stationed around the castle; while a body of Germans was posted in the Orangery. The foreign regiments of Royal-Cravate, Royal-Pologne, Helmstatt, Dießback, Salisamade, and Châteaueux infantry; the hussars of Bercheny, Esterhazy, the royal dragoons, the regiments of Provence and of Vintimille, with those of Besançon and le Fere, were also kept in constant readiness to act. Such was the formidable body of men destined, with others then on their march, to restore the royal authority to the plenitude of power almost uninterruptedly enjoyed by the monarchs of France, ever since the time of Louis XI.

Foreign regiments collected at Versailles.

NOR was the conduct of the king in the least calculated to remove suspicion; for when the deputies, alarmed for their safety, and even for their existence, besought his majesty to withdraw the troops that surrounded them, he observed in reply, that he was willing to remove the assembly to Noyon or Soissons,

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while he himself would repair to Compeigne: a measure which would have rendered their situation still more precarious and insecure, by placing the members between the army in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the troops collected in Flanders and Alsace.

Necker
banished a
second time.

ON the 12th of July, the day after this very ambiguous answer had been returned, Necker, the only minister on whom either the nation or its representatives had any reliance, being suddenly deprived of his office, was sent once more into exile; and the new administration was said to consist of de Breteuil, Foulon, la Galéfiere, la Porte, and the marshal de Broglio; all of whom were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient despotism.

Conduct of
the Parisians.

WHILE the deputies, incapable of making any resistance, stood aghast, the citizens of Paris were taking measures to alter the destiny of the assembly, the monarch, and the empire. They began by carrying in triumph the busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans, each of whom had been, at different times, the victim of despotism. Being attacked by a patrol of the Royal Allemande, several persons were wounded, but the latter was at length obliged to take refuge in the Tuilleries, where the prince de Lambesc, according to report, struck an old man walking there for his recreation: this little incident produced a prodigious effect on the minds of the people.

As the inhabitants of the capital now apprehended that all their fears were about to be realised, that the national assembly was intended to be dissolved by force, and the chief city of the empire on the point of being invaded by an hostile army, the consternation at first was general. But it was not succeeded by a panick terror, the produce of despair; on the contrary, a degree of activity and energy ensued, almost incompatible with the habits of a luxurious people, and the situation of an unarmed multitude, devoted, in case they failed, to all the horrors of military execution. It was at this critical period, that Gorsas,

then a schoolmaster, and afterwards a deputy, with a stentorian voice, continued to harangue a large body of citizens in one quarter ; at the same time that Camille Desmoulins, a celebrated advocate, with a pistol in each hand, addressed an eloquent oration to the surrounding multitude in another ; and after being exhausted with fatigue, and rendered unable to proceed, still contrived to articulate the words—" To arms ! to arms !" SECT. VI.
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WHILE the women and children, terrified at the first appearance of the troops, rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, the alarm bell was rung in every parish ; the theatres were shut ; cannon were fired by way of signal ; some of the citizens barricaded their houses, and prepared to defend themselves against the assailants ; while the multitude, unprovided with any certain means of annoyance, rushed into and seized all the arms to be found in the shops of the gun-smiths and armourers, and then proceeded towards the town-house.

ON this critical occasion, when every thing depended on the conduct adopted by the French guards, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in that corps, repaired to the barracks, and contrived to excite their passions, arouse their ambition, and subdue their fidelity. At nine o'clock in the evening, they accordingly sallied out, when being joined by patrols of armed citizens, as well as by a mob, many of whom carried torches, they attacked and dispersed a company of the Royal Allemande. The fugitives having retreated to the main body of their regiment posted in the *Place de Louis XV.* twelve hundred of the guards repaired to the *Palais-royal*, where they held a council of war, and at length determined, although destitute both of officers and artillery, to give battle to the foreigners. They accordingly commenced their march, obtained a complete victory, obliged them to retreat, drove them before them to the *Boulevards*, and at length forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris, and withdraw to Versailles, where they spread dismay and consternation Skirmishes in
the capital.

SECT. VI. among the adherents of the court, whose projects had thus been
 1789. anticipated and disconcerted, the evening of the 14th of July having been the day fixed for an attack on the capital.

WHILE the foldiers were thus engaged in a conteft with each other, an extraordinary circumftance occurred, which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe that enfued. Twenty thoufand men, of different nations, and deftitute alike of bread and occupation, had been employed in cutting roads over the rugged eminence called Montmarte, and now threatened to plunder the capital. A fcarcity approaching to a famine alfo menaced Paris at the fame period ; and in addition to this, were fuperadded the horrors arifing from the vicinity of an hoftile army. In fact, a banditti had already appeared in the fuburbs, and after burning the outlet called the *White Barriers*, began to enter feveral houfes. On this, the neceffity of enforcing a project already fuggelted by Mirabeau, became indifpenfable for the fecurity of the opulent inhabitants: it was instantly refolved, therefore, without any previous confultation, to form a city militia; and the electors of Paris accordingly affembled the inhabitants in the churches of the fixty diftricts, in which they had met but four months before for the choice of deputies. The old magiftrates were immediately depofed and new ones nominated: the citizens ran in crowds to infcribe their names as defenders of their country. M. de Salle, on the refusal of M. d'Aumont, was voted to the command: permanent committees were eftablifhed; and red and blue ribbands adopted as diftinctive marks. Arms being ftill wanting, upwards of thirty thoufand men marched to the hofpital of the invalids, feized on the artillery, and obtained poffeffion of about fifty thoufand mufkets, fabres, and pikes, which had been concealed there.

they obtain
arms;

THE citizens were immediately marfhalled, and more than fixty thoufand enrolled and diftributed into companies: patroles were eftablifhed in every diftrict: the ferjeants and grenadiers of

the French guards were appointed officers: cannon were immediately posted on the Pont-neuf, the Pont-royal, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the *Place Dauphiné*, admirably situate for this purpose, was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the head-quarters of the patriotick army, as it now began to be called.

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1789.

THE revolution had thus actually commenced, yet the spirit of insurrection would have been soon subdued, but for a bold and audacious enterprize, that disconcerted the measures of a feeble court, and enabled an undisciplined populace, with the aid of a few companies of regulars, to shake the throne to its foundations, and terrify a king surrounded by one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, nearly one-fourth of whom were foreigners, into immediate submission.

SOME unknown individual, on the morning of the 14th ^{march} of July, after attracting the attention of the citizens, exclaimed—^{against} “Let us take the *Bastille*!” The name of this fortress, which recalled to the memory of the people every thing hateful and odious in the ancient despotism, operated with all the effect of electricity. The cry of “To the Bastille!” resounded from rank to rank, from street to street, from the Palais-royal to the suburbs of St. Antoine. An army, composed of citizens and soldiers, provided with pikes forged during the night, with muskets procured at the Invalids, with gilded lances and battle-axes, snatched from the *Garde Meuble*, was immediately formed. The French guards were prevailed upon to join this motley crew; and the close order of their march, their shining firelocks, their military appearance, and their cannon, while they exhibited a striking contrast to their party-coloured allies, afforded the only reasonable hope of reducing a fortress, hitherto terrible to the Parisians, and which since the time of the cruel Louis XI. had been accustomed to receive and to devour the victims of royal despotism. Deputations from the *Hotel de Ville*; an astonishing

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crowd in motion from the vicinity ; a body of armed men in front, and troops marching to their support from all parts of an immense capital ; at once serve to puzzle, perplex, and intimidate de Launay the governor, who sometimes parleys, and sometimes fights with the assailants. At length Louis Tournay, formerly a private in the regiment of Dauphiné, scrambled over the guard-house, and by means of an hatchet forced the first draw-bridge. Others, at the same time, broke open the outer gate and entered the court ; but being driven out by the fire of the garrison, several were killed on the spot. On this the assailants, becoming furious, brought up three waggons loaded with straw, set fire to them, and by their means to the outworks. At that critical period arrived a detachment of the grenadiers of Ruffeville, and fusileers of Lubersac, commanded by two non-commissioned officers ; Wagnier, serjeant-major ; and Labarthe, serjeant of grenadiers : these were followed by a numerous body of burghers, under the command of a citizen of the name of Hulin, who had prevailed upon the French guards to march to the assistance of the multitude.

and take the
Bastille.

No sooner had this reinforcement made its appearance, than it was joined by some of the invalids : two four-pounders, a mortar, and a cannon plated with silver, which was found in the *Garde Meuble*, form a battery in front ; another was constructed at the passage of Les Diguieres ; a third at the postern, which communicates with the garden of the arsenal : the gates were at length forced, the besiegers enter, and a castle is taken by storm in less than four hours, which had menaced France for nearly as many ages ; and which an army, headed by the great Condé, had formerly besieged in vain during three-and-twenty days !

DE LAUNAY, whose name had been long odious to the Parisians, was put to death in his way to the town-house ; M. de Lofme, the major, a man of great humanity, unhappily experienced a similar fate ; Requart, a subaltern officer, who had

prevented the governor from setting fire to the powder magazine, was also killed ; and the whole garrison would perhaps have been sacrificed by an enraged populace, had it not been for the generous intervention of the French guards, who petitioned for, and obtained mercy.

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1789.

IN the mean time, de Fleffelles, the provost of the merchants, having been accused of a conspiracy, escaped from the Hôtel de Ville, but was shot in the Place de Grève, and his head carried about in procession with that of the governor of the Bastille :—a horrid kind of spectacle, which at length accustomed the people to the spilling of human blood, let loose all the furies of vengeance and proscription, and tended not a little to tarnish the glories of this memorable day !

Fury of the
populace.

DURING these proceedings, the assembly, after having in vain petitioned the king for the removal of the troops, and declared the new ministers responsible for all the disasters that might ensue, proclaimed that M. Necker carried along with him the regret and esteem of the nation, and remained for two days and two nights without adjournment. At length the joyful intelligence arrived of the warlike attitude of the Parisians, the capture of the Bastille, and the preparations for forming a strong and powerful army within the walls of the city. These events, which had been carefully concealed from the unfortunate but weak and credulous monarch, although they occurred at seven in the afternoon, were first communicated to him by the duke de Liancourt, who repaired to his chamber at midnight, and made him acquainted with the situation of the capital !

ON the succeeding morning his majesty repaired to the assembly, and intimated that he had given orders for the retreat of the troops ; on this a deputation of eighty-four members was sent to communicate the intelligence to the citizens, who now elected M. Bailly mayor of Paris, and intrusted the command of the national guards to the marquis de la Fayette.

Foreign
troops or-
dered to
withdraw.

SECT. VI. THE Bastille was immediately devoted to destruction: the
 1789. unhappy prisoners* were released; some were carried through the principal streets in triumph; the instruments of torture were dragged from the dungeons and exposed to day, and the destiny of the monarch and the monarchy seemed to be already decided.

SECTION VII.

SECT. VII. THE fate of the Bastille, so important in other respects, involved
 1789. in it that of a prince of the blood, and a number of the nobility, hitherto invariably attached to the royal family and cause. Participating in the preparations that had been made to reduce Paris,

Terrour of
the courtiers.

* Here follows a list of the prisoners:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Tavernier, | 5. De Whyte, supposed to be an Englishman, |
| 2. Pujade, | 6. La Caurege, |
| 3. La Roche, | and |
| 4. The count de Solages, | 7. Béchadé. |

The mildness of the government has been inferred from the small number of unhappy persons liberated on this occasion; but it ought to be recollected, that the amiable and virtuous Malesherbes had but a little before solicited and obtained a commission for releasing such as were the victims of despotism; and that, in addition to the Bastille, the ministers were accustomed to commit those whom they either feared or suspected, to Pierre-en-Cise, the castles of Ham and Joux, the isles of St. Marguerite, the *maisons de force* of Château-Thierry, Rouen, Mont St. Michel, Charenton, &c.

It may not be amiss also to remind such as are friendly to a system of *secret imprisonment* in this country, on account of political opinions, or delinquencies (a recent custom in express opposition to the mild spirit of the English laws), that it appears clearly from the annals of the Bastille, that insanity or idiotism generally ensued: of the seven prisoners enumerated above, two were actually sent to a mad-house.

and either intimidate or dissolve the assembly, they learned with equal indignation and surprise, that the fable of the ancients had been realised, and an immense military force, completely armed, accoutred and equipped, had arisen in the course of a single night out of the earth, and was crying aloud for vengeance. The troops, on whose fidelity the authority of the monarchy was founded, were beheld by them in a state of mutiny; even the foreign mercenaries, alarmed at their own critical situation, were afraid to engage in the horrors of a civil war, during which they could not expect quarter.

THEY also considered themselves as abandoned by the king, who had now adopted the patriotick cockade in consequence of a visit to the capital, and with whose timidity and irresolution they were but too well acquainted; nothing, in short, but a speedy flight seemed calculated to save them from immediate destruction. The count d'Artois, the presumptive heir of the throne, having been informed that a price was set upon his head by the Parisians, escaped with his two sons during the night, and deemed himself fortunate in having eluded the vengeance of his countrymen. The marshal de Broglio, whose name had been once dear to his country, retreated with part of his army, now on its march to the frontiers, and every-where assailed with stones and menaces by the people; under its protection he at length found refuge in the dominions of the house of Austria. Breteuil, who had enjoyed the confidence of the queen, and occupied a high situation in the government, betook himself also to flight. The princes of Condé and Conti, as well as the dukes de Luxemburgh and Vauguion, quickly followed; and these were speedily succeeded by the abbés de Calonne and Maury, Cazales, and d'Eprémefnil, the three last of whom were stopped, and obliged to return.

Emigration
of the gran-
dees.

IT was in vain that Foulon, an unpopular contractor, made use of a stratagem, and had recourse even to a supposititious burial, with

SECT. VII. a view of concealing himself: the place of his retreat was discovered by his own tenants, by whom he was hated, and he was conducted to Paris with his neck surrounded by a collar of nettles, a bunch of thistles stuck in his bosom by way of nosegay, and a truss of hay fastened to his back. Notwithstanding the prayers and intreaties of Bailly and la Fayette, he was put to death by a frantick mob, while his son-in-law, Berthier, is said to have fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of an exasperated individual. The duchess de Polignac, who had long enjoyed the queen's confidence, disguising herself like a chambermaid, after experiencing a variety of obstacles, at length found herself safe at Basle, and was the first to announce to M. Necker, whom she met there, the changes that had taken place in France. She also informed the exiled minister, that couriers had been dispatched with letters from the national assembly and the king, inviting him to return. He accordingly set out on his journey, which seemed to be a continual triumph, and was lucky enough to preserve the life of M. de Bezenval, commander of the Swiss troops, who was exposed to the fury of the Parisians, in consequence of an intercepted letter, in which he had issued orders to de Launay to defend the Bastille to the last extremity.

Necker is recalled.

IN the mean time, while the assembly was yet uncertain of its own fate, and that of the nation, it had determined, in case of the worst, to leave behind it a monument of its patriotism and zeal. The following celebrated "Declaration of Rights" was accordingly voted, after three different plans had been submitted by la Fayette, Mounier, and Sieyes, and at length obtained the sanction of the king:

Declaration of right.

THE representatives of the people of France, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of publick misfortunes, and the corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable

rights ; that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the social body, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties ; that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, thus rendered capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected ; and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness :

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1789.

FOR these reasons the national assembly doth recognise and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens :

I. MEN were born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect to their rights ; civil distinctions, therefore, can be only founded on publick utility.

II. THE end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man ; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

III. THE nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty ; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. POLITICAL liberty consists in the power of doing whatever doth not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights ; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

V. THE law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered ; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. THE law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their

SECT. VII. ^{1789.} representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. THE law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. EVERY man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the publick order established by the law.

XI. THE unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of his liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A PUBLICK force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

XIII. A COMMON contribution being necessary for the support

of the publick force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

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XIV. EVERY citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of publick contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. EVERY community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. EVERY community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. THE right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident publick necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

THE attention of the assembly was now suddenly diverted from the formation of a constitutional code, to the unhappy situation of the empire in consequence of the anarchy that succeeded the extinction of the ancient despotism, and for which it was found difficult to administer any immediate or effectual relief. It is truly lamentable, that among the many ills originating from, or inherent in slavery, it renders its victims long unfit for the enjoyment of the very blessings they have panted after; and that the enfranchised bondman, like the miserable prisoner long immured in a gloomy dungeon, is utterly unable at first to enjoy the genial light of liberty. We accordingly find, that the vassalage of several centuries had steeled the hearts of a great portion of the nation to humanity, and instead of deriving happiness from the transition, many dreamed only of avenging the wrongs of ages in the blood of their oppressors, and obtaining that wealth from plunder, of which they had hitherto been deprived the chance of acquiring, by prejudice and injustice.

Distracted
state of
France.

ALL the great cities were at the same time agitated by the

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dread of famine, and the necessities of the populace, fanaticised by the spirit of the times, and unfortunately mistaking licence for liberty; while Paris, the cradle of the revolution, contained a prodigious number of individuals, whose daily subsistence arose from fraud and violence alone. The peasantry, but too long oppressed by their lords, seemed to consider this as a favourable opportunity for making reprisals: unhappily they were not content with the liberation of themselves and children from manerial servitude. Many of the castles of the nobles were accordingly attacked, pillaged, and burned; while they themselves, with their wives and their offspring, by a sad reverse, were now exposed to the insults, the menaces, and sometimes even the vengeance of the unhappy villagers, whom they had irritated into madness. Many instances occurred, however, in which a generous oblivion ensued, and in few or no cases did the good and beneficent landholder experience ingratitude as a retribution for his benevolence.

Abolition of
the feudal
system.

THE assembly, fully impressed with the necessity of restoring peace and tranquillity, passed a decree on the evening of the 4th of August, enjoining the taxes to be paid as usual, and enforcing the law for the security of persons and of property. But in the course of that celebrated night a memorable measure was proposed and carried, and to the honour of the nobles, it must be acknowledged to have originated with them. The vicomte de Noailles, in a generous burst of patriotism, declared, that the only way to allay the effervescence that had taken place in the provinces, was to suppress the most odious of the feudal claims, to abolish personal servitude, and receive a compensation in money for those rights that had any foundation in justice. The duke d'Aiguillon, who possessed extensive royalties, complained of the oppression of the sub-delegates or stewards, the judges, the gamekeepers, and the agents, of the great proprietors, who not unfrequently ruined the vassals of their lords, by employing all the

rigours of the feudal laws on purpose to oppress them; he at the same time, in his own name, and that of his order, cheerfully renounced the pecuniary exemptions hitherto claimed by the nobles, and moved that the imposts should be levied on all men in proportion to their property.

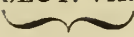
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M. LE GUEN DE KERANGALL exclaimed against *bannalites*, *franc-fiefs*, *corvées*, *grueries*, *main-mortes*, and all the barbarous jargon introduced by the feudal laws; he deprecated the exercise of certain pretended rights that were an outrage to modesty and humanity; and he expressed his horror at those caprices of the ancient tyranny, which required that men should be harnessed to waggons instead of cattle, or obliged to pass whole nights in preventing the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their voluptuous lords. This speech was frequently interrupted by loud and general plaudits; but when M. la Poule spoke of *mortmain*, both real and personal, of the obligation imposed by some lords on their wretched vassals, to feed and maintain their dogs, and the dreadful cruelties formerly practised in certain cantons by the nobles after their return from the chase *—a cry of horror and indignation was heard from all parts of the hall!

THE duke de Chatelet insisted on the propriety of converting tithes in kind into money rents. The bishop of Nanci, in the name of the clergy, who had been hitherto silent, acceded to this proposition; the bishop of Chartres, who possessed several forests,

Sacrifices on
the part of
the clergy
and nobility.

* I have avoided the mention of the atrocious circumstance here alluded to in the text, as it had been doubtless obsolete for ages, and it is to be hoped, for the honour of humanity, was never enforced:—" & de cet horrible droit, relégué sans doute depuis des siècles dans les poudreux momens de la barbarie de nos pères, par lequel le seigneur étoit autorisé dans certains cantons à faire éventrer deux de ses vassaux à son retour de la chasse, pour se délasser en mettant ses pieds dans le corps sanglant de ces malheureux." Whocver wishes to become acquainted with the proceedings of this memorable evening, ought to consult the *procès-verbal*, drawn up by M. Frétau.

SECT. VII.  1789. after condemning the tyranny of those customs, which force the farmer to be a silent spectator of the ravages committed on the fruits of his industry, proposed the abolition of the exclusive rights of the chace and the game laws; on this the duke de Mortemart testified his own assent, and that of the nobles. M. de St. Fargeau next insisted that the clergy and nobility should resign their pecuniary exemptions; one member moved for the suppression of warrens, another of private fisheries; not a single dissentient voice was heard: M. de Riché proposed that judicial offices should be no longer venal, but that justice should henceforth be administered gratuitously; the count de Virieux was for relinquishing the privilege of dove-cots; the duke de la Rochefoucaud requested the complete enfranchisement of the bondsmen throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, and the melioration of the fate of the unhappy negroes detained in slavery by avarice in another hemisphere. Nay, such was the enthusiasm that pervaded the assembly on this occasion, that some ecclesiasticks, possessed of several benefices, declared that they would henceforth confine themselves to one, in conformity to the canons; while the parish-priests consented with joy to the abolition of their fees.

AT the same time the deputies of Dauphiné, Brittany, Provence, Burgundy, and Languedoc, resigned the privileges claimed by their respective provinces; the representatives of the cities of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and Strasburgh, transported with a generous emulation, renounced their exclusive claims, and declared that henceforth in France there should be but one law, one nation, one family, and one honourable title—that of a French citizen.

ON the succeeding day it was suggested, that as tithes operated in the manner of a premium against agriculture and a tax upon industry, that they should be immediately suppressed: this was at first strenuously opposed by the clergy, particularly by the abbé

Sieyes, but the eloquence of Mirabeau and Chaffet finally prevailed ; and the archbishop of Paris at length consented in the name of his brethren, with a good grace, to what had become inevitable. After this a solemn *Te Deum* being chaunted, the benediction of religion was bestowed, for the first time, on regenerated France, and Louis XVI. complimented with the title of “ The Restorer of Liberty.”

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MONEY, however, was still wanting for the usual operations of government. M. Necker therefore proposed a loan of thirty millions of livres, at five per cent ; but the assembly, confiding in the credit of the nation, reduced the interest to four and a half, in consequence of which the project miscarried : another of a similar kind being substituted, forty millions only out of eighty were subscribed. On this, patriotick gifts were resorted to ; these, however, although numerous, proved ineffectual. At length the comptroller-general, relying on his popularity, suggested a measure that would have startled a Sully or a Colbert, and which could only have been tolerated from a hope of liberty : this was the extraordinary contribution of the fourth of the revenue of each subject, the estimate of which was left entirely to his own conscience.

New loans
and patriotick
donations.

THE next object that engaged the attention of this body was the constitution, and after a variety of long and interesting debates, biennial legislatures were agreed to ; the *suspensive veto* on all laws was granted to the king ; and the representatives were to form but one chamber, eighty-nine members only out of a thousand having voted for two houses, in imitation of the parliament of England.

New constitution.

THE national assembly had by this time acquired an ascendancy over the nation, and its popularity was daily increasing both in the capital and the provinces ; in short, although a great difference of opinion subsisted among the members, no serious reproach had hitherto been incurred. His majesty, however, yielding

Letter from
the king.

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1789.

either to the bias of his advisers, or the weakness of his own judgment, in a long letter, addressed to the legislative body, stated his reasons at length for refusing his full assent to the proceedings of the 4th of August, which had overturned the feudal system, annihilated tithes, and abolished the tribute hitherto paid to the court of Rome, by far the most popular and useful measures that had been as yet adopted: this argumentative composition was resented as an attempt to influence the legislature, by entering into a discussion of laws which he had been called upon simply to approve or reject, and contributed not a little, by the suspicions it aroused, to the terrible catastrophe that ensued. A report also prevailed, which has been since countenanced by subsequent events, that at the instigation of his consort, the king was about to remove to Metz, in Lorraine, and attempt a counter-revolution by means of the army on the frontiers. In the mean time the court affected to be alarmed for its safety, and not content with four thousand of the national militia, headed by a nobleman * devoted to it, the Swiss troops on duty, and the bodyguards, who had been doubled, determined to call in the assistance of a *corps* of foreign mercenaries, the very name of whom had become odious in France.

The regiment
of Flanders
called in.

THE regiment of Flanders was accordingly sent for. The king testified his satisfaction at this measure, and soon after its arrival the *gardes du corps*, composed of nobles only, who had never worn the national cockade, and were the only troops in France that had not taken the *civick oath*, invited the officers and several of the military men to a banquet, which was remarkable on several accounts, particularly as being unprecedented in the first place, and in the next, as being given in one of the principal apartments of the castle of Versailles. After the health of the royal family had been drank, that of the nation was proposed,

Banquet in
the castle of
Versailles.

* M. d'Estaing.

and refused. On this, Louis XVI. having entered, accompanied by her majesty, leading the dauphin by the hand, the royal family was received with loud acclamations, in presence of the Swiss guards and other troops who lined the hall. SECT. VII.
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AFTER they had walked round the table, and saluted the guests, they prepared to retire, on which the bands belonging to the guards and the regiment of Flanders immediately played an air * considered for some time past as a signal of disaffection. At length the officers, inebriated with wine, are said to have trod the national colours under foot, while M. de Perceval, aide-du-camp to the count d'Estaing, scaling a balcony, provided white cockades for himself, and distributed others to those around him. These *orgies*, as the patriots termed them, continued until the morning, and were repeated next day, when the number of guests was increased, and the same ridiculous scenes and impotent menaces renewed.

PETION was the first to denounce this entertainment, under the name of a plot, to the national assembly ; and Mirabeau, after declaring, if the king's person alone were considered as sacred, that he would bring forward an impeachment himself against two conspicuous characters, informed those around him, after he had sat down, that the queen and the duke de Guiche, colonel of the life-guards, were the objects to whom he alluded. Threat of
Mirabeau.

BUT while the rage of the *left-hand* side of the assembly, where the democratical leaders were seated, evaporated in ineffectual suspicions and empty threats, it was far otherwise with the inhabitants of Paris, who were goaded on by a famine, which they were taught to consider as an artifice of the court, and possessed both the desire and the means of vengeance. The commotion began among the women, who ran about crying out "Bread! bread!" on the morning of the 5th of October.

* "O Richard, O mon roi!"

SECT. VII. Seizing on a person of the name of Maillard, they forced him to become their conductor; and being joined by a multitude of armed men, and followed by a company of the volunteers of the Bastille, and several cannon, they set out for Versailles. The national guards, actuated by a similar impulse, insisted on marching thither also; and la Fayette, after obtaining the sanction of the municipality, deemed it prudent to accede to the proposition. He was unable, however, to prevent the events that ensued; for some of the mob having burst into the castle, sacrificed two of the body guards to their fury, and the life of the queen was perhaps saved by the gallantry of a third, called Mionandre, for the name of that princess was now generally execrated: her majesty, however, soon after appeared at a balcony, protected by the presence of her consort, and still more by that of the dauphin, whom she held in her arms: the guards also, for the first time, placed the national cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy. On this the popular fury seemed to subside, but the cry of "To Paris! to Paris!" clearly intimated their intentions, and his majesty thought proper to comply. The king accordingly repaired thither, preceded by an executioner*, between two wretches, each carrying a bloody head on a pike, accompanied by an immense mob, a deputation of two hundred members of the national assembly, the troops of Paris, and the French guards, who had prevented much violence and bloodshed.

return with
the royal family.

[October 6.]

THIS must be allowed to have been one of the most singular events that have occurred during the whole revolution; for though it had all the appearance of a conspiracy, and the

* This ruffian, a self-constituted executioner, of the name of Nicolas, who exhibited a most hideous aspect, wore a long beard, and a high-crowned hat; his hair, his garments, his hands, his face, and his axe, were all smeared with the blood of Desforges and Varicour, two of the body guards. La Fayette, and many others, attempted in vain to banish this horrid and disgusting spectacle: the Parisian guards, however, placed the rest of the *gardes de corps* under the protection of their colours, and thus conducted them in safety to the capital.

duke of Orleans, and the count de Mirabeau, were said to be implicated in it, and even to have assisted in disguise; yet when the *châtelet*, a tribunal that could not be supposed favourable to them, took cognisance of the affair, they were both acquitted, and the whole proceeding remains involved in a mystery, that can never be solved in any other way, but by supposing the insurrection to have originated solely with the populace of the capital, who were undoubtedly agitated by want, and inflamed by suspicion, to an unusual degree of violence*.

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1789.

MOUNIER, Lally Tolendal, and a number of other distinguished leaders who had lately attached themselves to the king, and acquired additional hatred by being considered as at once deserters and royalists, on seeing no prospect of success in consequence of the weakness of the monarch, now ceased to appear in the assembly; that body, however, continued during the remainder of the year to proceed with vigour and dispatch, in the great business of the formation of a constitution. Having once more declared the persons of the deputies sacred and inviolable, rigorous measures were adopted against sedition, which produced

* It is no less surprising than true, that Louis XV. actually sold a monopoly of corn in France, to a company established for that purpose, on the 12th of July, 1767; this speculation, known by the name of *le bail de l'Averdi*, and generally termed the compact of famine (*un vrai pacte de famine*), was denounced by the parliaments of Rouen and Grenoble, as an infamous traffick; but both the members and their remonstrances were consigned to the Bastille. It was reported that this monopoly was to have been resumed, and firmly believed by the populace that the court had once more produced the famine.

On their return from Versailles, the populace accordingly exclaimed during the intervals between those songs, in which they treated the daughter of Maria Theresa as a Messalina, that they should be no longer destitute of bread: (*Nous ne manquerons plus de pain; nous amènerons le boulanger, & la boulangère!*) and they seemed to be confirmed in their suspicions by the plenty that ensued for some days after.

SECT. VII.

1790.

New constitution.

what has been termed “the massacre of the *Champ de Mars*,” and led to the death of Bailly and the disgrace of la Fayette.

FRANCE was divided into eighty-three departments: a number of important decrees were passed; the municipalities and primary assemblies were organised; the qualification of electors was fixed; provisional laws were enacted relative to criminal jurisprudence; *lettres de cachet*, the most terrible engine of the ancient despotism, were abolished; the *livre rouge*, containing a disgraceful list of peculations, robberies, and misapplications of the publick money, was produced and published; the pay of the army was augmented; the navy was placed on a more economical establishment; the sale of offices was abolished; in short, the remnant of the feudal system was utterly annihilated; privileges of all kinds ceased to exist; the *gabelle*, and other obnoxious taxes, were rescinded, and all distinction of orders forever abolished.

Estates of
the clergy.

THE finances, however, were still in a deplorable situation; but the most vigorous and effectual means were now taken to lessen the enormous debt with which France was overwhelmed, to inspire the publick creditor with new hopes, and to prevent the long-threatened horrors of a national bankruptcy. The grand measure resorted to on this occasion, was to declare the territorial possessions of the clergy and the monastick orders at the disposal of the nation; subject, however, to the charge of providing for the expences of publick worship, the maintenance of the ministers of religion, the monks, the nuns, and the poor: it was accordingly decreed, that no parish priest should have less than twelve hundred livres a-year, besides the parsonage-house and glebe. On this new and immense fund written assignations were given, which obtained the name of *assignats*; and, lest the court of Rome should support the pretensions of the national clergy, who now began to exhibit the most marked discontent, great

Origin of
assignats.

policy was displayed in respect to the pope, who was recognised as the head of the christian church in spiritual concerns, while a strict fidelity to the religion of their forefathers was loudly proclaimed.

SECT. VII.
1790.

THE king had already repaired suddenly, voluntarily, and unexpectedly, to the assembly, and declared his assent to the principles of the constitution;—a measure that disconcerted for a while the machinations of its enemies; while the representatives proceeded in their victorious career, by decreeing mural crowns to the heroes of the Bastille, ordering the figures of the conquered nations to be unchained from the pedestal of the haughty Louis XIV. proclaiming that the French people would never undertake war from a spirit of conquest, and attaching the inhabitants of Corsica to France, by constituting that island a separate department. There was one decree, however, that endeared them more, perhaps, than any other to the bulk of the people: this was the abolition of titles *, armorial bearings, and liveries; and it ought not to be forgotten that it originated with the privileged order. The general joy proceeded from the hatred to feudal privileges; but the measure itself has since been deemed equivocal by some, the nobles, considered as a body, being thus rendered enemies to the new government, and the authors of the civil and foreign wars that ensued: had a balance of powers taken place, and the safety of the state been provided for by a separate chamber, and the vanity of birth gratified by a seat there, much misery, blood, and calamity, might perhaps have been avoided, and a powerful and opulent body interested in the preservation of the liberties of France. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the number of nobles attached to the cause of freedom was by no means commensurate with their talents and abilities; that a decided majority was devoted to the ancient government with all its

King's sanction to the new constitution.

Popular proceedings of the assembly.

[June 19.]
Abolition of nobility.

* See Appendix, vol. I. A.

SECT. VII. abuses, and determined to reconquer their lands, titles, and claims, in the same manner their ancestors had originally acquired them, by means of their swords.

1790.

Confederation at the Champ de Mars.

BUT the nation at this moment was nearly frantick with joy, in consequence of its deliverance from regal and from feudal bondage; and had prepared to celebrate the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, the epoch whence France now dated her liberties. In that plain where, but one year before, a formidable assemblage of troops had menaced the capital with ruin, appeared deputations from all the national guards, and all the regular troops, infantry, cavalry, marines, and foreign soldiers, in the kingdom, in addition to three hundred thousand spectators of both sexes. The king, the representatives, two thousand musicians, two hundred priests clothed in white surplices, ornamented with three-coloured ribbands, and preceded by the bishop of Autun dressed in his episcopal robes, tended not a little to add dignity to this grand and imposing scene; at the close of which the monarch, the national assembly, and armed citizens, took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution.

Disturbances in St. Domingo.

IN the mean time the spirit of anarchy and disorganisation which had overspread the kingdom, and extended to the army and navy, at length reached the colonies; in St. Domingo in particular, the free mulattoes, who composed a large portion of the population, relying on the hopes held out by the assembly, began to consider themselves as men, and even to aspire to the rights of citizens, which they conceived themselves expressly entitled to. The white inhabitants, struck with horror at the idea of an equality of rights, on the part of those whom they had hitherto treated with a mortifying contempt, and whose relations by the female side were still exposed to the most rigorous bondage, denied a participation in the elections; both parties on this sent deputies to the mother country; and the pride of the

planters, and the pertinacity of the men of colour, at length SECT. VII. reduced the most flourishing colony belonging to Europe, to 1791. desolation, distraction, and dismay.

FRANCE herself was also destined to experience fresh broils, and become a prey to new miseries. Disturbances of a dangerous nature had already taken place in several of the southern departments: an insurrection, followed by a massacre, occurred in the town of Douai; another sedition had broken out at Nantz; serious commotions were threatened in Bastia; murders of the most frightful nature were perpetrated in the Venaissin and Limousin. The provincial nobility were discontented at being deprived of their titles, their game laws, their feudal claims, and the long catalogue of pretensions, by which they had been enabled to harass and oppress their unhappy vassals. Another numerous and powerful body was also disaffected. A schism had actually taken place in the Gallican church, the vacancies in which were to be henceforth filled up by the free choice of the people. The ecclesiastical body having been re-organised in conformity to the principles of the constitution, it was required of each individual to take the civic oath, and swear to maintain the civil institution of the clergy. Many honest and well-meaning men insisted, that this operated as a restraint on the liberty of conscience, and refused to subscribe: a measure so impolitical, rendered a multitude of them disaffected; and as they still possessed great influence over the minds of their parishioners, especially in the distant provinces, the most dangerous commotions ensued. Multitudes of the peasantry were taught, at length, to curse the revolution that had emancipated them; they sided with the non-juring priests, whom they saw persecuted by such of their brethren as had taken the oaths, and every-where pursued by the civil and military power; in short, in consequence of the union of the clergy and the nobility in Brittany and Poitou, the minds of the people

Disturbances
in France.

Discontents
of the nobility and

Effect of
these.

SECT. VII. were so fanaticised, that the insurrection and civil war of *La*
 1791. *Vendée* at length became inevitable.

Conduct of
 Louis XVI.

IN the mean time the conduct of the king was calculated to produce general dissatisfaction. M. Necker, once the favourite of the nation, finding himself unable to contend with the tempest, had retired to his estate in Switzerland, and none of the other members of the administration possessed the confidence of the people. His majesty was surrounded by men whose principles were hostile to the revolution; his secret advisers had long been objects of suspicion; his queen had become still more unpopular than before; and to conclude the whole, his confessor was chosen from that class of priests which had received the appellation of *refractory*. Deprived by a sudden death of the assistance of Mirabeau, who had been gained by money, he was at present meditating a scheme, in which, if he succeeded, the nation must have encountered all the horrors of a foreign, and perhaps a civil war; on the other hand, if he failed, he exposed himself and his family

Flight of the
 royal family,

on the 20th
 June:

they are ar-
 rested at Va-
 rennes, and

to the certain indignation of the people. The Parisians had long entertained suspicions of the intended departure of Louis XVI. and Bailly the mayor, and la Fayette the commanding officer of the national guard, were repeatedly cautioned on this subject. At length, the king, queen, their children, and madame Elizabeth, fled from the capital, and took the road to Montmedy, with a passport provided by the joint agency of Montmorin the minister for foreign affairs, and M. de Semolin the ambassador from Russia, her majesty personating the baroness de Knoff, and her consort that of superintendant of her family. No obstacle intervened until their arrival at Varennes, when Louis XVI. was recognised by Drouet the post-master of St. Menehould, and detained in consequence of his zeal. Paul le Blanc and Joseph Poncin, two national guards, were the first to stop the carriage, which was drawn by six horses, and accompanied by three outriders. Having been prevailed upon to alight at the house of

Sauflé, a tallow-chandler, his majesty asked for refreshments, and was entertained with some cheese and a bottle of burgundy, which he declared to be excellent. While in this critical situation he thus regaled himself, seemingly at his ease, an escort of hussars came to his assistance from Varennes; but Drouet contrived to keep them in awe by means of a dozen of the national guard, until the arrival of a numerous detachment of that body from Clermont, when the king was reconducted on his way back to the capital, in the face of a large body of the Royal-Allemand, with the son of general Bouillé at its head. His majesty's brother, *Monsieur*, was, however, more fortunate, for he fled nearly at the same time, and arrived at Mons, without experiencing any interruption.

SECT. VII.
1791.

brought back
to Paris.

Escape of
Monsieur.

A GENERAL sentiment of surprise, mingled with indignation, pervaded Paris, on learning the flight of Louis; and had an Orleans faction actually existed, and the descendant of Henry IV. aspired to the crown, a favourable opportunity now presented itself of placing that prince upon the throne.

BUT sentiments of a far different kind prevailed; and the capital, after recovering from the first shock, exhibited the same degree of courage and resolution that it had evinced two years before, when its citizens marched against the Bastille. By one common consent, the effigies of the king and queen were everywhere effaced, and by the evening of that very day all the vestiges of royalty had been destroyed. Every eye and every heart was fixed upon the national assembly, which displayed great firmness, and never once adjourned during the space of a whole week. The national guards having assembled in their respective districts, marched with their colours, and took an oath of fidelity to the nation; the citizens of Paris also were eager to follow the example, and for the space of three whole hours they walked in procession through the hall, and testified their reliance on, and their adherence to, the representatives of the

SECT. VII. people. Instead of the anarchy and confusion that had been
 1791. expected, tranquillity reigned throughout the empire: two
 houses, constituting part of the national domains, were actually
 put up and sold on the 20th of June, at double the price which
 they had been estimated at; all the departments offered levies of
 men; and from the shores of Calais to the Pyrenéan mountains,
 France exhibited the most unequivocal signs of confidence and
 security.

Royal family
 enter Paris,
 [June 25.]

AT length the royal family approached the capital, conducted
 by the citizens of Varennes, and surrounded by an immense
 body of national guards. More than half a million of spectators
 filled the streets and squares as the captive monarch passed along
 to the Tuilleries, but neither reproaches nor murmurs were
 heard this day; on the contrary, a sullen silence prevailed; not a
 single hand was uplifted to express joy; every head remained
 covered, and the sovereign was already dethroned in the hearts of
 his subjects.

Acceptance
 of the con-
 stitution.

MANY were now of opinion, that the king, who had abandoned
 his people, ought to be deposed by them; some even wished that
 he might be tried and punished; but the assembly acted upon this
 occasion with great magnanimity, and an act of oblivion took
 place. In order to prevent further tumult, it declared, that "the
 revolution was complete;" it also revised its former decrees,
 completed the constitutional act, removed the suspension imposed
 on his majesty, and left him at full liberty either to accept or
 refuse it.

THE king addressed the assembly by letter, on the 13th of
 September, and stated that he had given his sanction; on the
 succeeding day he repaired in person to the hall, and affixed his
 signature: a decree was accordingly issued, by which it was
 enjoined that the king's solemn declaration should be proclaimed
 throughout the empire, and that all prisoners confined for debt
 should be set at liberty.

SOON after this, the legislature having concluded the object of SECT. VII.
 its mission, and afforded a prospect of freedom to the nation, dis-
 solved itself on the 30th of the same month, the president having 1791.
 proclaimed “ that the national assembly declares its power to be Dissolution
of the first
assembly.
 at an end, and that it will sit no longer.”

THUS ended the labours of the first, commonly called the Its character
and oratours.
 constituting assembly, which possessed a number of distinguished
 members, and a collection of talents scarcely to be surpassed in
 the annals of any nation upon earth.

GARAT had distinguished himself by his writings and his Garat.
 love of liberty, antierior to the convocation of the states-gene-
 ral : he now acquired popularity by his political disquisitions.

RABAUT, a protestant pastor, possessed an unsullied character, Rabaut.
 a vigorous mind, an inflexible attachment to virtue, and was
 destined to become the historian of a revolution which he had
 so warmly espoused.

SIEYES, a catholick priest, was at once a profound metaphy- Sieyes.
 fician, and an adept in logic.

MOUNIER, a man well versed in the arts of government, had Mounier.
 already acquired considerable celebrity in the states of Dauphiny,
 by his eloquence and his attachment to freedom ; he also displayed
 great talents during this tumultuous period, and remained firm to
 the popular party, until he perceived the monarchy ready to sink
 under its attacks.

MALOUET possessed no small portion of abilities, but these Malouet.
 were in some measure rendered useless to a great assembly by
 the weakness of his voice ; he was devoted to royalty, and con-
 sidered the generous wish of freeing the negroes in the colonies
 from a cruel bondage as a heinous crime.

THOURET, bred to the bar, was well acquainted with judicial Thouret.
 proceedings, and had acquired a happy facility of speech in the
 course of his professional avocations : but he aspired not to the

SECT. VII. reputation of an oratour, and contented himself with being clear,
 1791. luminous, and indefatigable.

Gregoire. GREGOIRE, first a parish priest, and afterwards a bishop, edified by his exemplary morals, at the same time that he inflamed by an eloquence always devoted to the cause mankind. Although of the ruling religion, he was an advocate for the most unqualified toleration; and he added not a little to his reputation, by a generous interposition in favour of two persecuted classes of men—the Jews of France, and the people of colour and negroes of her colonies.

Talleyrand. TALLEYRAND, by living in habits of familiarity with the most celebrated men of the age, had enhanced his own reputation; yet he acquired less notice by his talents in the pulpit and the tribune, than by his activity in the committees, and his facility in the penning popular addresses to the nation.

Lally-Tolendal. LALLY-TOLENDAL first distinguished himself by his filial piety in vindicating the memory of a father, who had been condemned to death with circumstances of unexampled barbarity. He possessed a happy delivery, and an admirable choice of words; yet his tongue was less eloquent than his pen, and his writings more persuasive than his speeches.

Barnave. BARNAVE was bold, daring, ambitious, enterprising: on the return of the royal family from Varennes, he sat in the same carriage with the queen, and from that moment abandoned the popular party; it was accordingly asserted, that on this occasion he had been seduced by the blandishments of female beauty, and he fell a martyr soon after at its shrine.

Maury. THE ABBE' MAURY, since invested with the Roman purple, in addition to a high reputation, had acquired considerable preferment, by the splendour of his clerical talents. From the first moment of his appearance in the states-general, he evinced his gratitude to his benefactors, and displayed an extraordinary degree of intrepidity, zeal, and genius, in defence of the mo-

narchy. Such was his attachment to the ancient government, that he wished to countenance its very abuses; and so wedded was he to the prejudices which had hitherto disgraced his country, that he declaimed against the decree which restored to the Jews and comedians the rights of citizenship. Possessed of a ready wit, he was indebted for his life to a joke*; and his happy talent at unpremeditated oratory, rendered him the second man in the assembly.

SECT. VII.
1791.

MIRABEAU was assuredly the first. Possessing wonderful eloquence, a gift in him derived from nature alone, he exhibits the rare example of a man without any previous study displaying all the readiness, all the boldness, all the variety, all the graces of a veteran and accomplished orator. Born a noble, but excluded by his own order, he became a deputy from the *third-estate*, and for some time sustained the popular cause, with a fluency that charmed, with a genius that astonished, with abilities that enraptured, with an enthusiasm that moved, animated, electrified the hearts of all who heard and beheld him. Such was the magick of his oratory, that while he spoke, his audience forgot the scandalous immorality of his life. Such was his good fortune, that, a few short intervals excepted, he retained his celebrity even after he had been corrupted by the court. Such was his confidence, that, with a voice enfeebled by disease and death, he bequeathed a legacy of his labours on a new constitution, destined for their use, to a mourning, but applauding people!

As an author, he exhibited more zeal than genius, and more industry than talents: he declaimed rather than argued; he surprised rather than convinced: yet, although his time had been devoted to licentious pleasures, his writings were ever dedicated

* "Eh! messieurs, quand vous m'aurez mis à la lanterne, y verrez-vous plus clair?"

SECT. VII. to the cause of honour, humanity, and virtue. It was as an
 1791. orator alone, however, that he stood unrivalled. But to conceive a just notion of the effects he produced, it would have been necessary to have witnessed the astonishing bursts of his eloquence on great, or the majestick cadence of his language, and the varied intonations of his voice, on ordinary occasions. Nor were the features of his face, or the gesticulations of his person, although the one was devoid of beauty and the other of elegance, deficient in interest, unsuitable to his purpose, or inadequate to his views: for the lowering frown that wrinkled his ample forehead was calculated to appal; while the lightning of his eye seemed to blast; the thunder of his voice, to terrify; and the vengeance of his uplifted arm, to smite, subdue, and overcome his abashed and intimidated opponents.

Convocation
 of the second
 assembly.

At the first meeting of the second, or legislative assembly, the constitutional act was introduced with great ceremony, and every deputy in succession ascending the rostrum, and placing his hand on the original, swore to maintain the constitution decreed during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. Previously to the appearance of the king, the mode in which he was to be received and addressed underwent a long discussion; and it was determined that the expression of "Sire" should be omitted, as partaking of the feudal forms, and that of "majesty*," as incompatible with a limited monarchy.

* The legislative assembly has been greatly censured, on account of this seeming disrespect to the first magistrate; but, however impolitic it might have been to have entered into discussions of this kind, the members were in some measure justified both by history and the ancient constitution of France. Whoever will be at the pains to turn to *Francogallia Hottomani*, will find that the title of majesty was only bestowed on the kings of the Franks when acting in their corporate capacity along with the deputies of the nation; the expression of "Sire" was less objectionable, although it must be allowed also to be of feudal origin, and to imply, perhaps, a degrading inferiority.

HAVING decreed the reunion of Avignon and the Comtat, SECT. VII.
 a measure that produced great clamour, although they had several 1791.
 times been resumed by the kings of France, disturbances of the Commotions
 most alarming kind ensued. The partisans of the pope were the at Avignon.
 first to sow dissension and promote disturbances; some blood was
 spilt upon this occasion; and the popular party, headed by a ruf-
 fian of the name of Jourdan, prepared in their turn to exact
 vengeance: this was speedily effected, and a most bloody and dis-
 gusting massacre ensued, in which, while some of the perpetrators
 of the original outrage suffered, many innocent persons also lost
 their lives. The assembly, which had neglected to punish this The emi-
 atrocity, wishing to conciliate those who had emigrated, and grants.
 prevent, if possible, the calamities of a foreign war, revoked the
 laws against them, and gave permission for their return. But this
 produced no beneficial effect; on the contrary, the emigration
 became greater than before, and the roads were covered with
 the nobles and priests, who fled in all directions; some repaired
 to England, others reached Austrian Flanders and the Electorates,
 but the chief place of rendezvous was Coblenz. The French
 princes resorted to that city; the ancient household troops of the
 king were re-established there, all the ceremonial of Versailles
 was practised, and the prince of Condé actually began to assemble
 an army of malecontents.

ON this, the assembly passed a decree, declaring Louis Stanis-
 laus Xavier to have forfeited his eventual right to the regency,
 if he did not return within the space of two months; by another, [Oct. 14.]
 all the French thus assembled were proclaimed traitors; while
 a third, drawn up in form of a manifesto*, and memorable on

* *Manifesto of the French Nation, decreed by the National Assembly, December 29, 1791, and ordered to be delivered by the Ministers to all the Courts of Europe.*

"At a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French people may see themselves reduced to the necessity of exercising the terrible

SECT. VII. many accounts, renounced in future all wars for the sake of
 1791. aggrandisement. But neither did the two first of these, nor the
 law against the nonjuring clergy, receive the sanction of the
 Royal veto. king, who opposed his veto;—a constitutional but impolitick

rights of war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their resolutions, and an exposition of the principles which direct their conduct.

“ The French nation renounces the idea of war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state. Such is the text of her constitution; such is the sacred vow upon which they have connected their own happiness with the happiness of every other people, and they will be faithful to them.

“ But who can consider that as a friendly territory, in which exists an army waiting only the prospect of success for the moment of attack?

“ Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators who have long since commenced it? Every thing, therefore, imposes upon the powers established by the constitution for maintaining the peace and the safety of the publick, the impetuous law of employing force against rebels, who, from the bosom of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

“ The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the criminal abuse of the king’s name employed by impostors to veil their disastrous projects—distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and seduce the citizens—the disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts the most vain and most speedily repulsed may expose them—the outrages, always unpunished, which they have experienced on the territories, where the revolted French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or raise up more dangerous enemies against their country; such are our motives. Never did more just or more urgent exist. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather softened than overcharged our injuries. We have no occasion to rouse the indignation of citizens, in order to inflame their courage.

“ The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The peaceful citizens, whose country armies may occupy, shall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The publick

measure, to which he was induced by the interposition of Lameth and Barnave, members of the former assembly, whom he was pleased to consult upon this critical occasion. SECT. VII.
1791.

IN fine, although Louis XVI. appeared to have sacrificed some of his prejudices, he had not regained his popularity ; on

force of which she may become the depositary, shall not be employed, but to secure their tranquillity and maintain the laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer a constitution and laws to be wrested from her, or dictated to her, or even an insulting guarantee of those she has formed for herself, she will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will conduct themselves on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The involuntary evils which her troops may occasion, shall be repaired. The asylum which she offers to strangers, shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose princes shall have forced her to attack them ; they shall find a sure refuge in her bosom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a generous exactness ; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget that the soil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal. She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amidst the storms of war, and respecting every-where, on every occasion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all.

“ Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason, have banished, will never cease to be the first of our wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so for her safety and her internal peace ; and she will be seen to lay them down with joy the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace ; she feels that she has need of it ; and she is too conscious of her strength to dread the avowal. When, in requiring foreign nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble her neighbours, she might have thought that she deserved to be listened to, and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of the tranquillity, and the happiness of other states, might have merited the affection of princes who governed them ; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, although condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means employed against her own repose ; that she will be just to those who have not been so

SECT. VII. the contrary, he was still accused of hypocrisy and treachery, and
 1791. it is only necessary to take a superficial view of the state of the kingdom at this eventful period, in order to prognosticate some of the various evils that speedily ensued.

SECTION VIII.

SECT. VIII. FRANCE, at this moment, was divided into and distracted
 1791. by contending parties. The king, averse from a constitution
 State of parties. to which he had reluctantly sworn, intrigued, both at home and

to her; that she will every-where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

“The French nation is free; and what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free, she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are intestine discords contemplated; the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws is expired, and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience: she wishes only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

“The division of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness of his measures, shews to Europe the French nation strong in her means of defence and prosperity.

“Religned to the evils which the enemies of the human race united against her may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

“Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted:—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to treat adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies.”

abroad, to produce a counter-revolution. Around the royal standard appeared to be assembled a remnant of the ancient nobility, and all those devoted by place, sentiment, attachment, corruption, or prejudice, to the crown. On the other hand, the popular cause was sustained in the legislative assembly by a decided majority; Paris, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, all the great cities now participating in a municipal jurisdiction, were devoted to it; and as it had as yet been uncontaminated by excess, a large portion of the population of Europe beheld the new order of affairs with a favourable eye. Many of the troops of the line, indeed, still entertained a secret enmity to a constitution which, while it was calculated to benefit the people, and even themselves, lessened the power and influence of the prince; but an immense multitude of national guards, faithful alike to their interests and their oaths, were determined to maintain their new-born liberties, at the expence of every thing dear to them. The ascendancy of the metropolis, now become the joint residence of the assembly and the king, contributed also to give a decided preponderance to the patriots, while the astonishing influence of the press scarcely admits of calculation. Every printing-house in the capital teemed with productions; and, in addition to innumerable hand and posting bills, journals, and regular periodical works, it has been estimated that, during the first years of the revolution, no less than one hundred and fifty pamphlets issued weekly from the shops of the booksellers.

Newspapers of all kinds, sizes, forms, and prices, from two duodecimo pages to two sheets, and from a halfpenny to a *livre*, were regularly published to the amount of about forty; some at break of day, some early in the morning, some at noon, and some at night: two or three were dedicated to the debates of the legislative body alone; one was solely occupied with the proceedings of the Jacobins, another of the Cordeliers, a third of the Feuillans. A journal was expressly confined to the instruc-

SECT. VIII.
1791.

The press.

SECT. VIII.

1791.

tion of the armies; another was consecrated to the information of the peasantry alone; a third was calculated to inspire patriotism in the remote departments. The royalists possessed a few; the democratical party a multitude; the constitutionalists countenanced two or three; the ministers also had their favourite papers: and the king himself was persuaded to waste his civil list on, and derive a precarious and equivocal support from, the labours of a few obscure editors.

MIRABEAU had been the first deputy who recurred to this obvious mode of acquiring popularity, and promoting the interests of his party*. Robespierre, however, and even Roederer, attempted it afterwards without success; but the writings of Condorcet, Cerutti, Brissot, Mercier, Carra, and many others, had a prodigious influence on the publick mind †; and it must be allowed,

* “*Lettres de Mirabeau à ses Commettans.*” It may afford some idea of the expectations excited by the author, to remark, that the subscription for the first three months, paid, as was usual in France, by anticipation, amounted to more than 30,000 livres, or 1312l. 10s. sterling.

† It may not prove uninteresting, perhaps, to dedicate this note to a catalogue of the principal newspapers published about this period in the capital:

I. POPULAR JOURNALS.

1. *Lettres de Mirabeau à ses Commettans.* The publication of this newspaper, in the form of a pamphlet, was prohibited for some time by order of the court, in the early part of 1789; but it was afterwards resumed under the name of

2. *Le Courier de Provence*, the sale and influence of which were prodigious.

3. *Le Moniteur*, one folio sheet, with an Appendix, sometimes of two, and sometimes of four pages. This has always been, and still continues, a respectable and moderate journal.

4. *Le Chronique de Paris*, 4to. Condorcet wrote some time for this paper, and that circumstance contributed chiefly to its celebrity.

5. *Le Patriote François*, first conducted by Brissot, and then by Girey Dupré. It was originally published in 1789, and remained in great request until the triumph of the Jacobins over the Girondists, on which occasion the presses were destroyed.

6. *Le Thermometre*, printed in the house of Roland, while minister of the Home Department.

7. *Le*

that their compositions were far superior to those of their SECT. VIII.
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antagonists.

IN addition to various other causes, by means of which the publick opinion was perpetually agitated, one of the most

7. *Le Point de Jour*; this contained an analysis of the debates of the assembly, and was ably executed. As Barrere was the editor, it may excite surprise to learn that it was written with great moderation, and that the king was always treated in it with respect: but it ought not to be omitted, that the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, are here only alluded to.

8. *Le Républicain, ou le Défenseur du Gouvernement Représentatif*. Two numbers of this only were published; the return of the king having rendered a journal of this kind premature.

9. *La Décade Historique*, by Rœderer, one of the six members who remained with the Jacobins; he is a confused writer, and has always varied his principles according to the times.

10. *La Feuille Villageoise*, 4to.; a paper written with equal ability and simplicity, by Cerutti: it was intended chiefly for the peasantry and inhabitants of the country.

11. *Le Journal de Paris*, 4to.; an analysis of the debates of the legislative body, with able remarks, was given daily in this paper for some time, by Condorcet.

12. *La Sentinelle*, a journal written with great ability by Louvet, printed in large letters, and posted against the walls. Upwards of 20,000 of some of the numbers were published, and the expence defrayed by Roland: it was equally hostile to the royalists and anarchists.

13. *Les Annales Politiques & Littéraires*, 4to. by Mercier and Carra. These two members wrote with great bitterness, and even intemperance; in consequence of which their labours, particularly those of Carra, were read with an uncommon degree of avidity in the capital, the provinces, and even in the armies.

14. *Journal Général de l'Europe*, by Lebrun, afterwards minister for foreign affairs: this was confined chiefly to the external political relations of France.

II. INCENDIARY JOURNALS.

1. *L'Ami du Peuple*, written by Marat, at once the enemy and the opprobrium of the human race. This journal continually preached up murder, massacre, and proscription; the pen of the author was supposed to be under the supervision and controul of Robespierre and Danton.

2. *L'Union, ou Journal de la Liberté*, conducted by Robespierre, before he had acquired any degree of celebrity: it was written with extreme violence, and displayed neither taste nor genius.

3. *L'Ora-*

SECT. VIII. powerful engines recurred to during the whole revolutionary warfare, still remains to be mentioned : this is the society of the jacobins.

Jacobins.

LANJUINAIS, a deputy to the states-general, and a president of the national assembly, was the founder of that celebrated political sect, which, like the rota at Westminster during the protectorate of Cromwell, and the portico of the Bretons in the royal palace of Blois during the reign of Henry III., discussed a variety of important questions, and investigated the means

3. *L'Orateur du Peuple*, first published in 1789, edited by the deputy Freron, the godson of Stanislaus king of Poland, and son of the antagonist of Voltaire. This was always considered as a violent journal.

4. *Le Courier de Paris*, written by Gorfus : a paper devoted to the jacobins.

5. *Le Journal des Révolutions de Paris*, by Prudhomme, originally a printer and bookbinder, and termed, with great propriety, the "Thersites of the Revolution." This also was a violent and inflammatory publication.

6. *Les Révolutions de France & de Brabant*, by Camille Desmoulins, who termed himself (le procureur-général de lanterne) the attorney-general of the lantern. He afterwards published *Le Vieux Cordelier*, in which he preached up clemency and moderation : this new doctrine offended the terrorists, and occasioned his own death.

7. *Le Père Duchêne*, a low contemptible journal, replete with oaths and ribaldry.

8. *Le Tribun du Peuple*, by Babœuf ; like the former, violent and incendiary.

III. ROYALIST, OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, GAZETTES.

1. *La Logographe*, in folio, the largest journal in point of size ever published in Europe. This was intended to counterbalance *Le Moniteur* ; and it would appear from the documents produced by Valadi, on his majesty's trial, that the king rewarded the zeal of the undertakers with 34,560 livres.

2. *Le Mercure*, 12mo. published once a-week ; the political part was conducted with great ability by Mallet du Pan, who enjoyed the secret protection of the king, during the years 1789, 1790, 1791, and part of 1792.

3. *Le Journal de la Cour & de la Ville*, by Gautier ; a violent paper, on the side of the royal party.

4. *Le Royaliste*, and 5. *Le Gazette de Paris*, both by Durosoi, afterward executed.

6. *Le Possillon de la Guerre*. It appears from one of the papers found in the possession of M. Septeuil, that the editor received 8000 livres, as a gratification from the king.

of ensuring the safety and prosperity of the state. It originated in 1789, under the denomination of the Breton Club, in consequence of having been first established by the representatives of Brittany; when it was afterwards frequented by several of the deputies from the other provinces also, the members assumed the appellation of "The Friends of the People;" but they were at length better known by the place where they assembled, which was called the hall of the Jacobins, from having formerly belonged to a fraternity of dominican friars, whose patron saint was of that name. The most celebrated orators, patriots, and politicians, for some time after the institution, considered it as an admirable engine for the sustenance of the publick cause. All the zealots of democracy, all the decided enemies to the court, all the foes to the privileged orders, and many of the most virtuous and moderate members of the assembly, at first appertained to it. Its ascendancy was not confined to Paris: with every city, and with almost every village throughout France, it kept up a constant intercourse by means of twenty thousand *affiliated* clubs, which looked up to the central meeting in the capital as a mother society, imbibed all its notions, diffused all its opinions, and propagated all its alarms. Such was its influence, that the legislative body was often guided by its decisions, the soldiers were permitted to leave their barracks in order to frequent its galleries, while the *red cap* of the president was seen by turns encircling the brows of the mayor of Paris elected by the people, and the minister * of state nominated by the king.

BUT although its power had greatly increased, its character was manifestly on the wane. The incendiary motions, the outrageous proceedings, and the equivocal characters of many of the

* Pache and Petion, as well as Montmorin and Dumouriez, were members of and frequented the hall of the Jacobins.

SECT. VIII. ruling members, had cast an indelible stain on a society which, after counterbalancing the influence of the court, and efficaciously serving the publick cause, by the talents and zeal of those who had acquired for it a dangerous pre-eminence, was likely, at no distant period, to endanger the fabrick of national liberty, by its unqualified violence. The greater part of the deputies, and some respectable private individuals, had accordingly withdrawn, while the names of many of those most conspicuous for their virtue, patriotism, and oratorical powers, were erased from the list of members; and the committees were now regulated and the chair filled according to the secret suggestions of two or three ambitious and aspiring individuals.

Leading
members.

MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE, a native of Arras, and an advocate by profession, might even at this period be esteemed the principal leader. He had sat in the states-general as a representative of the third-estate of the province where he was born; and although unable to acquire any celebrity in so distinguished an assembly by his eloquence, he at length found means to render himself conspicuous, by a steady opposition to every thing that resembled a deviation from principles, or an abuse of authority. The excess of his affected humanity was such, that when the articles of the criminal code were discussed*, this man, doomed hereafter to make the blood of his fellow-citizens flow in torrents by the hands of the executioner, expressed the most decided abhorrence to the punishment of death, and declared for the immediate abolition of so cruel, so useless, and so sanguinary a punishment.

ON the revision of the constitution, he persisted in his former sentiments with an uniformity so much the more remarkable, as many of the other deputies had been prevailed upon to relinquish their principles, in consequence of the largesses of the court.

* May 30, 1791.

This circumstance alone tended not a little to his celebrity ; and as his hands at no period of his life, even when polluted with human gore, were stained by lucre or rapacity, he now began to acquire, and in some measure deserved, the title of “ incorruptible.” An altar, erected in the name of publick gratitude in the *Champ de Mars* *, was inscribed with his name ; and on the dissolution of the constituting assembly, a triumph, somewhat resembling the ancient ovation, was decreed to him by popular esteem ; for when he and Petion left the hall, they were placed in an open carriage, crowned with oak, and drawn home amidst the exclamations † of an applauding multitude.

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SOON after this he was nominated to a respectable office, analogous to his original profession, in the criminal tribunal of Paris ‡ ; but he suddenly resigned that situation, and dedicated all his time to the organisation of the jacobin society, over which he had acquired but little or no influence, while the Girondists were allowed to give an auspicious direction to its labours by means of their wisdom, and to make its walls re-echo with their eloquence.

BUT when it was abandoned by most of the other deputies, Robespierre, one of the six § who remained, acted frequently as president ||, and at length acquired a complete ascendancy.

* A CELUI QUI A BIEN
MERITE
DE LA PATRIE :
ROBESPIERRE.

† “ Voilà l’ami du peuple, le grand défenseur de la liberté ! ”

‡ That of “ accusateur public,” somewhat like our attorney-general : he was appointed in June, 1791.

§ Rœderer, Buzot, Petion, Antoine, and the two Robespierres.

|| It was he who presided March 19, 1792, when Dumouriez, just nominated to the department for foreign affairs, found it necessary to court popularity, by presenting himself to the society. After giving the fraternal embrace to the new minister, he placed the *bonnet rouge* on his head, and addressed him as follows in a

SECT. VIII. 1791. Gloomy, vindictive, ferocious, and at once replete with cowardice and malignity, such was his matchless hypocrisy, that he concealed his real character until he had triumphed over his enemies; and such his unabating envy, that he considered all those as foes, whose superiour talents and virtues had procured them a place in the publick esteem. As yet his reputation was unstained by crimes, but even now he appeared to be secretly contemplating an original and monstrous species of dominion unknown before in any age or country, and alike alarming on account of its novelty and atrocity. The jacobins were the engine by means of which he purposed to execute the suggestions of a gloomy ambition; and crimes which a Nero or Caligula would scarcely have dared to dream of, although invested with the imperial purple, and surrounded by the satellites of despotism, were at length achieved with facility by a private individual, and that too in the name of "liberty!"

DANTON, first the associate, then the victim of Robespierre, and like him also an advocate by profession, seemed to be intended by nature for the tempestuous period in which he lived, and the bold and decisive character which he assumed. At once tall and athletic, he possessed a figure formed to inspire awe, a stentorian voice, which kept alive the attention of the most numerous assembly, and a bold and specious eloquence, admirably calculated to impose upon the multitude. Not content with acting a conspicuous part in the jacobin society, he instituted the cordeliers, and became at once their founder and their chief. Open, daring, generous, and unreserved, he exhibited some good qualities in conjunction with many vices, but he was consumed by a devouring ambition.

MARAT, a native of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, was the

severe tone of voice: "If Dumouriez but continue as he has begun, he will find in each of us a brother; yet," added he, "I am ready to confess, that it is extremely difficult to find a minister and a citizen in the same person."

creature of the two former, who not unfrequently protected him from punishment, and directed both his pen and his vengeance. A dwarf in stature, with a head disproportionably large for his body, nature seems to have marked him at his birth with the seal of reprobation, on purpose to warn mankind to beware of him. Actuated by a warm and perturbed imagination, he calmly formed theoretical plans of vengeance which would have staggered any of the tyrants of antiquity, and calculated by hundreds of thousands the numbers of his victims. After prescribing for horses *, he affected to inform and instruct men, and actually became an author and a legislator: but his ferocious opinions appeared to be written with blood rather than with ink; the only laws prepounded by him, resembled plans of proscription; while fire, daggers, secret murders, and open assassinations, became the constant hopes and favourite figures of his distorted eloquence. But, however dangerous he may appear, this wretch would have proved impotent from the very excess of his mischief alone, had he not served as an instrument to abler men, who at the same time praised, employed, blamed, and despised him.

SUCH were the present leaders of that famous club, destined in a short time to regulate the fate of an empire; but they had not as yet fully disclosed their real characters to the broad glare of day: and while they were supported by a multitude of dangerous and daring adventurers, collected from all parts of France and of Europe, whose names had been lately enrolled on the records of the society, it is but justice to add, that they were also hailed as the friends of their country, by a crowd of honest but deluded followers; nor would they have ever been suffered to acquire a fatal pre-eminence, had it not been for the open hostility of the queen to the new constitution, and to the very

* He is said to have acted as a veterinary surgeon in the stables of the count d'Artois.

SECT. VIII. name of liberty ; the weak, wavering, and suspicious conduct of
 1791. Louis XVI.; the impolitick and insulting interference on the part of foreign powers; and finally, a war equally hostile and repugnant to the pride, freedom, and independence of a great nation.

Feuillans.

WHILE the present leaders of the jacobins scarcely concealed their wishes to dethrone the king, and either nominate a new dynasty to the throne, or erect a republick on its ruins, a rival society existed, the members of which, under a name * expressive of an implicit attachment to the new constitution, were desirous of a legislature consisting of two houses; many of them also had now made their peace with the court, and were even devoted to it. In consequence of a schism among "the friends of the people," Talleyrand, then bishop of Autun; Emery, a member of the assembly; the dukes de Rochefaucauld and Liancourt; the two Lameths; La Fayette, and many others, had left that celebrated society and determined to found another. They at first assembled in the magnificent hotel belonging to the younger Crillon, son of the conqueror of Minorca; and when they became more numerous, assumed the appellation of "The Club of 1789:" but they were afterwards better known by the name of the convent of the Feuillans, which they hired, because the hall, by being large and capacious, was calculated for their debates.

THEIR former associates, perceiving them to be formidable, affected to wish for a reunion, and accordingly sent a deputation for that purpose; but the *feuillans* haughtily rejected the proposition—a circumstance which their rivals well knew how to turn to their advantage, and soon found means not only to render them suspected by the people, but even at length to annihilate them as a deliberative body.

WHILE these two formidable societies evinced a rooted hatred

* Constitutionels.

to each other, and were both in their turn detested by the royalists, the legislative assembly, neither equal in point of talents nor of energy to the states-general, began to be split into parties, and at times exhibited some presages of that intolerant spirit which, soon after the convocation of the convention, involved France in blood and calamity. The power and influence of the court, however, still contributed to produce a certain degree of apparent union against the common enemy of all; and it was not until the royal family had been made prisoners, and the monarchy itself was dissolved, that the blood of the advocates of liberty flowed on the same scaffold that had received the victims of aristocracy; and the founders of the republic began to proscribe each other with an envenomed rancour, that admitted neither of compromise nor of mercy.

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Character of
the second assembly :

THE Girondists, so called from the department whence they were deputed, possessed great influence in the legislative body at this period, and were equally celebrated for their talents and integrity; but they were far better calculated to rule in the halcyon days of tranquillity, than to preside amidst the awful storm that was about to ensue.

VERGINAUX, a native of Limoges, and one of the representatives for Bourdeaux, had been bred to the bar; but he was better calculated by nature for the part now performed by him in a popular assembly. He was actuated by a marked antipathy against the fugitive princes and nobility, whom he considered as rebels; against the refractory priests, whom he wished to punish as stirrers up of sedition; and against the house of Austria, which he accused of having fomented all the plots and disturbances in France. Devoted to the cause of liberty and his country, he was at once resolute, able, and indolent. He disputed the palm of eloquence with the most celebrated orators of the second assembly; and, of all his countrymen, was inferior to Mirabeau alone.

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GENSONNE', like the former, an advocate of Bourdeaux, was at the same time his rival as a rhetorician, and his friend in respect to political opinions. His sentiments on all occasions possessed great weight; and he may be considered as governing his party no less by means of the happy effusions of a spontaneous eloquence in the assembly, than the indefatigable activity displayed by him in its committees.

GUADET, lately president of the criminal tribunal of the Gironde, was replete with animation and talents, but never proved so successful as when he appealed to the passions. His youth alone had prevented him from sitting in the constituting assembly; in the legislative he did not fail to attain considerable reputation, and being an enemy to tyranny of every kind, he was equally desirous to punish the sanguinary demagogues who misled the people, and the perfidious courtiers who ruled the king.

BRISOT, the chairman of the diplomack committee, and a laborious rather than an eloquent man, possessed such sway in the assembly, that a portion of the deputies in opposition to the court was denominated after him. The son of an obscure plebeian, but originally bred to the bar, he published several works on criminal jurisprudence, all of which are rendered more conspicuous on account of the marked hatred to injustice evinced by the author, than any eminent display of talents. Attached to a republican form of government, he was ever watchful and suspicious of the throne; well acquainted with the extent of the queen's influence, he was perpetually denouncing an *Austrian committee*, that interposed sometimes between the king and his ministers, and at other times between his majesty and the assembly. His enemies, like himself impetuous, were always eager to assail his character, yet they could neither justify their own rancour, nor impeach his honesty, for he constantly refuted their assertions by facts. They accused him of being a

creature of the duke of Orleans, in whose chancery he had occupied a place, and desirous to place that prince on the throne; but he possessed an independent mind, and was a determined enemy to monarchy: they insinuated also, that he found means to appropriate the publick money to his own use; but he lived and died in poverty.

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ZEALOUS to support the honour of his nation, and avenge the protection given to the emigrants by foreign powers, he was desirous of a war, without which, in his opinion, liberty could not be maintained: the love of freedom, in others a sentiment, had in some measure become a prejudice with him, for he had been imprisoned in the Bastille; and it was his singular good fortune to have been presented, as president of a committee of his district, with the keys of that odious prison in which he was once entombed, on its capture by the Parisians.

CONDORCET, one of the forty members of the French academy, has been already noticed as a man of letters, but not as a politician. Attached to the ancient institutions of Greece and of Rome, he became a republican by study and reflection; and although born a noble, he was yet an enemy to nobility. It was always his opinion that the king had betrayed the nation, and he more than once moved that his majesty should be suspended from the exercise of the royal functions: his name conferred a lustre on the party that he supported, and he contributed greatly by his writings to the changes that ensued.

SUCH were the principal leaders of a party, sometimes termed the Girondists, and sometimes the Brissotins, which, at the epoch we now allude to, maintained a steady preponderance in the legislative assembly, as well as in the city of Paris, Petion the mayor, and many of the municipal magistrates, being devoted to it; this celebrated body, however, had long ceased to enjoy the confidence of the Jacobins, who, actuated by violent counsels and desperate leaders, were preparing to triumph over all opposition, and,

SECT. VIII. by means of a conduct equally audacious and successful, finally prevailed. But, on the other hand, the king had at length found it necessary to consult their wishes relative to the formation of the new cabinet:—a measure evidently disagreeable, being imposed upon him solely by the force of popular opinion; and he accordingly seized the first opportunity afforded by the discordant opinions of the members to dissolve it, and nominate another more pliant and conformable to his wishes.

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UPWARDS of forty different ministers, during the short space of fourteen years, had already been called in at different times to support the tottering edifice of the monarchy. Louis XVI. had by turns employed the frivolous Maurepas, the virtuous Turgot, the indefatigable Sartine, the politick Vergennes, the weak and tyrannical Brienne, the faulty but well-meaning Lamignon, the amiable Malesherbes, the prodigal Calonne, the economical Necker, the wily Montmorin, and the impotent Dellefart: of these, not above two or three exhibited any talents for government; the others contributed in their turn, less by their wishes than their misconduct, to the revolution.

New administration :

THE present, which the courtiers affected to term sometimes the jacobin, and sometimes the *sans culotte administration*, consisted of six members, and exhibited a striking contrast, both in respect to talents and principles. Dumouriez, the minister for foreign affairs, had been a soldier of fortune; he was employed in 1757, as a commissary at war, in the army of M. d'Etrées, and having conceived an attachment to a military life, procured a cornetcy of horse, and was wounded at the battle of Emstetten. After having obtained the rank of a captain, he was dismissed at the end of the war with the cross of St. Louis, which he had merited by his bravery, and a pension, no part of which was ever received by him.

character of its members.

BEING induced partly by a restless disposition, and partly by poverty, he became an adventurer, in which capacity he repaired

to Italy, where, like the *Condottori* of a former century, he offered his sword and his services to any state or party that would employ him. These being rejected, both by Paoli and the Genoese, who were then fighting for the possession of Corsica, he returned home, and visited Spain and Portugal, the latter of which was secretly surveyed by him, at the request of the French ministry, with a view to a future invasion. Having been recalled, and employed in the reduction of Corsica with the rank of colonel, he was afterwards sent to Poland, and assisted the confederation of Bar, sometimes with his advice, and sometimes with his personal services. In consequence of a change in the ministry, he was seized and confined in the Bastille, and on the death of Louis XV. resumed his freedom. He found means at length to be appointed first, *commandant* of Cherburgh, then governor of Lower Normandy, and afterwards a major-general.

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AT the commencement of the revolution he declared for the king, and drew up a plan for the preservation of the Bastille and the subjection of Paris; but, on hearing of his flight, he transmitted a letter to Barrere, then president, stating his attachment to, and his determination to defend the assembly, to whose assistance he was then marching at the head of a large body of troops. While Dumouriez commanded in La Vendée, he became acquainted with Genfonné, one of the deputies sent thither, and being introduced by him to the patriots of the legislative assembly, they procured his nomination * to the office of foreign affairs, vacant by the imprisonment of Delessart, who had been sent a prisoner to Orleans.

THIS minister, bold, insatiable, and ambitious, must be allowed to have possessed genius, but he was deficient in wisdom, and even his integrity soon began to be suspected.

* M. Degraze, then minister at war, has lately assured the author that it was he who first proposed Dumouriez to the king.

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Lacoste.

THE vacant appointment to the marine department was filled, in consequence of the influence of Dumouriez, by Lacoste. He had been formerly employed in a subordinate situation in the same office, and still conducted himself like a clerk rather than a member of the cabinet.

Duranton.

THE place of minister of justice was conferred on an advocate of Bourdeaux, of the name of Duranton, who at the commencement of the revolution had been appointed procureur-syndic of that city. He was dull, heavy, timid, and loquacious; but he was an honest man. Having been nominated at the instance of Verginaux and Genfonné, in consequence of his attachment to the popular cause, he was afterwards accused by them of inconstancy; for, being a provincial lawyer, and totally unacquainted with the court, and even with Paris, he became dazzled by the splendour of a throne, and was induced by a generous sympathy to conform to the wishes of the monarch.

Claviere.

THE administration of the finances was again committed to a banker and a citizen of Geneva, in the person of Claviere, who had left the republick in which he was born, in consequence of a revolution that forced the patriots to take refuge in foreign countries. Having drawn up a celebrated memorial on the revenue and expenditure of France, he had successively enjoyed the friendship of Mirabeau, la Fayette, and Talleyrand; he is also said to have suggested the idea of the assignats; but it was to his connection with Brissot that he was indebted for his present elevation. About this period he had distinguished himself as a member of "the friends of the negroes;" he also belonged to the society of the Jacobins; and, notwithstanding his zeal sometimes passed the bounds of decorum, he was allowed by all to be admirably calculated for the eminent situation with which he was now intrusted.

Degrave.

DEGRAVE, lately a colonel, and now a major-general in the army, was young, amiable, devoid of experience, and diffident of his

own abilities; he was a friend to a moderate reform in the French government, and belonged to that party usually denominated the *constitutionalists*, from their having formed the political code, in the first national assembly: his bad state of health rendered him unfit for the station he then held, and he was succeeded by Servan, who to the reputation of great talents, added the now necessary qualification of an ardent patriotism. SECT. VIII.
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ROLAND, the minister of the home department, was one of the most remarkable men of his time, and it was his fortune to be united to a female of singular accomplishments, who, after assisting him in his academical pursuits, became at once his secretary and assessor in politics. Uniting an intimate knowledge of commerce with a love of literature, he had acted at the same time as inspector-general of the manufactures of Arras, a writer in the Encyclopedia, and a member of all the learned societies in the south of France. Although more than sixty, he was still ardent and indefatigable. His imagination being warmed by the examples of Greek and Roman virtue, he had by degrees imbibed a certain degree of contempt for the age in which he was born, and became inspired at the same time with a strong partiality for a republican form of government. Unlike Duranton, he stood undaunted in the presence of a king, whom he treated as the first magistrate of a free people, amenable to their jurisdiction, and bound to act exclusively for their interests. A member of the jacobin society, he deemed an attendance at its meetings incompatible with the post of minister, and he was the first to arraign the conduct of its associates when they departed from their original principles. Although an obscure man, at the time of his appointment he did not turn giddy with his elevation; on the contrary, he exhibited a marked resemblance to an English patriot* of the seventeenth century, who was said never to have

* Sir Joseph Jekyll.

SECT. VIII. changed his sentiments or his dress: and he gave great offence by
 1791. appearing at the council board without being decked out agreeably to the stated forms; for he was accustomed to repair thither clothed in a plain black suit, with his straight white locks combed over his forehead, and his shoes fastened with strings instead of buckles.

SUCH was the administration selected at this critical moment for the government of France. Most of the members were odious to the king; some were beloved by, while others were suspected by the jacobins; but they were all alike abhorred by the feuillans. They were accordingly abused in the newspapers devoted to the cause of the monarchy and the aristocracy: they were also ridiculed by the courtiers, treated with contempt by the grandees, and so much were they hated within the precincts of royalty, that, if we are to believe one of themselves*, the body-guards always assumed a menacing air when they appeared at the castle of the Tuilleries.

Proceedings
of the ca-
binet.

No sooner had the new ministry commenced the exercise of their functions, than they were surrounded by a multitude of dangers and difficulties, both domestick and foreign, whence they found it extremely difficult to extricate either their country or themselves. The legislative assembly had taken the alarm at the new body-guard of the king, of late considerably increased beyond the number allowed by law, having been augmented from eighteen hundred to near six thousand men, by means of disaffected persons, commanded by officers who had quitted their respective regiments because they would not subscribe the civick oath. The king wished to resist the decree for disbanding them; and it was with great difficulty he was at length induced to promise his acquiescence with the wishes of the legislature.

* "Mémoires du General Dumouriez, écrit par lui-même," t. II.

The struggle was still greater on all occasions in which the interests of the diffident clergy were concerned; nor could he be prevailed upon to withdraw his countenance from that body, which was encouraged in its opposition by knowing that the conscience of the monarch was regulated by a ghostly director of the same principles.

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HIS majesty, however, more readily complied with the request of his cabinet to recall his two brothers, and actually dispatched a letter to them, written with his own hand, and entrusted to a confidential agent*, pressing their return: but they persisted in remaining in the electorate of Treves, “to arm for his deliverance.” At their entreaty, he also notified his acceptance of the constitution to foreign powers; some of which declined to return any answer, while others replied in an ambiguous manner, calculated to infuse suspicion and distrust; and one or two evinced a marked disregard to that decorum generally exhibited in the intercourse between great states†. In short, a portentous cloud, now collecting in the North, threatened to burst suddenly upon France, and overwhelm a distracted nation with misery and despair. But it may be here necessary to survey the European hemisphere, in order to discover the quarter where this new storm was generated, and, after making ourselves acquainted with the nature and intenseness of the elements of which it was composed, endeavour to calculate its direction, and estimate its force.

* The chevalier de Coigny.

† See Appendix, C.

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State of Europe.

FRANCE, as we have already seen, had limited the power of her kings, and established a constitution for the nation, faulty indeed, like all human institutions, but certainly preferable to the recent despotism. In accomplishing this object, the national constituting assembly only exercised the acknowledged right of internal regulation appertaining to every independent state; but it was soon apparent that these essential reforms had given umbrage to several of the absolute princes on the continent.

Spain.

SPAIN, the first nation in Europe which profited by the riches of the new world, and by turns menaced all the neighbouring countries with her fleets and armies in the time of Philip II., might at this period be considered as in a state of progressive declension. Her manners, institutions, and even her religion, had rendered her in some measure unfit for commerce: and although she enjoyed extensive possessions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, the last of which alone constituted an immense empire, yet, from the situation of her treasury, and the nature of her government, she was equally unprovided and disqualified for war. The count d'Aranda, a statesman worthy of better times, and of a better fate, had discerned her true interests, and wisely inculcated the policy of peace. Accordingly, when one of the chief maritime powers* appeared eager to commence hostilities relative to paltry commercial disputes, she wisely preferred tranquillity to a contest about the barren shores of Nootka, and

* Great Britain.

the petty advantages resulting from an exclusive traffick in the skins of the sea otter. It was not until a future period that the indignation resulting from a memorable event, added to the influence of a queen and a favourite, prevailed on Charles IV. to depart from the principles of a sage neutrality.

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1791.

THE same causes which operated in respect to Spain, and contributed to lessen her importance in Europe ever since the time of Columbus, acted still more powerfully with regard to Portugal. Her fleets no longer, as in the days of Vasquez de Gama, ploughed the ocean to obtain a rich harvest from commerce, or attempted, by voyages of discovery, to find an easier mode of acquiring the wealth of the East. Feeble herself, and attached to England by commercial relations, it was this powerful ally that protected her frontiers, secured to her the free possession of Brazil, whence she drew her diamonds and her gold, and, by consuming her vintage, and regulating her trade, rendered her at once safe and dependent. Following in the train of Britain, she was not yet stimulated to war: nor did she dread innovation; for her shores were in no danger of being animated by the cry of liberty, against which they were rendered inaccessible by a triple barrier;—the inquisition, the monks, and that deplorable state of ignorance which arises from the junction of despotism and superstition.

THE house of Savoy, united with the royal family of France by means of a double marriage, was of course alive to the interests of Louis XVI.; and the emigrants, who were received with distinction at Turin, hoped, by their interest there, to produce a war. The event fully verified their predictions.

PIUS VI., now sovereign pontiff, appeared for a while to adopt the strict rules of Italian policy; but the withdrawing of the tribute hitherto paid to the Papal see, the schism in the Gallican church, and the resumption of Avignon, at length preyed upon his mind; and, departing from his original moderation, he was

SECT. IX. }
 1791. } persuaded to issue his obsolete bulls, and launch his unavailing
 thunders, until he found himself involved in the wreck of Italy.

Naples.

THE throne of the two Sicilies being occupied by a Bourbon and an archduchess of Austria, Naples was of course considered as one of the family courts. It was the interest of Ferdinand IV., as well as that of all the Italian states, to remain at peace; but he soon, unhappily for himself, entered into the gigantick projects of more powerful princes, and, in the hopes of aggrandisement and revenge, forgot the principles by which his conduct ought to have been regulated.

Great Bri-
 tain.

ENGLAND at this period appeared to be conscious of the immense advantages arising to a great manufacturing and commercial state, from the adoption of a wise and rigorous system of neutrality. Many obvious motives enforced the policy of peace. An immense national debt called aloud for a system of economy, and the pressure of the existing taxes seemed to render any increase burdensome to the nation.

THE people, too, had hitherto rejoiced at the progress of liberty in France, and felt a generous indignation against those princes who presumed to intermeddle in her internal disputes; while a king, now firmly seated on the throne of the Stuarts, was indebted for the elevation of his family to a revolution founded, like the present, on the rights of a nation. In addition to these powerful motives, many others might be enumerated. France had not hitherto given any just cause of complaint, while a formidable opposition in parliament, as yet unbroken by defection, and unseduced by the brilliant prospects of wealth and power, sustained the popular cause with unabated ardour, curbed the restless ambition of an inexperienced minister, and rendered any flagrant breach of the publick repose dangerous, if not impracticable.

YET, notwithstanding these auspicious appearances, a few, possessed of keen penetration, and arguing from an intimate knowledge

of the principles and policy of the majority of the members who then constituted the cabinet, thought they already perceived the gathering storm, and boldly presaged that the same men who, on a former occasion, had so zealously but impotently contended against liberty in one hemisphere, would not behold her triumph unmoved in another.

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1791.

THE court of Copenhagen, while it beheld its king reduced to Denmark, a state of the most deplorable imbecility, experienced a rare instance of good fortune in having its affairs conducted by an amiable regent and a sagacious minister. Wholly intent on the happiness and prosperity of those committed to their charge, the prince royal and the count de Bernstorff were averse from intermeddling in the internal polity of other nations. Even when almost every other court of Europe had become the theatre of intrigue, they kept aloof from the general coalition, and the increased prosperity of Denmark at this day attests their policy and wisdom.

IT was far otherwise with another of the Baltick powers, Sweden, although but just released from the burden of a disastrous war. Sweden, which by turns has enjoyed liberty and suddenly relapsed into servitude, was now under the dominion of a prince who languished for an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his exploits. To a passion for military glory, Gustavus added a taste for the *belles-lettres*, an attachment to the sciences, a ready and commanding eloquence. By means of his popular talents he was enabled to overturn that constitution which he had solemnly sworn to maintain. This singular revolution, in which he had been secretly assisted by another monarch*, was achieved without bloodshed, and almost without tumult; and if his majesty did not possess the abilities of the first Cæsar, he at least affected on this occasion to rival his clemency.

Character of
its king.

* Louis XV.

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1791.

HIS ardent and fiery temperament inspired him with a love of war; while a passion for fame at the same time rendered him desirous of every species of glory. He affected to consider Gustavus Adolphus as his model; but, in many respects, his character had a closer resemblance to that of his ancestor Charles XII. Like this prince, he was swayed by an insatiable ambition, and an unceasing love of enterprise. Impressed with the chivalrous spirit of the middle ages, and irritated also, perhaps, because a pension, gilded by the gentler name of subsidy, had been withdrawn, he had conceived the romantick idea of vindicating the cause of monarchs, and accordingly determined to place himself at the head of an expatriated nobility; by whose means, in conjunction with his own, and the troops of his allies, he intended to oblige the French to submit to their former chains. Nor was it remembered by those so forward to contend for what they now began to term the cause of social order, that they exposed themselves to contempt, by placing a prince who had been inattentive to his own oaths at the head of a league which pretended to avenge perfidy and injustice.

BUT an incensed noble* avenged the cause of the prostrate senate, and Gustavus II. fell by the hand of a titled assassin, leaving to a minor son an immense debt as well as an impoverished and distracted country; to his subjects, the memory only of their violated rights; to ambitious kings, a beacon to warn them of the fate of even successful tyrants; and to posterity a history, that at once invite criticism and reproach.

Russia.

THE genius of one man civilized Russia, and, by erecting a capital on the shores of the Baltick, rendered his native country a preponderating power in the scale of European politics. In Catharine II. was found a successor, in many respects, worthy of himself. This ambitious female, following the track prescribed by her illustrious precursor, had conceived the gigantick en-

* Ankerstroem.

terprise of chasing the Turks from Europe, substituting the Greek cross for the Turkish crescent on the walls of Constantinople, and creating a new empire in the East. The revolution which had recently occurred in France made her pause, however, in the midst of her victories; Sweden was permitted to breathe from slaughter; and the Ottoman Porte now found itself more indebted to her policy than her moderation for its existence. She accordingly suspended the fate of the followers of Mahomet: and this versatile princess, at the shrine of whose ambition a Peter and an Ivan had been immolated; at whose bidding an independent nation had been plundered and sacrificed; who had violated all the duties of a wife, and of a subject; who had determined at one time to give liberty to the Russian slaves, and at another to resuscitate the Greek republics; now affected loudly to support the cause of publick virtue. But she did not forget the artifices usually attributed to her sex; for, while she appeared, like a mighty Colossus, ready to hurl her vengeance against France from the icy regions of Finland, she kept her eye steadily fixed on unhappy Poland, and prepared once more to smite and overwhelm that prostrate and distracted commonwealth.

BUT it was from another quarter that France was doomed at this period to be assailed. While employed in the extension and security of her liberties, amidst the struggle with a reluctant monarch, a discontented priesthood, and a hostile nobility, she was menaced at the same time by a sudden and portentous combination of two great military states. These, like birds of prey, already appeared to snuff the carnage from afar, and readily consented to give a short respite to their mutual hostility: for the imperial and royal eagles, flushed with their recent successes against two nominal republics*, seemed now prepared to banquet on

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1791.

Combination
against
France.

* Poland and Holland.

SECT. IX. the carcass of a rich and extensive monarchy, rent asunder by dissensions, and apparently devoted to civil discord.

1791.

House of
Branden-
burgh.

PRUSSIA exhibits a pregnant example of the wonders that may be achieved by the genius of a single individual. Formerly a fief of Poland, and but lately created a kingdom, during the reign of Frederick III. it had become one of the first states in Europe, partly by the victories, not always unstained by injustice, and partly by the administration, ever sage, of that great monarch. Not content with ravishing a portion of that republic by which his own country was formerly kept in a state of vassalage, and a share of the dominions of that very house one of the emperours of which had conferred the honours of royalty upon his own, he aspired to a new species of glory for an absolute monarch, by declaring himself the protector of the liberties of Germany.

HIS nephew appeared eager to imitate his uncle ; but he was destitute of the necessary talents and virtues. Making up, however, by activity what was wanting in genius, he exhibited in his own person a strange compound of pleasure and of business ; the love of ease and of intrigue, an equal passion for the luxuries of the haram and the fatigues of the camp. Nothing seemed too little, or too great, or too inconsistent, for the grasp of his ambition. When the prince-bishop of Liege was expelled by his indignant subjects, the despotick Frederick-William gravely reminded him of the duties of sovereigns, and the rights of a people. He openly assisted the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, when in arms against their legitimate prince, and even presented them with a general ; while, on the other hand, he had imposed a master upon an independent nation, by forcing the Dutch once more to recognise William prince of Orange as their stadtholder. His ever-varying policy had now taken a new direction, and in consequence of an ill-omened union the house of Brandenburg was preparing, in concert with the house of Austria, to invade and subjugate France.

THE court of Vienna, at this period, was beginning to recover its former importance, and resume its ancient preponderance in the affairs of the empire and of Europe. The fate of the Austrian family has been singular. After having acquired great glory under Charles V. and Ferdinand II., its destruction would have been inevitable had it not been averted by the valour of John Sobieski king of Poland. It was humbled at one period by the aspiring genius of Gustavus Adolphus; and, but for the successes of Marlborough and the wealth of England, might have been partitioned at another. Maria Theresa, whom the Hungarians, preferring the lance to the distaff, would acknowledge by no other appellation than that of *king*, at length rescued the greater part of her dominions from a formidable rival. Although her imperial majesty had lost Silesia, in consequence of a war which may be considered as a commentary written in blood, by Frederick the Great, on his own Antimachiavel, yet she determined, nevertheless, to act an important part in the affairs of Europe. This pious princess, who exhibited a rigorous adherence to all the forms of religion, who confessed regularly once a-week, and scrupulously abstained from eating fish during Lent, yet could not refrain from coveting part of the dominions of a free and independent state, and adding them without scruple to her own territories, although she had solicited the vengeance of all Europe against a similar usurpation on the part of Frederick II. She at the same period beheld her son king of the Romans, the female branches of her family intermarried with the chief princes of the continent, and in some measure regulating the destiny of France, Spain, and the two Sicilies.

JOSEPH II. aped rather than imitated the illustrious rival and enemy of his house, and must be allowed to have possessed all his activity, without any of his genius. Perpetually striving to reconcile contrarieties, he was eager to abolish slavery in one part

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1791.

of his dominions, while he systematized despotism in another. Anxious to circumvent the policy of the wary Frederick, he wished to add Bavaria to his territories, and was bereft of his influence in Germany. He afterwards attempted to extend his frontiers on the side of Turkey, and in the mean time lost Belgium. Equally unfortunate, when he wished to relax the bondage of the slave, or rivet the chains of the freeman, he beheld Hungary, Bohemia, and the Low-countries, by turns in insurrection; and, by a strange singularity, at the same time forced the nobility of one part of his dominions into a contest against the throne, and the clergy of another into an insurrection in behalf of the people.

CUT off at length by a fatal disease in the midst of his disastrous projects, and prevented by death perhaps from experiencing new humiliations, he had been succeeded on the imperial throne by his brother Leopold. This amiable prince exhibited great talents for government, while only grand-duke of Tuscany. He had repressed the usurpations of the church of Rome, rendered his Italian states happy by means of a sage administration, and contributed greatly to his own glory, by a marked protection to Beccaria and Filangheri, both of whom had exhibited their talents in the improvement of that barbarous code of criminal jurisdiction, left as a legacy to civilized Europe, by Europe ignorant and enslaved.

NOR was his conduct on his first accession to the hereditary dominions of Austria, and his election to the imperial throne, unworthy of his former reputation. Perceiving the critical situation of publick affairs, the new emperor instantly withdrew from a war in which his brother had reaped neither glory nor success, and that too without giving umbrage to the haughty Catharine. He contrived at the same time to quiet the jealousies, and even to disarm the resentments, of the people of

Flanders and Brabant. To effect this, it was necessary for him to beguile the policy and lull to sleep the rivalry of the house of Brandenburg. He accordingly prevailed upon Frederick-William to withdraw his secret protection from the insurgents; to disgrace his minister Hertzberg, who had supported the glory of the Prussian throne during half a century; and to declare in an official note, that he could not entrust the present age with the secret motives that influenced his conduct *.

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THE convention of Reichenbach † produced a strict alliance between Austria and Prussia, restored the Low-countries to the head of the empire, procured for Frederick-William the pompous title of pacificator of Europe, gave rise to an accommodation between Russia and Sweden, and finally led to the formidable coalition against France.

AFFECTED by the situation of the king, alarmed for the fate of a sister, and perhaps desirous also to signalise his reign by some brilliant exploit, Leopold seems to have determined on a war, which, unable to prosecute in his own person, he was forced to bequeath as a legacy to his son and successor Francis II. While visiting his Italian dominions in 1791, he is said to have concerted a plan with the envoys of two great powers ‡, for intermeddling with the internal concerns of a third §; and soon after this, the celebrated interview took place between his imperial majesty and the king of Prussia, at Pilnitz; in consequence of which, measures of an alarming nature were said to have been adopted relative to France; and, if we are to give credit to asser-

Treaty of Pilnitz.

* “Que son changement de système étoit déterminé par des motifs secrets d’une haute importance, & de nature à n’être dévoilés qu’aux yeux de la postérité.”

† July 27, 1790.

‡ Lord Elgin and M. Bischofswerder.

§ Tableau Histor. & Polit. de l’Europe, &c. par L. P. Segur, tome ii. p. 182, 2d edit.

SECT. IX. tions, the dismemberment of that kingdom was actually deter-
 1791. mined upon *.

Prussia at the
 head of the
 league.

THE position of Europe at this period, and the origin of the continental confederacy, have been here briefly stated and explained. Certain it is, that the situation of the kingdom alluded to, had become daily more critical; for the general war, hitherto so favourable to the progress of the revolution, had now subsided, and new and alarming alliances taken place. The emigrants assembled in arms, and, burning with the desire of vengeance, already menaced the frontiers. Louis XVI. carried on a secret correspondence with several of the neighbouring princes; the elector of Treves had notoriously violated the rules of neutrality, and the laws of nations; his capital had become the head-quarters of the exiled princes and nobility, and the chief of the empire finally declared himself ready to afford protection to the dominions of the aggressor. In short, it can no longer be denied, that a formidable and hostile combination was now actually formed against France; and in the place of Gustavus III., cut off by a sudden and violent death, Frederick-William II. became the Agamemnon of a league determined to devote modern Paris, like Troy of old, to all the horrors of fire, pillage, and destruction.

BUT although the most numerous and best disciplined armies in Europe were actually destined for so romantick an undertaking, yet, even at this period, the hardihood rather than the feasibility of the enterprise seemed entitled to the admiration of calm and considerate observers. In whatever point of view France may be contemplated, her importance in the scale of European politics must be allowed to have been still immense.

Strength of
 France.

A CENTRAL position afforded great advantages in point of

* See the Appendix, D.

celerity and exertion. A falubrious climate and an excellent foil SECT. IX.
 were favourable to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. Her 1791.
 territories were at once compact and extensive, consisting of Territories.
 157,924 square miles, according to the testimony of one author,
 and 160,000 of another *. Her population, calculated at from 24 Population.
 to 25,000,000 of inhabitants †, was greater than that of any other
 individual state on the old continent ; she possessed upwards of one
 hundred cities and large towns, besides two hundred navigable
 rivers ; her provinces were intersected in every direction by spa-
 cious roads, some of which were actually paved for the purpose of
 transporting artillery ; while an immense canal seemed to unite all
 the advantages of two distant seas, on purpose to embellish and
 enrich her empire. Part of her frontiers were at once defined Boundaries.
 and defended by the Alps, the Pyrenéan mountains, and a triple
 chain of fortresses either erected or improved by the genius of
 Vauban. The remainder of this immense outline appeared to be
 protected by insurmountable barriers, and was extremely favour-
 able to commercial enterprise ; for her shores were watered by the
 Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Channel, which seemed to in-
 vite the commerce of the Levant, the Atlantick ; and the narrow
 seas ; while her ports and harbours, some of which were formed
 by the hand of nature, and others by the unceasing industry of
 art, conferred great, permanent, and inestimable advantages.

* The following are three different estimates, the lowest of which has been
 quoted in the text.

EXTENT OF FRANCE.

157,924 square miles, according to Necker.		
160,000	-	Busching.
163,000	-	Statistische Uebersicht.

† POPULATION.

24,800,000 inhabitants, Necker.		
25,300,000	-	Schloezer.
26,000,000	-	Busching.

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1791.

Revenue.

Army.

Navy.

NOR did she appear less formidable in another point of view : for her revenues amounted to 18,000,000 of pounds sterling * ; while her standing army at a peace establishment was estimated at 138,000 effective men †, and her navy consisted of seventy-two sail of the line.

NOR ought it to be omitted here, that France had experienced nearly eight years' of repose since the conclusion of a war, during which her fleets had covered the ocean in both hemispheres, and, in conjunction with those of her ally, had actually lorded it for a moment over the narrow seas. Even when at length forced to succumb in the West to the fortune and experience of a Rodney, she had at times triumphed in the East by the bravery and abilities of a Suffrein. Her army too had been successful in some of the isles of, as well as on, the Atlantick continent ; and she boasted of having liberated America from the dominion of an ancient rival, and of having concluded her contest against England with glory and success.

BUT it must be allowed that this specious picture of prosperity was, in some respects, false and delusive : her territories, her cities, her towns, and her rivers, still remained ; but her population was beginning to be diminished by emigration, and her strength seemed to be lessened by intestine divisions. Of her troops, some had declared for the people, and some for the king, while a large portion wavered between ancient principles and modern innovations. Her Publick debt. trade and commerce, acted upon by the general pressure, began

* The gross amount of the publick revenue was estimated by M. Necker at 600,000,000 of livres, a sum equal to 25,000,000 *l.* sterling ; and the whole of the publick expenditure at 610,000,000 of livres : but the *Compte Rendu* states the net produce at only 18,000,000 *l.* sterling.

† The army of France has been generally calculated at 150,000 men ; and it appears that in 1784 she actually possessed a total of 212,924, if we are to give credit to a work entitled "*Etat Milit. de France, par Roussel, pour l'Année 1785.*"

to decay ; the fine arts were in danger of being entirely neglected ; her manufactures were already reduced to a languishing condition ; a national debt, which even in 1784 was estimated at 3400,000,000 of livres *, after undermining the superstructure of the monarchy, threatened the new constitution with ruin ; while the navy, which was suffered to fall into decay because chiefly officered by discontented nobles, could not be of any service in a war with the great continental powers.

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1791.

BUT, on the other hand, a body of national guards amounting to almost four millions of fighting men, the easy acquisition and unbounded circulation of paper money, the spirit infused by a love of liberty, the energy produced by the collision of opinions, the hope arising out of a better form of government, and even the despair incident to such a novel and disastrous situation, operated as so many resources, unknown to the ancient monarchy. To these are to be added, the impulse derived from national pride, the vigour originating from a representative government, and the patriotism engrafted on republican institutions : in fine, the direful experience of eleven years hath at length demonstrated the folly and inefficacy of this armed coalition of kings against the independence of millions determined to be free. The vulgar herd of superficial observers was at first fascinated by the glitter of pomp and parade ; but those conversant with history had already learned, from the resistance of a single city †, and the fate of a powerful league ‡, that associations for the purposes of conquest prove in general less fatal to the state against which they are directed, than to the powers in whose behalf they are formed.

Leagues not
formidable.

It was assuredly the interest, and appears also to have been the general wish, of the French, after they had achieved their liberties, to cultivate the inestimable blessings that arise out of freedom and tranquillity. But this happiness was interdicted. All the branches

* See Appendix, E.

† Venice.

‡ That of Cambray.

SECT. IX. of the royal family languished unceasingly after the ancient
 1791. despotism; while some of the popular leaders, openly availing
 themselves of this pretext, but secretly hostile to a plan of government which neither gratified their ambition nor ensured their safety, had become anxious for another change. Both perhaps would have been disappointed, and a constitutional king might have swayed the sceptre of a limited monarchy for ages, had not an event which at first seemed to augur an increase of power, and stability to royalty, suddenly rooted up its foundations, produced some of the most atrocious assassinations recorded in the history of modern times, and finally established a republican form of government in the place of a throne.

Inscurity of
the consti-
tution.

WHILE the conduct of the partisans of public liberty had been viewed with enmity and suspicion in every court of Europe, full credit was given to the partial and interested accounts of the emigrants. The fugitive princes and grandees, reduced to the situation of exiles, could not always avoid following their example. They of course exaggerated the calamities of France. The legislative assembly was depicted by them as an audacious rather than a powerful faction; the troops, false to their oaths, were represented as true alone to the king; while the national guards were denominated a herd of timid tradesmen, incapable of beholding a foreign enemy without trepidation and dismay. These assertions were now about to be put to the proof.

SEVERAL of the great continental powers clearly indicated by their movements that numerous armies would be soon brought into action; and those Frenchmen who had either fled or been driven from their native country already appeared in arms as the precursors of their vengeance.

Hostility of
the nobles.

THE refugees, armed and regimented, were at this very moment quartered at Aeth in the Austrian Hainault, whence they had made an ineffectual attempt to surprise the citadel of Valenciennes. A battalion of infantry had at the same time deserted

from Dunkirk, and carried off its colours and military chest to the Low-countries; while a congress was announced at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which the emigrants pretended that the fate of France was to be decided *. In addition to this, the court of Vienna, as has been already observed, not content with interposing in the amicable negotiations carrying on with the German princes, for an indemnification on account of their claims in Alsace, actually threatened to get them annulled by the diet of the empire, and even excited the circles to depart from their neutrality.

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THE nomination of the new ministers seemed to redouble its enmity, and present fresh obstacles to an amicable adjustment; the ambassador there also exhibited great unwillingness to maintain the dignity of France, and expressed a wish to resign his diplomattick character. Dumouriez, being resolved to avoid the errors of his predecessor †, determined to negotiate in a manner worthy of the occasion; but the prince de Kaunitz no longer deigned to treat with M. de Noailles in person, having referred the dispute entirely to the management of the count de Cobentzel, who wished to impose conditions incompatible with the honour of the nation. He insisted on the re-establishment of the monarchy, as it was in June, 1789; the restitution of the property of the clergy; the reinstatement of the German princes in their feudal claims on Alsace; and the restoration of Avignon and Venaissin to the sovereign pontiff. The minister for foreign affairs now deemed it incumbent on him to deliver a report to the assembly, containing an account of the proceedings of this cabinet, and inferred, from the hopeless state of the negotiations, that the nation ought to consider itself *in a state of war*. The indignation was general on hearing the terms exacted in the name of the emperor; it was asked, by what right did the court of

Negotiations
with Austria;
and

categorical
demands of
the court.

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

† M. Delessart.

SECT. IX. Vienna pretend to interpose either in the internal affairs of an independent nation, or in a dispute about territorial possessions, 1791.
 With for war. between France and the Pope, or France and the German princes? All exclaimed that it was necessary to maintain the glory of their country; and the idea of hostilities, hitherto so much dreaded, became at length popular.

THE whole of the party of the Gironde declared itself unequivocally in favour of this measure; and Brissot, who supported it with all his influence, afterwards asserted, that he meditated even then the abolition of royalty, knowing that the king, who was entrusted by the constitution with the direction of the armies, would act in such a manner as to render his deposition inevitable.

THE Jacobins, who still maintained a high character for patriotism, also adopted the proposition with enthusiasm, and appeared anxious at the same time to vindicate the honour of the nation, to punish the house of Austria for its insolent interference, and watch the conduct of the executive power with a jealous and suspicious eye. To the surprise of every one, Robespierre openly declared himself averse from the contest, and actually lost his popularity, until the disastrous events, attendant on the first invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, in conjunction with the equivocal conduct of the court, appeared for a time to justify his prudence.

THE feuillans, too, secretly detested this measure, but they were afraid to stem the current of publick sentiment, and avow their opinions in opposition to the general voice; nor did they at first choose to exhibit the least dislike to the awful struggle that was about to ensue, as they found it impossible to apologise for the aggressions, or justify the conduct, of the house of Austria.

THUS the first war in which France found herself involved in consequence of the revolution, appears not only to have been popular, but in many respects legitimate. Troops and magazines

had been collected and embodied in a neutral country ; the expatriated princes, nobles, and body guards, were assembled in hostile array at Coblenz ; the emigrants of all descriptions were publicly encouraged and protected ; a regiment of the line had been seduced ; attempts had been made to obtain possession of the fortresses ; a constitutional king was deemed incapable of the exercise of his functions ; all the reforms effected since the convocation of the states-general were considered as void ; the court of Vienna had refused either to disarm or renounce the league into which it had entered ; demands had been made to restore to the clergy their tithes, to the nobles their exclusive privileges, to the people their ancient bondage : while a foreign prince had presumed to violate the bounds of decency and decorum, by thus prescribing the terms, in compliance with which a great, free, and independent people, were to be permitted to regulate and govern themselves.

MEMOIRS
OF
THE HISTORY OF THE WARS
ARISING OUT OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Declaration of War—Campaign of 1792—Invasion of the Austrian Low-countries—Defeat and shameful Conduct of the French—Disputes in the Cabinet—Situation of the King.

NEGOCIATIONS having proved unavailing, and remon-
strances being treated with contempt, France was at length
reduced to the terrible alternative of arms. The latent genius
of a nation but too prone to war was thus unfortunately aroused;
and as it appeared far better to anticipate than to avoid the blow,
the first declaration of hostilities originated with the country
that deemed itself aggrieved.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

LOUIS XVI. had, at length, yielded to the clamours of the
people, the representations of the legislature, and the advice of
his cabinet, all of whom loudly invoked a contest, which they
deemed alike necessary for the protection of civil liberty and
national independence. His majesty accordingly repaired to the
national assembly, and being surrounded by his ministers, who,
on this occasion, were unanimous in favour of vigorous measures,
he stated the critical situation of France, in respect to the house of
Austria, in a suitable exordium. Dumouriez, who presided in the

Deliberations
concerning
the campaign.

The king re-
commends
war.

[Friday,
April 20.]

BOOK I. department for foreign affairs, then read the following address to
 CHAP. I. the king of the French from the members of his council :

1792.
 Address of
 the cabinet.

“ WHEN you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you became, Sire, the object of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop, no motive of alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety, could prevent their enmity. Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment obliterated every idea of fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers to assist a guilty league against France : they wish to carry into the bosom of their native country both fire and the sword. Their rage, however, would have been impotent, if foreign princes had not seconded and encouraged their criminal practices.

“ THE house of Austria hath done every thing to increase their audacity ;—the house of Austria, which ever since the treaty of 1756, found in us good and faithful allies ! This treaty, Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of that power, and involved us in all her wars, during which she constantly invoked our assistance in the quality of confederates. We have been but too prodigal of our blood, in the cruel tragedy of despotism ; and the instant we would be no longer governed for interested purposes, we were considered as an enemy.

“ IT was Austria which stirred up against France that restless northern potentate, whose tyrannical phrensy at last made him fall by the hands of an assassin. It was Austria, which advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna of the 18th of February was in truth a declaration of war ; for M. Kaunitz there avows the league of the powers combined against France : and the death of Leopold has not occasioned any change in this system of ambition.

Aggressions
 against
 France.

“ THE note of the 18th of March is the *ultimatum* of the court of Vienna, and is still more provoking than the former ;

for the king of Hungary there expresses a wish, that we should submit our constitution to his revision, and he does not dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

“SIRE,” continues the minister, “in entrusting me with the administration of foreign affairs, you have imposed the task of declaring to you the truth: I proceed to fulfil it. It results from the measures just alluded to, that the treaty of 1756 is violated on the side of Austria; that the league of foreign powers is an act of hostility against France; and that you ought instantly to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to leave the court of Vienna without taking leave. The troops of Austria are already on their march; camps are marked out, and fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negotiation becomes a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired; your honour is attacked; the nation is insulted; therefore no other part remains for your majesty, but to make to the national assembly the formal proposition of declaring war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.”

WHEN the minister had concluded, the king resumed his speech:

“You have heard,” said he, “the decision of the members of my council. I adopt their determination. It is in exact conformity to the wish of the assembly and many districts of France: it appears to me, in short, to be the wish of the nation.”

“FRENCHMEN prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to a humiliating situation, that alike affects our constitution and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert this measure—but I now deem it indispensable. I come, therefore, in the terms of the constitution, *to propose to you formally to declare war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.*”

ON this the president replied:

“SIRE, the assembly will proceed to deliberate on the proposition just made by your majesty, and it will notify the result by means of a message.”

BOOK I. WHEN the king had retired, the diplomattick committee immediately withdrew; and on its return presented the following
 CHAP. I. decree, which was instantly and unanimously adopted by the
 1792. representative body:

Decree of
war.

“THE national assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king; considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, hath continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it hath excited and formed a league in concert with several powers of Europe, against the independence and security of the nation;

“THAT Francis I. king of Hungary and Bohemia, hath, by his notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this league;

“THAT, notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he hath continued and increased his hostile preparations;

“THAT he hath formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring, that he would support the pretensions of the German princes who have possessions in France, to whom the French nation hath continued to hold out indemnities;

“THAT he hath attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the malecontents, by means of a combination of foreign powers;

“CONSIDERING, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the king of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiation, the redress of these different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war; decrees, that there exists a case of urgency.

“THE national assembly accordingly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the rights of any people, but only to take up arms in defence of their liberty and inde-

pendence ; that the war into which they are now compelled to enter, is not a contest of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch ;

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

“ THAT the French will never confound their brethren with their enemies ; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war ; to preserve property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, as well as to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from hostilities ;

“ THAT they will adopt all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of their enemies, shall join their standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom ; and that they will favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France :

“ THE national assembly, accordingly, after deliberating on the formal propositions of the king of the French, hereby decrees war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.”

ALTHOUGH, in consequence of the necessary formalities, it was late in the evening before the representatives of the nation had assented to the demand of his majesty, the decree was immediately carried to the palace, and received the royal sanction at ten o'clock. This intelligence was communicated by extraordinary couriers to all the ambassadors at foreign courts, and also to all the departments. Prompt and vigorous means were adopted for increasing the troops, supplying the garrisons, and furnishing the magazines ; measures which, however obvious, had hitherto been most shamefully neglected. Such was the deficiency of fire-arms in particular, that agents were dispatched to different parts of Europe, and even to America, on purpose to obtain them.

Preparations
for war.

THE assembly also published an address to the citizens armed for the defence of their country, which tended not a little to inflame the minds of the people, and infuse a martial spirit into the nation.

“ THE fate of our liberty,” said they, “ that perhaps of the

Address to
the armies.

BOOK I. whole world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our con-
 CHAP. I. fidence : like your courage, it is unbounded. We have not pro-
 1792. voked the war ; and when the king proposed to us, at length, to
 avenge the outrage committed against the dignity of the nation,
 we resisted for a long time the wish expressed by the general indig-
 nation of the French. A free people recurs to arms with regret,
 but it does not recur in vain. The shame and tortures incident to
 an eternal servitude, would not be an adequate punishment for a
 nation who should suffer their liberty to be wrested from them
 after having conquered it.

“ AND what object can be more worthy of your courage ? The
 period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instru-
 ments of one man’s will, armed themselves only to defend the
 interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present,
 yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended.
 We must conquer, or we must return to the dominion of feudal
 privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of vex-
 ation, oppression, and servitude. Your own individual happi-
 ness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, is thus
 intimately connected with the safety of the country.

“ BUT those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtue
 to courage. The men whom we fight to-day, are our brothers ;
 to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle ;
 firm during misfortunes ; modest after victory ; generous to the
 vanquished ;—such are a free people.

“ THE laws will punish with just severity all outrages against
 the rights of nations, and the still more sacred rights of nature.
 Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors ; their
 names will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of the
 friends of liberty ; and, if they die in battle, their children shall
 be the children of their country.

“ As for us, immovable in the midst of political storms, we
 will carefully watch over all the machinations of all the enemies

of the empire. The world shall determine, whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of an arbitrary king. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we will keep our oath—‘Death! death! or victory and equality!’ ”

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CHAP. I.
1792.

BUT, not content with arousing the minds of the people, by means of addresses, the national assembly passed a vote for augmenting the army to 450,000 men, while care was taken, at the same time, to give strength and efficacy to the measures of the new administration, by placing funds at their disposal sufficient for every possible emergency. The *assignats*, an engine still more formidable perhaps, during the course of the revolutionary warfare, than even the bayonets of the soldiery, was resorted to upon this occasion; and near 300,000,000 of livres, in paper money, which as yet had experienced but little depreciation, were soon after voted for the extraordinary services of the treasury.

Conduct of
the assembly.

THREE separate bodies of troops had already been formed along the frontiers, from Switzerland to Dunkirk, under the direction of three commanders, enjoying at this period, not only the reputation of great military talents, but also the confidence of the nation. The marshal de Rochambeau, who had already distinguished himself during the seven-years' war, as well as in America, left Paris the day after the declaration of hostilities, on purpose to assume the command of the northern army. He immediately established his head quarters at Valenciennes, and gave orders to form three camps, in order to cover that part of the country, and be able, as occasion served, to commence offensive operations against the enemy. The troops under his command, by means of draughts from the garrisons, might be increased from thirty to thirty-five thousand men; d'Harville, Biron, Delbeck, and d'Aumont, served under him.

State of the
armies.

[April 21.]

THE marquis de la Fayette, who had also acquired celebrity by his exploits on the Transatlantic continent, was placed at the head

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

1792.

of the army of the centre: he fixed his head-quarters at Metz, and occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville. He had upwards of 20,000 men at his disposal, and was so posted, as to continue the line of defence from the Meuse to the Moselle; the general officers under his command consisted of de Wittgeinſtein, de Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defranc.

THE army of the Rhine was entrusted to marshal Luckner, a foreigner who had been invited into the service of France, and of whose talents high expectations had been formed, which were by no means realised in the sequel. The forces under his direction amounted to nearly fifty thousand men, and soon extended from Laudau to the frontiers of the Swiss cantons, in consequence of the seizure of the important pass of Porentrui. Berthier, Lameth, and Jarry, occupied subordinate situations.

Situation of
the Austrian
Netherlands.

THE defenceless state of the Low-countries exhibited a vulnerable point, where the enemy might be attacked with equal ease and advantage; and it was accordingly determined to wrest these fertile possessions from the house of Austria, and thus retaliate for the aggressions lately committed against France. That country, since known by the name of Belgium, had, at a former period, enjoyed a large portion of happiness and prosperity, in consequence of its free constitution and commercial intercourse with the different nations of Europe; but it no sooner formed a portion of a great monarchy, than the wise policy which had guided the princes of the house of Burgundy ceased to operate; trade and manufactures were discouraged by the genius of a military government, and the blessings which nature seemed to pour into its lap were contemptuously rejected in consequence of the sacrifice of the navigation of the Scheidt.

POSSESSING a soil of an admirable quality, the capitals of the more opulent inhabitants, no longer employed in traffic as before, were now diverted into another channel; agriculture was thus taught to flourish, and wealth to flow in from a new source.

The house of Austria, notwithstanding its impolitic conduct, still continued to derive immense advantages from the possession of these territories. Its government constituted an appanage for a younger branch of the imperial family; and it was there that, in addition to fixed subsidies and voluntary contributions, loans were obtained during the time of war. But the imprudence of some of the late princes had alienated the affections of a people who, by a singular union of contrarieties, united a love of liberty with an ardent superstition, and a reverence bordering on idolatry for priests to an extreme jealousy of their civil rulers.

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CHAP. I.
1792.

JOSEPH II. with the usual inconsistency of his character, at the same time that he dismantled the fortresses in Flanders, contrived to violate the privileges and the prejudices of the people; and, in exact proportion as he diminished the means of coercion, increased at once the force and the power of resistance. This extraordinary conduct had, at length, produced a war, in which the insurgents, animated by a great cause, and supported by several neighbouring powers, at first proved victorious; in consequence, however, of their own animosities, no less than the defection of their allies, the imperial arms at length proved triumphant: but these distant territories, although subjugated by, were not reunited to the house of Austria; for a people whose allegiance could scarcely be ensured by thirty thousand soldiers was prepared to consider an invader, not as an enemy, but a deliverer. These considerations, equally obvious and important, were neither overlooked nor neglected by the ministers who now formed the cabinet council of France.

DUMOURIEZ, who, without possessing the title of prime-minister, aspired to the direction of every thing, at this moment conducted the war department, as well as that of foreign affairs. He determined to commence the campaign by seizing on the Austrian Netherlands, with an army of forty thousand.

Plans of the
campaign.

1792.

men, and drew up a plan* of operations, which was approved by the council, and according to which there were to be two real and two false attacks. But the three generals, without consulting the cabinet, had already concerted among themselves a different scheme for obtaining the same object. In conformity to this, la Fayette was to have been entrusted with the execution of the enterprise against the Austrian Low-countries, at the head of fifty

* Here follows the plan of the campaign, as detailed by the projector himself. (See *La Vie du Général Dumouriez*, t. II.)

“ La Fayette, with a detachment of ten thousand men, followed by the rest of his army, was to have filed off by Givet, and taken possession of Namur; where, at that time, there was only a single battalion of Walloons, more than the half of whom had entered into a conspiracy to desert, on the appearance of the French. Thence he was to have marched towards Brussels, or Liege, for the first operation alone was prescribed to him; as to every thing else, he was at liberty to follow his own judgment. This movement was to be executed between the 30th of April and the 2d of May.

“ At the same period, lieutenant-general Biron was to set out from Valenciennes with ten thousand men, and to march towards Mons, where the Austrian general Beaulieu was posted with two thousand five hundred troops, who were reinforced to five thousand.

“ A general officer was to be dispatched the very same day from Lille, by lieutenant-general d'Aumont, with three thousand six hundred men: these were to follow the road leading to Tournay, with orders to push for that town, if they met with no resistance, to place a garrison in its citadel, and then either to join general Biron, or to execute any orders he might send. But it was mentioned in the instructions, that if the Belgians did not seem friendly, and would not declare themselves, he was to stop at Bessieux in the territories of France, and at the very extremity of the frontier; because, in that case, this was only meant as a false attack, and therefore the safety of the detachment was not to be endangered.

“ Carle, a major-general, and commanding officer of Dunkirk, was also to fall forth at the head of twelve hundred men, and march towards Furnes, to *feel the pulse* of the Flemings; he was to conduct himself agreeably to the progress of the other troops, and either to return to Dunkirk, or to remain in the field, and strengthen himself by means of new troops. This general attack was to have been made with about forty thousand men, a number fully sufficient for the first operations. The war had only been declared ten days, and neither orders nor troops

thousand men; Rochambeau intended to support him by means of a second army; while a third was destined to take possession of Mentz *. In addition to this opposition of sentiments, a settled enmity actually subsisted between Dumouriez on the one part, and la Fayette and Rochambeau on the other; which, with other unforeseen events, contributed to produce the disasters that ensued.

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1792.

AFTER much useful time had been wasted in explanation and disputes, Biron at length obtained the command of a body of troops belonging to the army of Rochambeau, with which he set out from Valenciennes, and encamped at Quievrain on the 1st of May. Having proceeded as far as Bossu, he there fell in with some light troops posted at that place by Beaulieu, a gallant and experienced officer, who had drawn up the main body of his little army on the heights above Mons. On this, two regiments of French dragoons, without seeing the main body of the enemy, immediately betook themselves to flight, exclaiming, that they were surrounded and betrayed. The infantry, which had been thrown into disorder by the misconduct of the cavalry, also fled; and such

[April 28.]
First invasion
of the Ne-
therlands.

[May 1.]

could arrive from Vienna for defending the country; which, in addition to this, was extremely well disposed. Had the scheme been confided to a man of genius, equally able, active, and willing, the success would have been infallible.

“ This army was to have been quickly reinforced by more than thirty thousand infantry, consisting of national battalions raised during the preceding summer in the northern and western departments of France. A second levy was ordered; and the interior in the mean time furnished several regiments of cavalry, which were now approaching Flanders. Thus, when the emperor would have assembled a body of troops in June or July, with an intention to reconquer the Low-countries, he would have been obliged to oppose la Fayette at the head of upwards of seventy-five thousand Frenchmen, and a whole country in a state of insurrection. In short, this is precisely the very same plan that general Dumouriez himself afterwards carried into execution, with a greater force indeed, but also against a far more powerful defence.”

* Tableau Hist. & Polit. de l'Europe, par P. Segur, t. II. p. 239.

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1792.

was the panick terrour with which they were seized, that they suffered themselves to be pursued by five or six hundred Hulans and chaffeurs, and lost their camp equipage, baggage, and even the military chest.

ROCHAMBEAU, on hearing of this disaster, immediately marched from Valenciennes with a few regiments to cover the retreat of the fugitives, who now entered that fortress, and no sooner found themselves in safety than they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and exhibited an eager desire to murder the marshal, and the general officers, who had been so lately the unwilling witnesses of their disgrace.

Disgraceful
retreat.

ON the same day and hour, major-general Theobald Dillon left Lille, and experienced a similar fate. Having arrived at Bessieu with two thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, he found himself opposed by major-general Happencourt, with a body of Austrians from Tournay, who did not, however, exceed eight or nine hundred men. No sooner had these come in fight, than the regiments of cavalry, after uttering the same cry of "treason! treason!" as was heard among the horse under Biron, rushed also through the foot, and the whole detachment returned back without being pursued, abandoning the artillery and baggage with the most shameful indifference*.

* Here follows a brief account of these disasters, copied from the proceedings of the national assembly. It is to be remarked, however, that, in consequence of the hurry and confusion, the details are not entirely accurate.

"May 1. The minister of war announced, that a detachment of the garrison of Lille had sallied forth on the evening of the 28th ult. in order to proceed towards Tournay, under the command of M. Dillon; but that the troops were driven back to Lille, after experiencing the most horrible defeat: that M. Dillon, who was equally zealous in the service of his country, and the defence of the constitution, lost his life near that very city, which ought to have protected his defeat; and that he perished by the hands of those very men for whom and with whom he had fought. (*The assembly here shuddered with indignation.*)

"The

DILLON having entered Lisle soon after the main body, was instantly attacked and murdered by his fugitive army; which, having thus added perfidy to cowardice, hung his corpse along with that of lieutenant-colonel Berthois of the engineers on a gallows, while the populace, who had joined the ferocious soldiery, committed every species of excess, and accused all the surviving officers of being *Aristocrats**.

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AT length la Fayette, who was to have attacked Namur with his whole army, arrived at Givet with only ten thousand

“The minister added, that M. Chamot brother to the adjutant-general, M. Berthois an officer of engineers, a priest, and some Austrian chasseurs who had been taken prisoners, were hanged at Lisle.”

“May 3. The minister at war informed the assembly of the defeat of the French forces at Mons, under M. Biron, and of their retreat to Valenciennes, with the loss of two hundred and fifty men killed, a considerable number taken prisoners, and five pieces of cannon.”

“May 4. M. Dumouriez read a letter from M. Rochambeau to the king, informing his majesty of the ill success of the troops under his command, whom he had been obliged to march into the territories of the king of Hungary, in consequence of orders from the ministers, which were totally opposite to the instructions of the 17th and 22d of April, and the cause of the failure of the enterprise. He concludes by requesting leave to resign.

“The minister, at the same time, entreated the assembly to adopt some vigorous measures for the security of the generals; and also to send commissioners to Lisle, to enquire into the events that had occurred there, and make an example of such as might be found guilty.”

* Count Theobald Dillon, descended from an ancient Irish family, which had followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart, was a colonel in the service of France anterior to the revolution, and had recently been invested with the rank of *maréchal de camp*. It was at first asserted, even in Paris, that he had betrayed his army and deserved his fate; but the national assembly did justice to his memory, June 9, 1792, having on that day voted him funeral honours; and not content with bestowing 800 livres of pension on each of his children, presented 1500 more to Josephina Viesville, a young lady, to whom he was to have been married. The widow and children of lieutenant-colonel Peter-François Berthois experienced a similar remuneration; and the military decoration, on the motion of Carnot, was bestowed on their two aides-de-camp.

BOOK I. men. There he found himself entirely destitute of camp
 CHAP. I. equipage, forage, provisions, and baggage waggons; he at the
 1792. same time received an account of the disasters that had occurred in the neighbourhood of Mons and Tournay, on which he determined to discontinue his operations. One of his detachments, however, conducted itself with great bravery; for a body of three thousand men, under the command of Gouvion, having been attacked near Bovines by the Austrians, that officer, after a gallant defence, retired under the cannon of Philippeville, and lost his life in vindicating the honour of his country.

Complaints
 of the generals.

THESE disasters, which in the two former instances originated with the cavalry, who, at the commencement of the war, were generally disaffected, threw Paris into consternation. The assembly was greatly irritated against Dumouriez; because, not content with the direction of his own, he had presumed to regulate the war department; and he was actually in danger of being sent to Orleans: nor was this all, for two of the generals addressed one letter to the king, and another to the legislative body, in which they observed, "that they could no longer execute the orders of an ignorant council, and a presumptuous minister." They both complained, at the same time, that they had been forced to open the campaign without either provisions or camp equipage. On the other hand, it was replied on the part of Dumouriez, that when the enemy pillaged the camp of Quievrain, tents and necessaries for twenty-two thousand men were found there; that the detachment under Dillon had not only tents and baggage, but two thousand five hundred blankets; that la Fayette should have marched with his whole army instead of only 10,000 men, and so far from desisting, on hearing of the checks before Mons and Tournay, ought, on the contrary, to have taken Namur, in order to compensate for the disgraces that had occurred in Flanders.

THE unfortunate commencement of the campaign, not only

produced a number of desertions*, but also occasioned the resignation of marshal Rochambeau†, the commander in chief of the northern army; and of de Grave, the minister for the war department: the latter was succeeded by Servan, and the former by Luckner.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

Rochambeau
resigns.

* PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—May 14.

“THE minister at war gave an account of the late desertions. However afflict- ing they might seem, the flight of traitors, he said, was much less dangerous than their presence in the army. The fourth regiment, formerly called the Saxon hussars, had deserted in a body with their colonel at their head, who told them that M. Luckner, &c. were gone over to the enemy; and that the troops of the line who staid behind were to be mixed by companies with the national guards, in order to be put to the sword more easily on the first plausible pretext. Eighteen of the privates, however, returned next day.

“The first company of the Berchiny hussars, with the colonel and most of the officers, also deserted; but the rest of the soldiers refused to follow.

“Amidst these disgraceful instances of defection, he mentioned with pleasure that one hundred and fifty of the national guards of Strasburgh, in circumstances to relinquish their civil avocations, without great inconvenience either to themselves or families, had offered their services, which were accepted.

“On the other hand, the fifteenth regiment of cavalry, formerly known by the name of the Royal Allemand, was prevailed upon to move off with arms and baggage from St. Avoird; but many of the privates immediately returned the moment they found that they had been betrayed by their officers.”

† MARSHAL ROCHAMBEAU.—The count de Rochambeau acquired considerable reputation during the seven-years' war, and distinguished himself repeatedly at the head of the regiment of Auvergne, of which he was colonel. Having been promoted successively to the rank of *maréchal de camp*, inspector, and lieutenant-general, his celebrity designated him as an officer worthy of being entrusted with the command of the French troops in America; and the capture of the gallant Cornwallis, although effected by a far superior army, commanded by Washington and him in conjunction, added not a little to his high character.

As he appeared to incline towards the principles which produced the revolution, Rochambeau was employed and obtained a blue ribband from his sovereign, soon after that event had taken place; and on the flight of the king, he presented himself at the bar of the assembly, where he took an oath, implying unconditional obedience to the orders of the legislature.

At length he was nominated a marshal of France, and appointed to the di-

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

1792.
Disputes in
the cabinet.

THE two parties in the cabinet were now pretty equally balanced in point of numbers ; but, in consequence of the neutrality of Duranthon, Dumouriez sometimes found himself in a minority. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, in conformity to their principles, were desirous that the king should dismiss his nonjuring confessor, and appoint a secretary to the council ; the latter proposition was in exact conformity to the constitutional code, but his majesty was averse from both, and he was sup-

recession of the northern army, but he achieved nothing memorable : this has been attributed to the policy of Dumouriez, then minister at war, who would not permit any of the old generals to distinguish themselves, he himself having already aspired to the chief command.

Rochambeau, disgusted at being left at Lille while his army was in the field, gave in his resignation, in May, 1792, soon after the defeat of one of his divisions at Quievrain, to which Biron had marched in consequence of secret orders from the minister.

“ Rochambeau,” says Dumouriez, “ was one of those who had testified the greatest dislike to the new minister, and also to the declaration of war. He had plainly told D. that he was a *fool* : and, that he might avoid transacting business either with him or Degraive, whose youth did not inspire much confidence, he set out in a pet for his command.

“ This general had displayed much skill in the art of war, and possessed great experience ; but his faculties were blunted by age, and an habitual state of ill health completely deprived him of his activity. Irritated, discontented with every thing about him ; an enemy to the revolution, although it had made him a marshal of France ; and beset by the *feuillans*, some of whom were his general officers ; he had announced that discipline was entirely restored among his troops : he afterwards experienced the contrary, and found that it was impossible to depend upon an army whose confidence neither himself nor those under him had obtained. This is the sole motive by which the French soldiery have been at all times influenced, but more especially since that period, when a systematical disorganisation was encouraged, and licence was regarded as the ægis of public liberty.” La Vie de Dumouriez, t. II.

After his resignation, marshal Rochambeau was frequently consulted by the governing powers relative to military affairs ; and still retained sufficient credit to obtain a high rank in the army for his son ; who, after serving with applause under Biron, was appointed to a separate command in the West Indies.

ported in his opposition by three of the members. Another subject of dispute, however, occurred soon after, and rendered a schism inevitable. The new minister at war, wishing to strengthen the popular cause, transmitted a letter to the president of the national assembly, proposing a decree for embodying and encamping twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Paris on the 14th of July. The Girondists, who were at this period in the plenitude of their power, and possessed a majority in the assembly, warmly supported the motion, which was accordingly carried in the affirmative, but the king determined to oppose his *veto*. On this, Roland drew up a letter to his majesty, which he read at the council-board; and in which, after treating him as a perjured prince, he reminded the monarch of the illegality of his conduct respecting his confessor; of the unconstitutional manner in which his body-guards had been formed; the imprudent conduct of the queen; the intrigues of the court; and of the couriers continually dispatched to Vienna and Coblenz. He then concluded by pressing his majesty to sanction the decrees relative to the army of federates, and the banishing the nonjuring clergy; and threatened, in case of refusal, to give in his resignation, and to awaken the nation relative to its danger.

IMMEDIATELY after this, Dumouriez had an audience of the king and queen, in which it was agreed that Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, should be dismissed: this resolution was accordingly communicated to them, and a new administration was formed. In consequence of these arrangements, the minister for foreign affairs became secretary at war: but he held this appointment during four days only; for, at the end of that period, the king having refused to sanction the two decrees, in conformity to his solemn promise to Dumouriez, the members resigned, and were succeeded by a new ministry, nominated by the feuillant party, which now appeared to be devoted to, and possessed great influence at court.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1722.

Dismissal of
the popular
ministers.
[June 13.]

BOOK I. IN the mean time, Luckner, who had lately passed through
 CHAP. I. Paris, in his way to the northern army, agreed, at the entreaty
 1792. of Dumouriez, to re-establish the offensive system of war in

Second invasion of the Netherlands. the nation. Accordingly, on his arrival at head-quarters, after effecting some slight changes, he advanced into the Auf-

[June 17.] trian territories, and seized on Ypres, Courtrai, and Menin, with a body of twenty-two thousand men; but no sooner did he hear that Dumouriez had given in his resignation, than he determined to return, complaining that he had been inveigled into the enterprize. Previously to his departure, however, the suburbs of Courtrai were burnt, without either provocation or necessity, within an hour before its evacuation, and that too under pretext of enabling the French to defend it.

[29.]

As it was the interest of the nation to conciliate the good opinion of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, this was obviously an act of imprudence, and the speedy emigration of the officer * by whose orders it was executed leaves but little doubt as to the motive. The assembly conducted itself on this occasion with a munificence dictated by policy, and while this rash deed was formally rebroated, an adequate compensation was voted to the sufferers †; on the other hand, the commander

* Jarry, a *maréchal de camp*, who afterwards joined the Chouans, and was arrested at the same time with Cormartin.

† The following short account of the irruption into the Austrian Flanders was published in Paris at this period:

“Lisle, June 18.—On Sunday morning at two o’clock marshal Luckner commenced his march with his whole army. About the same time M. Carle set out from Dunkirk with about 10,000 men, and a considerable train of artillery, to join him. In his route he took possession of Ypres, and the adjacent country. M. la Fayette also advanced, and has taken St. Ghislain the key to Mons. Marshal Luckner took possession of Menin at noon, the enemy retiring on his approach.

“The French troops were most cordially received by the inhabitants, who im-

in chief was consigned, first to obscurity, and afterwards to punishment *. BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

A DEFENSIVE system was now resolved upon again ; and the army of the North having returned ingloriously to its former station, occupied the intrenched camp of Famars. This position 1792.
Second retreat.

mediately mounted the national cockade, the men in their hats, and the women in their bosoms : a column of the army is advancing to Courtray."

The London Gazette afterwards announced, that "on the 19th a detachment from M. Luckner's army attacked Courtray, and obliged the garrison, after some resistance, to retire within three leagues of Ghent, where they took post, and were reinforced next day by the battalion of Bender, then on its way to Menin. The Austrians are said to have lost a hundred and ten men and a piece of cannon."

* MARSHAL LUCKNER.—Nicholas Luckner, a baron of the empire, was born at Campen in Bavaria, in 1722, and appears to have been a soldier of fortune from his youth. Having entered into the service of Prussia, he distinguished himself during the seven-years' war as a general officer, and not only displayed great bravery, but experienced considerable success at the head of the light troops. The French ministry, mistaking the talents of a partisan for those of a general, invited him into the service of Louis XV. and on the 20th of June, 1763, he obtained a pension of 36,000 livres, and the rank of a lieutenant-general.

As Luckner appeared friendly to the revolution, he was employed in 1791 ; and on the 26th of April, 1792, his pension, the payment of which had been suspended for some time at the treasury, was restored to him. The *constitutionalists*, while in power, had before this sent for him to the capital, in order to consult with him on military affairs, but he proved so utterly incapable of giving advice, that they permitted him to return to Lorraine without disclosing their projects. Notwithstanding this, he obtained the baton of a marshal of France, although he was so ignorant of the language of the nation which pensioned and employed him, that on his appearance at the bar of the assembly, in order to return thanks, the minister at war was under the necessity of reading a speech which had been drawn up for him ; because, according to him, "the heart of the marshal had more of French in it than his accent." Soon after this he received a red ribband from the king, and constantly wore it, until all decorations of this kind were suppressed.

On the declaration of war against the king of Hungary, he was appointed commander in chief of one of the three armies ; and, on the resignation of

BOOK I. was objectionable in many points of view, and its proximity to
 CHAP. I. Valenciennes kept the troops in a state of continual debauchery;
 1792. while the neighbourhood of that fortress, by appearing to shelter
 and protect them, exhibited the appearance of despondency, and
 rendered the Austrians masters of the flat country. Nor was it

Rochambeau, nominated general of the army of the North; in this capacity he entered Austrian Flanders, but fell into discredit in consequence of his hasty retreat.

The marshal was afterwards appointed to the army of the Moselle; in which situation he gave so much offence to the jacobins by his attachment to the king, and displayed such gross ignorance of military details, that, soon after the invasion of the combined army, he was suspended from his command, and sent to Chalons, where he superintended the management of the recruits, and new levies; being still permitted, however, to retain the pompous title of *generalissimo*, but without possessing any power whatsoever.

In January, 1793, Luckner repaired to the national convention on purpose to justify his conduct, and was permitted to retire; but he was afterwards arrested, tried, and executed January 4, 1794, at the age of seventy-two, under pretext of having delivered up a number of the French garrisons to the enemy.

“Luckner,” says Dumouriez, t. III. “was not devoid of talents; but his mind was contracted. He was actuated by a sordid avarice, and entirely destitute of education. His disposition and habits had always accustomed him to act a subordinate part. The consequential airs assumed by la Fayette imposed upon him, and the moment he found any one to put above himself, he instantly forgot his own rank, and took the second place. He still retained all the corporeal activity of a hussar; but his ideas were exceedingly confused. He was never able to comprehend the plan of the campaign of the Low-countries; his ideas could reach no further than the vanguard: and to all the explanations of the minister he constantly replied in bad French, ‘Yes, yes, I will turn first by the right and then by the left, and will march quick:’—“*Oui, oui, moi tourne par le droite, tourne par le gauche, & marche vite.*” In truth, he considered the invasion as a mere foraging party.

“He entered the Austrian territories,” adds Dumouriez, “with an army of about twenty-two thousand men, and advanced to Courtrai and Menin. However, he had scarcely arrived at his head-quarters, when he declared himself anti-ministerial, and his letters became rude and unmannerly. Berthier, who was at the head of his staff, Charles Lemeth, Jarry, Matthew de Montmorenci, and all his *aides-de-camp*, appertained to the faction of la Fayette.

adapted either to a good defence or an expeditious and certain retreat. In front was the Ronelle, which might be crossed with facility, while its elevated bank presented a formidable position for the enemy's artillery. In the rear flowed the Scheldt, which could not be forded, and was only to be passed by means of three bridges, two of which might have been seized on by an enterprising assailant. There were two other entrenched camps, one at Maubeuge, the other at Maulde: the former was commanded by lieutenant-general Lanoue, who had between five and six thousand men under him; the latter by Dumouriez, who immediately after his resignation had resumed the profession of arms.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

IN the mean time a great change had taken place in Paris. The conduct of the king had given rise to suspicion, and the dismissal of Roland and his two colleagues added greatly to the perplexity of the girondists, who beheld on the one hand the in-

“ There were only two general officers in Luckner's army who were hearty in the expedition into the Low-countries; these were Biron and Valence. The first was anxious to make amends for his disaster before Mons; the second, equally unconnected with all parties, consulted only his civism, his honesty, and his desire of distinguishing himself.

“ The marshal was affrighted at the number of the retainers, and especially of the carriages belonging to his own army; he constantly used this as an objection to all the movements which were proposed to him. Although a general, he could have willingly allowed his troops to trifle away the whole campaign in the camp of Valenciennes, while he himself acted in the character of a partisan: at the head of the advanced guard, he would have led an army to the end of the world.

“ In the morning he was entirely devoted to the nation; in the evening, wholly attached to the king. He had not any conception of the revolution. He confounded different objects and different parties together, and constantly complained of being surrounded by factious men, which indeed was but too true.”

It is but candid to add, that while Dumouriez, in common with madame Roland and every well-informed person, expressed his astonishment at the ignorance of Luckner, he considers his execution as a flagrant outrage on the name of justice.

BOOK I. creasing power of the jacobins with uneasiness, and on the other,
 CHAP. I. could not see la Fayette at the head of a numerous army, and the
 1792. throne surrounded by a ministry nominated by the *feuillants*, without alarm. An attempt was now made, by intimidating the royal family, to effect the restoration of the popular ministers; and as the minds of the Parisians were already sufficiently inflamed, but little art was necessary to obtain their assistance. On the 20th of June the suburbs of St. Antoine were perceived to be in commotion. The leaders, among whom Santerre, an opulent brewer, appeared to be the chief, produced a petition to the king for the dismissal of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the *veto*, by means of which he had been persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude then commenced their march, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women: increasing as they advanced, they at length reached the assembly, and having halted some time, deputed a few persons to require permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, which was shut; but they soon burst their way, in spite of every opposition, and arrived in the presence of his majesty, to whom they read their petition. Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion a degree of courage which had been supposed wholly incompatible with his character; neither the threats nor howlings of this insolent mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his *veto*; but he was under the necessity of wearing the red cap, the symbol of the jacobins, which was placed on his head by the hands of a man inebriated with liquor, and ejaculating the most terrible oaths.

The mob repairs to the palace.

At length, in consequence of a long and animated speech, delivered by Vergniaux, who placed himself on the shoulders of one of the mob, and a few words from Petion, mayor of Paris, the populace was persuaded to retire, without committing the

least injury against any part of the royal family, notwithstanding the appearance of the queen, against whom they were greatly incensed. This visit to the Tuilleries was but a prelude to one far more terrible, for the girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion from the shedding of human blood; but it was otherwise with their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.
1792.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the conduct of the court was suspicious, if not treacherous; that the king made no scruple to violate the constitution; that the new ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the people; and that the hostile preparations at the castle, the retention of a body of the Swiss guards, in express opposition to the laws, and the seduction of some battalions of the national volunteers, tended not a little to irritate the minds of the Parisians. In addition to this, la Fayette, who now appeared to have made his peace with the royal family, after assembling his troops, not to march once more against the enemy, but to deliberate on political subjects, had arrived in the capital with a petition signed by the officers and soldiers. He accordingly appeared, in their name, at the bar of the assembly, and demanded the punishment of the authors and instigators of the late tumult; he also inveighed loudly against the Jacobin Club, which was still considered as the rampart of public liberty, and insisted on its dissolution. But the appearance of a numerous and well-appointed army of foreign mercenaries on the frontiers, the menaces of the emigrants, the threats of the duke of Brunswick, and the supposed intercourse between him and the court, tended chiefly to fanaticise the minds of the people, and prepared the catastrophe now about to ensue.

ON the day of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a

[July 14.]

BOOK I. perjured prince ; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss
CHAP. I. guards and the national grenadiers could insure his safety amidst
1792. the immense and exasperated crowd that surrounded him *. His
treachery was no longer doubted ; but his enemies were divided
in respect to his punishment. Brissot, Vergniaux, and the other
popular leaders, desirous to act in compliance to the constitution,
repeatedly invoked the assembly to depose him ; but the jacobins,
in conformity to the violence of their character, were for re-
curring to more desperate measures.

* Précis Historique de la Révolution, par Lacretelle, p. 257.

C H A P. II.

Declaration of War by the Court of Brussels—Manifestoes of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick, and the French Princes—Preparations for opening the Campaign.

NINE days after the declaration of war on the part of France, a proclamation to the same effect was issued at Brussels, in the names of Maria-Christina princess royal of Hungary and Bohemia, and Albert Casimir prince-royal of Poland and Lithuania, the governors-general of the Austrian Low-countries. In this state-paper their royal highnesses mention that they had hitherto adhered to a system of the most rigorous neutrality, on purpose to insure the blessings of peace. They observe, at the same time, that the first acts of hostility appear to be directed against the provinces where they command; and they warn the subjects of his apostolick majesty “of the innumerable calamities which their enemies are eager to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to a credulous multitude by an impious sect of innovators, calling themselves philosophers.” The “league formed between several great powers” is here fully and explicitly recognised, and the constitution “on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded” is quoted with respect; but the court of Brussels was as yet too confident of success, and relied too implicitly on troops “full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two last reigns,” to restore their ancient rights to the people, and thus, by the interposition of a generous policy, render the invaders odious:

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

1792.

[April 29.]
Declaration
of war against
France.

BOOK I. this mode was not recurred to until it had become too late, and that
 CHAP. II. which would have been now accepted as a boon, was afterwards
 1792. spurned at as an act of necessity.

A CONSIDERABLE period elapsed after this before the associated courts publicly announced their sentiments by means of similar declarations. Had Leopold survived the malady which proved fatal to him, it is not improbable that his accustomed moderation and prudence would have entirely diverted the storm, which he had before suspended. But the sudden death of this amiable sovereign, the accession of a young prince, and the pertinacity of a veteran statesman *, unacquainted with the genius of his age, and dazzled with the favour of four successive monarchs invested with the Imperial diadem, contributed to involve Europe in a new species of warfare, and inflicted unforeseen calamities on the house of Austria.

[July 5.] FRANCIS II. king of Hungary and Bohemia, and a candidate
 Austrian ma- for the imperial dignity, which he soon after obtained; at length
 nifesto. issued a counter-declaration against France. In this his apostolick majesty denied that he had given "publick protection" to the emigrants; he allowed, however, the existence of a "concert between the late emperor and several powers, for maintaining of the publick tranquillity, and honour of their respective crowns;" but he asserted, at the same time, that in consequence of the representations of the court of Vienna, this was changed from an active into a passive league, intended to be wholly suspended, "unless France should fall again into the same state of disorder and popular violence which, according to the notions of all governments, from time immemorial, represent a state of anarchy †."

THE court of Berlin soon after published a concise exposition

* Prince Kaunitz.

† See Appendix, E.

of the reasons which determined his majesty the king of Prussia to take up arms against France. In this manifesto Frederick-William II. states, that being united with his apostolick majesty by the ties of a close and defensive alliance, he cannot remain a quiet spectator of the war commenced against that sovereign. He accuses the French of having violated, "by notorious suppression, the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine;" of having broached principles "subversive of all social subordination;" of having "tolerated, received, and sold, the most outrageous writings and speeches against the sacred persons and legal authority of sovereigns;" and of having "at length filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the king of Hungary and Bohemia." But, not content with these motives, his Prussian majesty was impolitick enough to disclose "the grand object" proposed by him in conjunction with his ally: "to put an end to anarchy in France, and to establish, for this purpose, a legal power, on the essential basis of a monarchical form;" but, on the other hand, he evinced some degree of moderation, by attributing the excesses that had occurred, "not to the whole French nation," but to the machinations of a "too-powerful faction*."

It was precisely at this critical period, that the forces of the combined kings, accompanied by a formidable and numerous band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France. The moment seemed to be peculiarly auspicious. The executive and legislative powers of that devoted kingdom were at open variance, while a society of individuals, alike unknown to the laws and the constitution, was about to acquire an ascendancy over both. No leader appeared at the head of the national troops, calculated to inspire the people with confidence, or acquire respect from the enemy;

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.
1792.
[July 26.]
Prussian ma-
nifesto.

Situation of
France fa-
vourable to
the views of
the allied
courts.

* See Appendix, E.

BOOK I. while the soldiery, already dispirited by two abortive and dis-
 CHAP. II. graceful attacks on the Austrian Low-countries, seemed utterly
 1792. incapable of withstanding the best-disciplined armies of Europe.

Progress of
 the Prussians.
 [July 3.]

THE duke of Brunswick, a commander who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederick the Great, and recently increased his celebrity, not only during the contest about Bavaria, but also by the sudden conquest of Holland, had already reached Coblenz with the first division of the combined army, of which he was proclaimed *generalissimo*. The arrival of the Prussian monarch, Frederick-William II. and the advance of the Austrian auxiliaries, were considered as the signal for opening the campaign; while France, her constitution, and her newly-acquired liberties, appeared to be devoted to irretrievable destruction. During this dreadful pause, his serene highness was prevailed upon to publish an address to the inhabitants of France, in the joint names of the emperor and king, calculated to give a new turn to the war, and render the efforts of eighty thousand of the best troops in Europe unavailing. In this memorable manifesto, less calculated to divide than to unite the nation, the general states it to be the intention of the two united courts, who are here made to abjure every idea of enriching themselves by conquests, "to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar."

[July 25.]
 Duke of
 Brunswick's
 manifesto.

AFTER an unqualified admission of a design to interpose in the internal management of an independent nation, his highness formally announces his intention to march into France, and his resolution to punish as "rebels" such of the national militia as should be taken with arms in their hands, fighting for the defence of their country. The magistrates are rendered responsible "with their heads and estates" for all the crimes and conflagrations which may take place; the inhabitants of towns and villages who shall fire on the troops of their imperial and royal majesties are to suffer death; while the city of Paris, and all its population, without distinction, as well as all the members of the

national assembly, of the department, the district, the municipality, and the national guards, individually accountable for all attempts against the king, in conformity to military law *.

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.
1792.

SUCH is the substance of this famous declaration, by which it is

* *Declaration addressed by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and King of Prussia, to the Inhabitants of France.*

“ THEIR majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“ After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed, against the most sacred person of the king, and against his august family; those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measures of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low-countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the impetuous threats of the domineering party and their emissaries.

“ His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanick body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is, to put an end to the anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

“ Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious

BOOK I. deemed rebellion for the inhabitants of France to defend their
 CHAP. II. country against foreign invaders, and in which the emperor and
 1792. king presume to dictate to the legislature and all the constituted authorities of the empire, at the very moment when, with a spirit of

enterprises of their oppressors ; his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the under-written general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare—

“ 1st. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

“ 2dly. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to insure to his most christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to insure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

“ 3dly. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king ; and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France.

“ 4thly. That the national guards are called upon to preserve provisionally tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible ; that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the publick peace.

“ 5thly. That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

“ 6thly. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a publick manner, attempted to prevent, within their respective territories ; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

“ 7thly.

inconsistency truly astonishing, they formally protest "that they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France." But, not content with this, his serene highness was persuaded, two days after, to issue "an additional declaration," in which all

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.

1792.

[July 27.]

Second ma-
nifesto.

" 7thly. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished, or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

" 8thly. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly, and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to insure to his and all the royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern: and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done their majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved: their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above instructions.

" Finally. Their majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kind of declarations which may

BOOK I. the inhabitants of Paris, and of the empire, are again menaced
 CHAP. II. with the most terrible punishments in case they should presume
 1792. to disobey his commands.

These declarations serviceable to France.

FRANCE, already threatened with civil as well as foreign war, and apparently abandoned to the horrors of anarchy, profited on this occasion by the folly and presumption of her enemies. Such a gross outrage to national honour, instead of depressing, aroused the energy of the people. As all were equally deemed objects of venge-

be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and, with this view, their imperial and royal majesties invite and intreat his most catholic majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most christian majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

"In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every-where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance and manifest evil intentions.

"I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every-where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

"Given at general quarters at Coblenz,

"July 25, 1792.

(Signed)

"CHARLES-WILLIAM FERDINAND,

"DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG."

Additional Declaration by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, addressed to the Inhabitants of France.

"THE declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblenz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm

ance, all became united. As no distinction was made between the friend of the constitution and the zealot of democracy; as no line was drawn, so as to separate the mildest advocate for a limited monarchy, from the most furious partisan of plunder and revolt; every party was alike assailed, and their common safety

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.
1792.

resolves of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of the combined armies.

“ The liberty and safety of the sacred persons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their imperial and royal majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments if the least insult should be offered to his most christian majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

“ Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and the royal family shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

“ All the inhabitants of France are in general to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the king and royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their imperial and royal majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most christian majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him), unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

“ All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his most christian majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their imperial and royal majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

“ Given at general quarters at Coblenz,

“ July 27, 1792.

(Signed)

“ CHARLES-WILLIAM FERDINAND

“ DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG.”

BOOK I. depended on their conjunction. Men of the most opposite sentiments were now taught to unite for the first time. The Brissotins and the Maratists, the Jacobins and the Feuillants, the constitutionalists and the anarchists, were alike desirous to rescue France from a foreign yoke; while some even of the royalists, unable any longer to conceal their resentment at the indignity offered to the honour of their country, were ready to adopt the most vigorous measures, in order to vindicate its independence*.

CHAP. II.
1792.

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—July 31, 1792.

“THE president informed the assembly, that he had received a packet by the post, containing a declaration which was issued in the name of the duke of Brunswick.

“In consequence of a report from the committee of GENERAL INSPECTION, founded upon the conduct and threats of the enemy, in regard to the national guards, the assembly passed a decree, by which it is declared :

“‘That if the laws of war are not strictly observed towards *all Frenchmen* taken with arms in their hands, all the officers belonging to the enemy, who may be made prisoners, shall experience a similar treatment, whatever may be their rank, titles, or distinctions; but that the soldiery shall, notwithstanding, continue to be treated as before.’

“The assembly arose, and voted this decree, in which the members were unanimous, by acclamation.

“The assembly also passed another, by which all the inhabitants of France, destitute of fire-arms, are henceforth to be armed with pikes, similar to those recommended by marshal Saxe.”

“AUGUST 2.—The passing of the following decree, presented by the COMMISSION OF PUBLIC SAFETY, was only suspended by the unanimous and reiterated plaudits of the assembly :

“1st. Every officer or foldier, serving under the yoke of despotism, who shall repair to the army of liberty, or any military post, publick functionary, &c. shall receive an annual pension of 100 livres, of which one fourth is to be paid in advance, shall be admitted to take the civick oath, and shall receive a national cockade, in token of fraternity and adoption. This pension, in case of death, shall be paid to his widow.

“2dly. All such shall be allowed to choose the army in which they wish to serve; and over and above the sum of one hundred livres, be entitled to the usual bounty-money on enlisting.

“3dly.

NOR did the joint manifesto, issued soon after by the king of Hungary, now become emperor, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, and which rather resembled a political disquisition on the revolution, than a memorial justifying their conduct, afford greater satisfaction. In this, the circular letter written by the late emperor from Padua, inviting all the powers of Europe to concert measures "for avenging the honour of the diadem," is recognised; and it is also allowed, "that the convention of Pilnitz determined those circumstances which obliged their Imperial and Prussian majesties to have recourse to arms."

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

1792.

[August 4.]

Joint declaration of the allied courts.

THE two successive legislatures of France were there designated by the title of the "usurping assemblies;" but, what was infinitely more impolitic, the allied courts evinced by their present conduct that they did not believe Louis XVI. to have accepted the constitution with sincerity: "he wished," said they, "as he himself declared, that the constitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or to condemn France to commit execrable crimes, to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins. The king signed it, but his hand at that period was not free. The act which he performed was invalid, for the pro-

" 3dly. The pensions of all military men, who repair to France, shall revert to the survivors, until they amount to 500 livres each.

" 4thly. Those who do not wish to be employed as military men, shall be permitted to retire into the interior of the kingdom; and those who are desirous of serving, shall be admitted to the same recompences for their bravery as other French citizens.

" 5thly. The sum of two millions shall be transmitted to the minister at war, in order to enable him to fulfil these engagements.

" 6thly. The national assembly also hereby mortgages the sums arising from the property of the emigrants, for the payment of the above pensions and engagements.

" 7thly. In case France shall be unhappily drawn into a war against a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, the military men of that nation shall not be entitled to the advantages arising from the present decree."

BOOK I. testation of the 20th of June had previously annulled it. A pri-
 CHAP. II. soner can enter into no engagement, can sanction nothing, nor
 1792. accept of any thing; and a monarch, who is reduced to the necessity of writing that he is *free*, is not so in reality *."

[August 8.] IN the manifesto † published by the French princes, four days
 Declaration afterwards, the limitation of the monarchy is considered as a
 of the French "monstrous system," produced by a "conspiracy of atrocious
 princes. minds;" and "a mild people, attached to the king," are said to have been converted "into hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides!"

THEY however solemnly disclaim every idea of "revenge," and wish only to become the "deliverers" of their country. The declarations made by the two allied sovereigns, through the commander in chief of the combined armies, are stated "to be generous and magnanimous:" "in which," add they, "the kings of the house of Bourbon, our august cousins; our much-honoured father-in-law, the Nestor of sovereigns; the heroine of the North, our sublime protectress! and the young heir of the unfortunate Gustavus, whose bloody tomb we all bathe with our tears, equally participate and insure," continue they, "to these illustrious confederates, the immortal palm due to the defenders of a cause, which is at the same time that of kings, of good order, and of humanity."

TOWARDS the conclusion, their highnesses give the "most pressing invitations," and even "orders," to the French troops, to return "to their ancient fidelity, to their lawful sovereign," and join those forces that they "command for him," "without looking upon themselves as bound by any *illusory oath*, which they could never take willingly to the prejudice of their supreme chief." They also require, "in the king's name," all com-

* See Appendix, E.

† Ibid.

manders of towns, citadels, and fortresses throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys on the first summons, under the penalty “ of being tried for disobedience to the king, and treated as rebels.”

BOOK 1.
CHAP. II.
1792.

IN the mean time Frederick-William II. left his capital, and had an interview with the new emperor at Mentz. On this occasion the Prussian monarch was declared chief of the Germanick confederation, formed by their imperial and royal majesties, the ecclesiastical electors, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and several of the sovereigns whose possessions bordered on the Rhine.

Frederick-William proclaimed head of the league.

THE hero of the league soon after arrived at Coblenz, where he was received as a future conqueror by his own troops, while the emigrants in him hailed their deliverer. Confiding implicitly in the promises of a prince who had relinquished the pleasures of the table, and the seductions of the fair sex, on purpose to espouse their cause, amidst the intoxication of joy and exultation, they already felicitated themselves with the idea of triumphing over their enemies, and being speedily restored to their titles, their estates, and their country.

He arrives at the head quarters of,

HIS majesty soon after reviewed his army, composed of fifty thousand Prussians, at the head of which he himself intended to take the field. The auxiliaries were to consist of thirty thousand Austrians, under the command of the prince de Hohenlohe and the count de Clairfayt. The prince of Hesse was to supply six thousand of his subjects. The French nobles, who had now assumed the name of the royal army, including a few regiments levied by the little German princes, already amounted to twenty-two thousand. These were divided into three different bodies: one of twelve thousand men, led by the counts de Provence and Artois, brothers of Louis XVI. was destined to serve with the grand army; while the other two, consisting of five thousand each, and

and reviews, the troops.

BOOK I. commanded by the prince de Condé and the duke of Bourbon,
 CHAP. II. were cantoned on the borders of the Rhine.

1792.

THUS an immense military force, amounting to one hundred and nine thousand troops, was destined to overwhelm all opposition; and preparations were now making to open a campaign on the success of which the fate of so many monarchs, princes, and nobles, depended.

THE allied courts suffered themselves to be persuaded that all their operations would be infallibly crowned with success. They were told that the moment their armies passed the frontiers they would be joined by the troops of the line, while the gates of every town would be thrown open at their approach. The duke of Brunswick, however, did not trust implicitly to these assurances; but, on the contrary, relied chiefly for success on calculations, which in the end proved equally fallacious.

Plan of the
 campaign.

THIS general, in conformity to a previous agreement between the combined powers, was to march against Longwy, by the way of Treves and Luxembourg. After having reduced that place, and, if possible, Montmedy also, both of which were to serve as arsenals and magazines for his army, it was intended that he should obtain possession of Verdun, Sedan, and Mezieres. The court of Vienna promised to second these efforts by means of two armies, one of which was to attack Thionville, and menace Landau and Saarlouis, while another, issuing from the Austrian Netherlands, overran the northern department, and laid siege to Lille.

THIS scheme of warfare, calculated with all the phlegm incident to the tactics of Germany, hazarded but little. If the French armies declared in favour of the invaders, success became inevitable; and in case of even the most determined resistance, a retreat was insured. It was expected that France, pressed by numerous forces on both frontiers, would yield to the systematick

plans of a great commander ; and if no remarkable impression was made during that campaign, the approaching one would, undoubtedly, prove decisive. In the mean time, the Prussians being in possession of all the strong points on the Meuse, from Verdun to Givet, with their flanks protected by two Austrian armies, could remain during the winter in cantonments behind that river ; thus assuming a position, so much the more advantageous, as it would uncover the rear of all the enemy's fortified places on the Sambre.

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.
1792.

THIS plan of hostilities was, however, changed in the sequel, in consequence of the inability of the court of Vienna to fulfil its engagements.

C H A P III.

Insurrection of the 10th of August—Character and Views of the Leaders—Suspension of the King's Authority—Election of a National Convention—Conduct of the Armies and the Generals—Dumouriez is promoted to the chief Command—Flight of La Fayette.

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.

1792.

Critical situation of Louis XVI.

WHILE a coalition of foreign princes, under pretence of supporting the rights and avenging the injuries of kings, menaced the French with their vengeance, the throne tottered beneath the feeble and irresolute monarch, whom they pretended to reinstate in all the plenitude of despotick power. The sovereigns armed in support of his cause had branded his acceptance of the constitution, in their joint manifesto, with hypocrisy; while his brothers, by their late hostile declaration, took upon them, in his name, to corrupt the allegiance of the army and the fidelity of the garrisons.

and of the
stages.

THE imminent danger of the nation appeared conspicuous to all, for, in addition to a host of foreign enemies, the suspicious and equivocal conduct of the first magistrate, who was intrusted by the laws with the command of the armies, rendered all hopes of defence illusory and abortive. The two great parties in opposition to the crown were equally alarmed; but they differed in the mode of prevention. Brissot and the girondists, wishing to adhere to the established forms of the constitution, were desirous, after a solemn investigation into the conduct of Louis XVI. to declare that he had incurred the penalty of forfeiture.

BUT the jacobins were resolved to recur to more energetick measures, and their chiefs had already determined, not only on the punishment of the king, but the annihilation of the monarchy. Possessing every quality necessary for a conspirator but courage alone, Robespierre presided at their deliberations. Although incapable of facing danger, he took an active but secret part in the overthrow of the throne; and, as the reputation of Brissot was more odious to him than the machinations of Louis XVI. he determined to combine his designs respecting the executive power, with a perfidious vengeance against all his rivals. The loud, sonorous, and commanding voice of Danton, always heard with attention in the moment of danger, had already inflamed the Cordeliers to insurrection; he now employed the money with which the court had secretly attempted to corrupt him, for the destruction of royalty; and, in order to gratify a predominant ambition, he had determined to overturn a constitution which neither gratified his passion for fame, nor his love of wealth. Camille Desmoulins, bribed also by that monarch against whom he now conspired, and Fabre d'Eglantine, who had in some measure prepared the publick mind by his writings for a crisis, readily joined in the plot; while Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, and many others, languished to be rescued from obscurity and poverty by any brilliant, although finistrous, exploit. Barbaroux, a native of Marseilles, which had been originally a Greek colony, publicly professed the same political sentiments as the first founders of the free city that had given him birth. Fully convinced of the treachery of the monarch, and jealous of royalty under any form, he readily concurred in the combination for the subversion of the kingly power, and contributed not a little, by his influence over a body of his armed countrymen who had repaired to the federation, to achieve that measure. But his principles were pure, and, like Brutus of old, he appears to have struck for liberty alone!

BOOK I.

CHAP. III.

1792.

Insurrection

against the throne.

BOOK I. SUCH were the principal leaders of the insurrection; and the
 CHAP. III. means employed by them, as well as the epoch at which they
 1792. proposed to act, seemed not only to promise, but even to insure
 success. Five hundred young men from Marseilles, and a battalion
 from Brest, were devoted to their cause; many of the national
 guards had also agreed to join them; but they chiefly relied on
 the jacobins, who determined to hazard their existence on this
 occasion. The Parisians, instead of being intimidated, were ex-
 cited to insurrection by the threats and vauntings of the com-
 bined kings. The meetings of the sections of the capital had
 been already declared permanent by the municipality; the
 country had been voted to be "in danger*" by the legislature;
 the perfidy of the monarch, of his consort, and of his court, was
 every-where propagated and believed; and nothing seemed now
 wanting but a leader to storm the royal palace, and make the king
 a prisoner.

A leader
 chosen.

SANTERRE aspired to this honour; but they had not sufficient
 confidence either in his valour or military talents, to entrust
 the enterprise to his management. At length, Danton, during an
 interview at Charenton, presented to them a chief, calculated to
 dissipate all their alarms, and insure all their suffrages. This was
 Westermann, a native of Alsace, who had served in the armies of
 France under the old government, but having retired in disgust,
 he had become a zealot of the revolution. His personal bravery
 was undoubted; and the plan of attack drawn up by him an-
 nounced, at least, that his military talents were competent to
 attain the object now under consideration.

* A decree was passed for this purpose, July 11, precisely six days after the pub-
 lication of the manifesto by the king of Hungary and Bohemia.—Here follows the
 preamble:

"Numerous armies advance towards our frontiers. All those who look upon
 liberty with horror arm themselves against our constitution. Citizens! your
 country is in danger."

ON the evening of the 9th of August, while the minds of the citizens were still inflamed against the majority of the legislature which had just acquitted la Fayette, the insurgents prepared for the assault. They accordingly assembled in arms in three different places: at the jacobin club; the section of *Quinze-vint*, in the suburbs of St. Antoine; and the hall of the Cordeliers. It was at this last that the most resolute met, and the Marfeillese already demanded with impatience the signal for the attack. Danton, whose eye sparkled with hope, expectation, and revenge, with a loud and furious voice recapitulated the crimes of the court: "Let us cease," exclaims he "to appeal to the laws and the legislators: the laws never anticipated so many crimes; and as for the legislators, the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of la Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced kings.—What do I say?—It is this very night which the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage, and to the flames, that capital he wishes once more to leave.—To arms! to arms *!"

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.
1792.
Preparations
for the attack.

THIS cry was instantly repeated a thousand times, and from a thousand different mouths: at eleven o'clock the assembly formally declared itself in "a state of insurrection," and a musket was fired as a signal for action.

ON this all the members sallied forth: some snatch up their arms; others help to drag the cannon; a few are dispatched to give notice of their approach. Chabot, Camille, and several more, order the bells of the churches to be rung; and in a few minutes the dreadful *tocsin* is heard throughout Paris, impressing all its inhabitants with alarm, and wafting terror and dismay to every apartment in the castle of the Tuilleries.

* Précis Historique de la Révolution Française, par Lacretelle, p. 294.

1792.

Situation of
the palace.

WARS OF THE

NOR was the palace wholly unprovided in respect to defence. The Swiss retained about the person of the king, in express opposition to a decree of the assembly, had been gained by the liberality and caresses of the court ; but, although devoted to the royal cause, their number was incomplete, nearly one-half being absent at Courbevoie. A few companies of grenadiers belonging to the national guards had also repaired to the court of the Tuilleries, while the interior was garrisoned by between seven and eight hundred royalists, all well armed, and resolved either to conquer or die. Among the military men who made their appearance at this critical period was the old viscount de Mailly, on whom was immediately conferred, by acclamation, the honour of commanding the nobles. The queen conducted herself on this trying occasion with equal policy and intrepidity. With a countenance that seemed still to beam with hope, and an eye denoting courage, she repaired from rank to rank, and from post to post. The virtuous and accomplished princess madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, accompanied her on this occasion ; and both of them were equally attentive to the national guards and the nobles, between whom a jealousy already prevailed. Such was the general enthusiasm, that it was resolved at one time not to remain on the defensive, but to sally forth against the insurgents, seize on their cannon, annoy their line of march, dissipate their columns, pursue the fugitives with the horse, and thus put an end to the insurrection. This plan was conceived and urged by many military men, such as d'Hervilli, and Viomenil ; and Mandat, the *commandant* of the national guard, was said to have been entrusted with the execution. But Louis, although he had at first consented to, did not long approve of, so bold a measure ; for, no sooner did the danger seem imminent, than the descendant of the gallant Henry IV. appeared, as usual, timid and irresolute. It was in vain that the daughter of Maria Thérèse approached her wavering consort, presented him with arms, and told him to defend his

life, his family, and his throne *; it was in vain that the grantees represented the victory as certain: the king was persuaded by Roederer to abandon his palace, his nobles, and his guards; and, before a single shot was fired, he took refuge with his consort, his children, and his sister, in the bosom of the assembly; thus annihilating at the same time the hopes of his defenders and the fears of his enemies.

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.
1792.

IN the mean time the jacobins, who had increased their numbers during the night, waited but for the dawn to commence the attack. Having seized on the town-house, they began by dismissing the old and nominating a new municipality. Petion, who had been intimidated during his visit to the castle, and forced to sign an order to repel force by force, was deprived of his authority: Mandat, who had issued injunctions to intercept all communication between the city and the suburbs by the bridges, was first arrested and then put to death. All the movements of the insurgents were regulated by the new magistrates; an appearance of order, and even of legality, was thus given to their proceedings, and no sooner did they hear that the king had taken refuge in the hall of the legislature, than they redoubled their efforts, and pressed the attack with additional activity.

Conduct of
the jacobins,

THE federates of Marseilles, burning with enthusiasm, and ambitious to distinguish themselves, headed the columns. They were followed by the battalion of Brest, like the former, properly accoutred for the combat, and an immense number of individuals, the only arms possessed by whom consisted of pikes, useless in an engagement of this kind, but terrible after victory: their chief reliance was placed on their cannon, and these were dragged forward by a body of men, who had dedicated their time and labours to the art of managing these destructive engines. The motions of the insurgents were rather rapid than

[August 10.]
Siege of the
castle.

* Tableau Historique & Politique de l'Europe, par Segur, t. II. p. 254.

BOOK I. regular ; the Marseillaise hymn animated their march, and the
 CHAP. III. stanzas were recited at intervals by the whole body. After de-

1792.

feating a small detachment of royalists, posted on the Pont-Neuf, they at length reached the Carrouzel, where they were joined by several battalions, who waited for them with impatience. Some of the national troops, hearing of the king's flight, declared also in their favour ; the *gendarmes*, equally despising the caresses and the threats of their chiefs, proclaimed themselves ready to act as auxiliaries ; while the garrison of the castle was weakened by the defection of two or three battalions of national guards, and the loss of the three hundred Swiss, and three hundred grenadiers, who had accompanied the royal family to the assembly. At nine o'clock in the morning the outward gates were forced, and an armed multitude rushed into the court. The body-guards, ranged along the steps of the grand staircase, on a signal given, fired a volley and drove back the most furious of the assailants ; a more distant warfare was then carried on from and against the windows, while the cannon pointed at the palace already pierced the extremities of the roof.

THE Swiss now sallied forth, and drew up in order of battle in the quadrangle, which was already strewed with the slain ; four pieces of ordnance were also left in the court of the Carrouzel by the affrighted assailants, but the garrison, already deserted by their prince, was alike destitute of orders and of a proper plan of defence. The insurgents, on the other hand, were at once bold, resolute, and persevering ; they had but one object, which was the capture of the Tuilleries ; and they were instigated by hope, shame, and revenge.

THE Marseillaise having at length rallied the fugitives, determined to admit none to participate in the attack except those who were accustomed to military discipline, and resolved, like themselves, to conquer or to die ; the cannoneers, burning with rage for the loss of their companions, fully participated in

their opinions, and all the irregular auxiliaries were immediately obliged to retire *.

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.
1792.

WESTERMANN having given orders to renew the attack, the artillery was distributed anew, and the castle once more invested. The *gendarmérie*, hitherto inactive, either expelled or arrested their officers; several battalions, which had marched for the purpose of defending the royal family, also declared at this critical moment against them; volleys of cannon were again heard; the walls are pierced with balls; the castle, now on fire in several different places, is at length forced, and the blood of the bodyguards flows along the steps of the palace. Many of the Swiss, attempting to escape by the garden, were surrounded, and cut off by the *gendarmérie* and the mob; the grenadiers of the district of Filles St. Thomas, who were attached to the royal cause, effected their retreat with great difficulty, and some of the nobles found an asylum in the hotel of the ambassador from Venice. The slaughter would have been prodigious had not the national assembly decreed that the foreigners were placed under the protection of the laws; the people, however, still outrageous against the king, whom they considered as the cause of all their calamities, refused to assist in stopping the progress of the flames, until their revenge was satiated; while a multitude of petitioners appeared at the bar, and demanded the deposition of the captive monarch. The Brissotins, who wished only for a popular administration, and a prince attached to the constitution, were alarmed at a victory which laid them as well as the throne prostrate at the feet of their enemies. Vergniaud, however, at length delivered in a report, in the name of an extraordinary committee, after prefacing "that he was about to present a rigorous measure for their adoption," for which he seemed to apologise by observing, "that it was necessary for the

* Précis Historique, par Lacretelle, p. 327.

BOOK I. safety of the state." He then detailed the plan of a decree, for
 CHAP. III. the convocation of a national convention, and the *provisional sus-*
 1792. *pension* of the king, until that body had pronounced on the mea-
 Decree for fures necessary for maintaining the sovereignty of the people.
 electing a na- These propositions having been instantly assented to, a deputy
 tional con- was sent to communicate the intelligence to the insurgents, who
 vention, and suspending the king. immediately became more calm; and one of them appeared soon
 after at the bar, with a Swift, whom he had made prisoner, under
 his arm: "Let us spare," exclaimed he, "these instruments of
 a perfidious king!" and immediately embraced him; after which,
 exhausted with his previous exertions and his present emotions,
 he immediately fainted and fell down at the feet of his late adver-
 sary. The assembly took advantage of this scene to excite the
 victors to clemency: but it was otherwise at the *Hotel-de-Ville*,
 for there the cry of "Vengeance!" and "No quarter!" was still
 heard; eighty Swifts were murdered, notwithstanding all the efforts
 of the national guards to prevent it.

Proceeding
 of the Pari-
 sians.

[August 11.] ALTHOUGH the king had only been suspended from his func-
 tions on the 10th of August, yet, on the succeeding day, royalty
 itself seemed to be abolished. All the ensigns of the monarchy,
 every vestige of former kings, were disfigured, obliterated, or
 destroyed. The statues of Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Louis
 XV., which had been erected in the different squares of the
 metropolis, were now overturned and defaced; even the memory
 of Henry IV. could not protect his effigy!

Proceedings
 of the assem-
 bly.

LOUIS XVI., who had remained with his family during
 two days in a narrow apartment destined for those who took
 notes of the debates, was conveyed under a strong escort to the
 Temple: d'Abencourt, the minister at war, was arrested at the
 same time; while a decree of accusation was issued against Mont-
 morin, Bertrand, and Montciel, all of whom had been in place;
 as well as against Duport, Barnave, and Alexander Lameth, who

appeared from documents found in the castle to have advised Louis XVI. to refuse his sanction to the measures adopted by the assembly against the priests and emigrants. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, were now reinstated in their former offices; while Danton, an associate whom they did not dare to disown, was nominated, with singular impropriety, minister of justice.

BOOK I.
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THIS victory gained over the throne by the Parisians and the federates, soon received the assent and the sanction of all the departments. Even those publick bodies which had so loudly protested against the proceedings of the 20th of June, readily celebrated the triumph of the 10th of August: the intelligence of the capture of the Bastille had been scarcely received with a more general acquiescence; but the motive was less pure, for terror now began to supply the place of enthusiasm.

IN the mean time the suspension and imprisonment of the king produced great astonishment in the armies; particularly that commanded by la Fayette, who, by the sudden change of his position, appears to have meditated some important project, now rendered abortive by the new revolution. He was posted at this critical moment at Sedan; his command extended from Alsace to Dunkirk, and he was at the head of a considerable body of troops apparently devoted to his will.

Conduct of
la Fayette;

THIS general, who had so strenuously opposed the despotism of the court, was equally adverse to the tyranny of the jacobins, and determined to support the cause of the captive monarch, whose power appeared to have been rendered legitimate by the sanction of the constitution, and the oaths of the people. Having called a council of war, to which he summoned every officer commanding a battalion, and found a ready assent to all the measures proposed by him, he immediately published a proclamation, in which he declared not only his own dissent, but that of the troops under his command, to the recent events that had occurred in the capital. The soldiery already announced, by their rage and their excla-

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mations, that they were actuated by that indignation which their leader was so desirous to excite ; while the members of the department, propelled by a similar enthusiasm, refused to recognise the acts of the national assembly, which now assumed and exercised the sovereign authority.

Luckner ;

BUT that body had already anticipated the defection of this army, and resorted to measures calculated either to gain the commander, or induce the troops to desert. Three commissioners * had been accordingly selected for this purpose ; and, notwithstanding they heard during their journey of the dangers they were likely to encounter, they persisted in fulfilling the object of their mission. On their arrival at Sedan, they were immediately arrested and imprisoned as hostages, for the safety of the king and the royal family, at the instigation of la Fayette. This officer had every reason to suppose, that all the armies participated in his resentments ; but he was mistaken, for Luckner, although destitute of most of the other talents necessary for a general, was far from being deficient in respect to prudence. He had already obtained a marshal's bâton, a red ribband, and the title of *generalissimo*, by appearing devoted to all parties : incapable of forming or even conceiving any plan that required reflection, he was an able partisan, but a despicable chief ; addicted to wine, this soldier of fortune was incapable of keeping a secret ; desirous above all things of amassing wealth, the avaricious Bavarian possessed none of the attachments of a Frenchman. Accordingly, after displaying the most contemptible irresolution, he at length declared for the assembly, and thus disappointed the expectations of his colleague.

Dillon ;

LA FAYETTE, however, experienced more fidelity on the part of lieutenant-general Arthur Dillon. This officer had sat as a deputy in the first assembly, and condemned the idea of an

* Antonelle, Kerfaint, and Perraldi.

offensive war, which he considered as unconstitutional; he was so much attached indeed to the defensive system, that he had divided his army into three separate camps, being afraid, in case he assembled them in a body to drive the duke of Saxe Teschen from Bavai, lest he should be forced by some unexpected occurrence to change his plan. No sooner did he receive intelligence of the events that occurred in Paris, than he assembled the troops in the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre, and prevailed upon the soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity*; he also issued similar orders to the divisions collected at Maulde and Maubege, but the officer who commanded at the former of these, and whose person he had neglected to arrest, in compliance with the express orders of the commander in chief, determined not to obey. This was Dumouriez, who, although he had turned out the three popular ministers †, yet found it necessary to remain on good terms with

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* On the 13th of August, 1792, general Dillon published the following Declaration in his camp:

“It is said that the constitution has been violated. Whoever the persons may be, who have thus perjured themselves, they are enemies to the liberty of France.

“The general seizes this critical opportunity of renewing his oath to shed the last drop of his blood in support of the integrity of the constitution, as decreed by the national constituting assembly during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to remain in all things faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.”

On the succeeding day, Dumouriez, who had refused to administer the constitutional oath, of “I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king,” transmitted a letter to Genfonné, containing the following expressions:

“Dillon has ruined himself by a declaration in favour of royalty (*royalisme*), given out in public orders at his camp on the Sambre, and which he has also commanded me to publish in mine. I have formally disobeyed him, and transmitted the papers concerning this affair to the commissioners from the national assembly, who are just arrived at the army. I expect to see them to-morrow in my camp.

“I hope to be able to render essential service to the cause of the sovereignty and the liberty of the French people, and I will use all the means in my power for that purpose.”

† Roland, Clavieres, and Servan.

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and

Dumouriez.

the republicans, by whom alone he could expect to have his ambition gratified; for, according to their own account, he had been grossly deceived by the king*, and was at open enmity with la Fayette. He accordingly proclaimed every-where, by means of his emissaries, that he was sacrificed by the court; and he had celebrated the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille with great pomp in his camp. No sooner did the duke of Saxe Teschen assemble an army at Mons, on purpose to attack French Flanders, than Dumouriez positively refused to join marshal Luckner, under the pretext of providing for the safety of the Northern department; and he took care to state his motives, which were at once popular and specious, to the assembly: he also was the first to commence hostilities against the enemy, and evinced talents and activity that added not a little to his reputation as a military man.

THE camp of Maulde, situate among sand-hills, and exactly resembling a horse-shoe in form, having a village of the same name in front, a marshy country in the rear, and Mortagne on the right flank, with the advantage of a bridge at the junction of the Scarpe and the Scheldt, was rendered formidable by his means. It was there that he lived constantly among the troops, by whom he was adored, whose enthusiasm he augmented by his presence, his speeches, and his conduct, and into whose minds he contrived to infuse a passion for war, by rendering them at once the assailants and the victors. He had recourse to every art which long experience could suggest, to accustom them to military discipline, or inspire them with zeal; and, that their courage might be inflamed to an heroic ardour by the presence of the fair sex, he encouraged two beautiful young maidens of the name of Fernig, who to great modesty united a masculine

* See "La Vie de Dumouriez."

courage, to accompany them in their incursions *. Dumouriez, instead of being surpris'd or alarmed at the events of the 10th of August, rejoiced to behold an opportunity of aspiring to the chief command, gratifying his own resentments, and triumphing over a hated rival.

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* It may not prove uninteresting in this place to detail the situation of the northern army, as drawn up by Dumouriez himself; it will exhibit the means by which that general inured his troops to hardships, and thus prepared them for victory:

“ Every thing conspired to produce the ruin of France and of the king. Dillon confined himself entirely to the defensive system, which he was doubtless ordered to do, lest he should be forced by circumstances to change his plan: he accordingly divided the troops into three separate camps.

“ That of Maulde, which remained under the direction of Dumouriez, consisted of twenty-three battalions and five squadrons, including the garrisons of Orchies, Marchennes, and St. Amand. That of Maubeuge, under the command of lieutenant-general Lanoue, contained twelve battalions and six squadrons; and that of Pont-sur-Sambre, eight battalions and five squadrons. Dillon himself commanded the last; it was a situation of his own choosing, and a very bad one. The forest of Mormale, which extended between this camp and that of the Imperialists at Bavai, prevented the French from attacking the enemy, who had indeed rendered inroads on that side impracticable, by blocking up the approaches with trees, &c.

“ This separation of the troops augmented the schism still more. The camps of Maubeuge and Pont-sur-Sambre became entirely attached to the party of la Fayette: the camp of Maulde was wholly devoted to Dumouriez. It was this disjunction that divided the army into two factions, which became more inflamed, because the two generals, on account of the distance, saw each other but seldom. One small advantage however resulted from it: this was an emulation in harassing the enemy by means of detachments, which inured the troops to warfare.

“ General Dumouriez, shut up within his own camp, no longer occupied himself about any thing but the disciplining and training of his little army, and the forming of its officers. The troops of the line and the volunteers were alike replete with confidence and good-will, but they were raw and inexperienced. He began by appointing two corps of flankers, consisting of about five hundred each, which were sent daily a-skirmishing; they were renewed, both officers and soldiers,

BOOK I. DILLON, shut up in the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre, with only
 CHAP. III. the forest of Mormale between him and the Imperialists, was
 1792. entirely ignorant of the state of parties in the capital; and
 being eager to display his loyalty, wished that the other commanders should follow his example. But Dumouriez, better instructed relative to the late events, and relying on the attachment and support of his troops, resolved, as has been already observed, to temporise. He accordingly affected to consider the administration of the constitutional oath as a measure at once dangerous and ill-timed; he also pretended to deprecate the commencement of a civil war, and insisted loudly on the impolicy of irritating a triumphant faction, that might wish by the death of the monarch to avenge the loss of more than ten thousand citizens, which their late victory over "foreign mercenaries and revolted nobles" had already cost. The king was perhaps culpable; in that case the law would pronounce the forfeiture of the

at the end of every week; and all the battalions took their turn of service, so that each might be accustomed to fatigue, and the sight of the enemy.

"Every commanding officer received a paper of instructions from the hand of the general, on the back of which was traced a map of that part of the country through which he was to pass: on this were also laid down the various roads, bridges, villages, farm-houses, and mills, near which they were to march in going out and returning home; the spots where troops were to be posted; the points of attack, &c. These detachments for the most part proved successful, and brought in horses and prisoners to the camp. They received orders to keep on good terms with the inhabitants, and the general caused any property that was stolen to be restored.

"During this period the battalions were exercised daily, and assisted in erecting pallisades on the redoubts, in throwing bridges over the river, and in digging trenches. The tour of duty in the camp, and in the various detached guards, was extremely severe. Every man had his proper post assigned to him, in case of surprise. Neither idleness nor cabals prevailed in the army; there were no jacobins, or feuillans there; the newspapers were but little read; and the twelve or thirteen thousand troops of which it consisted, became perceptibly more warlike." Vol. III. p. 52.

crown: this was a fit subject for a civil trial, and it did not belong to the army to decide in such a case; for if it interposed without being acquainted with the particulars, inevitable blame would necessarily attach. In addition to these reasons, more than one hundred and twenty thousand enemies were now on the frontiers of France, and ready to take advantage of her internal troubles: this, therefore, was not the proper moment to engross the attention of the troops about the person of the king, who, august as he was, could be no more than a secondary object. Such were the motives communicated to Dillon, and since consigned to posterity, for the disobedience of Dumouriez, who took care to notify his conduct to the assembly.

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IN the mean time Delmas, Dubois-Dubays, and Bellegarde, [August 14.] the new commissioners, arrived at Valenciennes, and prepared to employ vigorous measures against Dillon, whose recent conduct appeared suspicious. He however contrived to disarm their rage, and was retained in the chief command; a circumstance which gave umbrage to Dumouriez, who seems to have thought himself entitled to the direction of the northern army, and even appears to have had recourse to the agency of Couthon for that purpose*.

No sooner did the assembly learn the particulars of the defection of la Fayette, the equivocal conduct of Dillon and Lanoue, and the apparent devotion of Dumouriez, than they immediately nominated him commander in chief. The three ministers too, whom he had so recently sacrificed to his ambition, and who were again restored to power, actuated by the most generous motives, determined to forget their wrongs, and accordingly transmitted letters to the general, in which, after felicitating him on his advancement, they besought him to vindicate the honour of his country, and prove faithful to his engagements.

Dumouriez
promoted to
the chief
command.

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

BOOK I. THE whole burden and responsibility of the war now devolved
 CHAP. III. upon this extraordinary man, who instantly conceived the bold

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plan of commencing hostilities in the enemy's own territories; and resolved, by seizing on the Austrian Netherlands, to change the nature as well as the object of the contest. He was moreover ambitious to execute the plan he himself had sketched out for the French generals, while yet in the ministry, and which they had repeatedly declared to be impracticable.

His conduct
 upon this occasion.

HE hoped that sufficient time was still left to prepare for events. Marshal Luckner was at the head of a considerable body of troops at Metz, and would naturally form a junction with the other commanders, for the defence of the Ardennes, a department protected by a line of fortresses, which must be taken before the enemy could penetrate into Champagne; and he expected that an opportunity would be thus presented of commencing an offensive campaign on the side of Flanders: but the advance of the Prussians, and the speedy surrender of some of the fortresses on the frontiers, rendered this scheme abortive.

IN the mean time he bent the whole of his attention to the northern army, which he wished to collect and assemble. He also made a promotion of five lieutenant and seven major generals: the former consisted of Moreton, whom he placed at the head of his own staff; Labourdonnaye, the commanding officer at Lille; Marassé, who occupied the same situation at Douay; Omoran, who presided at Condé; and Beurnonville, whose conduct at the camp of Maulde had been greatly approved of. General Lanoue was retained in the service, in consequence of Dumouriez becoming security for his conduct to the commissioners; and he afterwards reinstated lieutenant-general Leveneur also, after allowing him to serve three weeks as a simple hussar, although he had participated in the defection of his rival, against whom he now received orders to march.

BUT this measure, however grateful it might be, was soon

rendered unnecessary. Three new deputies had been dispatched by the national assembly to Sedan, to procure the liberation of their colleagues, while a number of emissaries, among whom was Westermann, whose name had now become celebrated by the capture of the Tuilleries, received secret orders to repair to his camp, and debauch the fidelity of his soldiers.

It was in vain that la Fayette dissembled for some time respecting the critical situation in which he was placed. Did he resolve to march straight to Paris? This would be to expose Louis XVI. and his family to certain destruction. Was he determined to erect the standard of revolt in the provinces? He would be opposed by the other armies, and a civil war must inevitably ensue. In addition to these considerations, France was at this moment pressed on all sides by the enemy, and the idea of a capitulation with the presumptuous invaders of his country, struck him with horror; he was resolved, therefore, whatever might occur, neither to leave the frontiers destitute of defence, nor to lose his reputation by means of a disgraceful compact.

His own army seemed even now to divine the disagreeable predicament in which he was placed, and a general consternation began to prevail in his camp. Some of the troops distinguishing between personal attachment and the cause of their country, not only forsook but even denounced him and the officers of his staff. The inaction in which the soldiery were suffered to remain, gave leisure for reflection, nor were the means of seduction wanting. Those regiments which had been loudest in their acclamations, already announced by their conduct that their fidelity was beginning to waver; others murmured at their lot, and began to lament their situation. But this change of opinion was not openly manifested, until a general review had taken place, for the purpose of ascertaining the state and disposition of the forces. It was then that the cannoneers, a body of troops eminently attached to the popular cause from the commencement of the revolution,

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La Fayette is
abandoned by
his army,

BOOK I. evinced their dissatisfaction; some of the soldiery testified aloud
 CHAP. III. their commiseration for the imprisoned deputies, while a cry * in
 1792. favour of that very assembly against whom their general had
 declared was re-echoed from rank to rank!

It was also propagated with equal art and success, that a decree of accusation † had been promulged against their commander; that disobedience to his orders had now become a duty; and that to recognise him any longer was to violate the laws!

NOTWITHSTANDING the prevalence of these sentiments, a generous pity seemed still to actuate the hearts of an army that had already resolved to abandon its general, and both time and opportunity were afforded him to provide for his safety. Accordingly in the course of that very night he assembled all his
 [August 20.] friends, and consulted every one who, by a personal attachment to him, might be supposed to participate in his danger. It was allowed on all sides, that it had now become impossible to support the vigorous measures which they had determined to pursue, as they were abandoned by the whole nation, and even by their own troops. Such was their deplorable situation, that an immediate flight became absolutely necessary to those who had but so lately hoped to decide the fate of the empire. La

* "Vive les députés de l'assemblée nationale!"

† NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—August 17, 1792.

Decree of Accusation against M. la Fayette.

"I. It appears to this assembly, that there is just ground for accusation against M. la Fayette, heretofore commander of the army of the North.

"II. The executive power shall, in the most expeditious manner possible, carry the present decree into execution; and all constituted authorities, all citizens, and all soldiers, are hereby enjoined, by every means in their power, to secure his person.

"III. The assembly forbids the army of the North any longer to acknowledge him as a general, or to obey his orders; and strictly enjoins that no person whatsoever shall furnish any thing to the troops, or pay any money for their use, but by the orders of M. Dumouriez."

Fayette reluctantly consented to a measure now rendered inevitable, but he was not ignorant of the dangers that accompanied it; he hoped however at all events to be able to ensure the safety of his companions, and to appear rather unfortunate than culpable in the eyes of mankind. He accordingly resolved to set out before the approaching dawn should exhibit once more the discontent of an army formerly so much attached to him, and which, still respecting his misfortunes, determined not to intercept his flight. He therefore mounted his horse, with seventeen companions, among whom were Latour-Maubourg, the friend of his youth; Alexander Lameth, formerly the most bitter of his adversaries, but now determined to participate in his misfortunes; Bureau-de-Pufy, three times president of the constituting assembly; several of his aides-de-camp; and, in short, all those who dreaded the wrath of the triumphing party. None of them attempted to seduce a single battalion to desert, and by such base and inglorious means ensure the favour of the enemy; on the contrary, it was their sole wish to retire to some distant country, and hope for better days, and a more auspicious fortune.

HAVING abandoned the French territory, they travelled several leagues without encountering any difficulty. They were dressed in their respective uniforms; and, in the course of their journey, frankly announced themselves as officers who having left the army were now repairing to Switzerland. At length they were met by an Austrian patrol, and being interrogated, they delivered in an account of their names and rank, adding at the same time the reasons which had induced them to fly from their own country. On this they were arrested, and declared prisoners to the king of Prussia.

LA FAYETTE, when he first determined to abandon his troops, was well aware that he might be exposed to prejudice and enmity, scarcely less implacable than that from which he was obliged to shelter himself; yet both he and his friends still hoped

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and leaves
France.

BOOK I. that this monarch would in their persons respect the rules of war
CHAP. III. and the rights of misfortune. But the leaders, now on their

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march to restore the ancient monarchy of France, equally neglecting the voice of policy and of justice, were rendered presumptuous by the hope of success, and steeled to pity on hearing of those divisions which presented them with the means of gratifying the reveries of ambition and revenge. Detesting every thing connected with the revolution, Frederick-William was not displeased to have one of its first promoters in his power; and the emigrants in his army drew but too favourable an augury from an event which, while it bereaved a defenceless enemy of his liberty, seemed at the same time to evince the determined hostility of a prince, who appeared even to violate the law of nations in their behalf *.

* It may not prove unacceptable, perhaps, to give some account in this place, not only of the French general himself, but also of the companions of his flight.

LA FAYETTE.—M. P. J. R. Y. G. Motier, marquis de la Fayette, was born in Auvergne, and is descended from an ancient family. He was educated in the college of Louis le Grand, at Paris, and received a commission in the Mousquetaires; soon after which he married a lady of the family of Noailles. When only nineteen years of age, this nobleman repaired to America, where he acquired considerable reputation by his military achievements, and rendered himself still more celebrated by his disinterestedness, he having refused, during the winter of 1777, to accept of the command of the American army, in prejudice to his friend general Washington, whose talents and virtues had not at that period been sufficiently appreciated.

When the French revolution occurred, la Fayette prepared to act a distinguished part. In 1789 he became a member of the states-general, as a deputy from the nobility of Riom, in Auvergne; he had already been a member of the *Notables*, in 1789, and his attack on the administration of Calonne is said to have contributed to the downfall of that minister. He was the first to propose to the national assembly a plan for "a declaration of rights," and after the recall of Necker was unanimously elected commander in chief of the national guards. In this capacity he presided at the grand confederation on the 14th of July, as the *generalissimo* of a greater body of troops, perhaps, than has ever been commanded by any other man since the days of Xerxes. No sooner was the constitution

organised, than he resigned his power and retired to one of his family estates, whence he did not return until a war against Austria had been resolved upon. He was at that period a major-general, but soon obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and finally that of marshal of France, with a red ribband. Having been invested with the command of the armies of the Meuse and the Moselle, he left his head-quarters soon after the 20th of June, 1792, on purpose to complain of the indignities to which the king had been exposed in the course of that day; but a decree of accusation was at length voted against him, he was forsaken by his troops, and deemed it prudent to fly along with a few of his friends. Being seized on neutral ground, in contravention of the laws of nations, they were considered, as will be seen hereafter, in the light of prisoners of war after they had ceased to be soldiers, and experienced a degree of severity, in respect to their treatment, reserved in general for malefactors alone.

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LATOUR-MAUBOURG—had been colonel of the regiment of Soissonois, and deputy from the nobility of Puy en Velay to the states-general. Attached to the principles of the revolution, he was among the first of his order who joined the *third-estate*, and became one of the most ardent defenders of popular rights. When Louis XVI. was arrested at Varennes, Latour-Maubourg was nominated along with Petion and Barnave to reconduct the monarch to Paris; and when his friend la Fayette was placed at the head of one of the French armies, he accompanied him thither with the rank of major-general, and afterwards shared his captivity in the Prussian and Austrian dungeons.

BUREAU DE PUZY—was originally an officer of engineers, and a deputy from the nobility of the balliage of Amont to the states-general. Like Latour-Maubourg, he joined the *third-estate*; and after the formation of the national assembly, presided several times over its debates. He was also a member of the military committee; and on the 10th of June, 1791, in consequence of the defection of the officers of the army, he proposed a decree, requiring a new oath of fidelity, by which each person was to declare himself for ever infamous in case he violated it.

At the conclusion of the labours of the first assembly, he served under la Fayette, and was denounced by Guadet, for having proposed to marshal Luckner to unite both the armies and march straight to Paris, in order to punish the outrages committed against the king on the 20th of June. On this the assembly decreed that he should appear at their bar, in order to justify himself: he accordingly repaired thither, and produced a letter from marshal Luckner, testifying the information to be false; on which he was immediately declared innocent. He accompanied his general in his flight, and participated in all his subsequent misfortunes.

ALEXANDER LAMETH.—The family of Lameth received a distinguished protection at court, anterior to the revolution; and Alexander at an early period of his life attained the rank of colonel *en second*, and became a knight of Malta. After serving for some time in America, as aide-de-camp to M. de Rochambeau, he

BOOK I. returned home, and in 1789 was elected a deputy by the nobles of Péronne to
 CHAP. III. the states-general. Like several others of his own order, the count at first distinguished himself by his attachment to the popular cause, but he at length became a violent member of the *feuillant* club, and excited the rage and the vengeance of the jacobins; who asserted, that he and his family had changed their principles, merely because they possessed large estates in the West Indies. Certain it is, that after having been for a long time the implacable enemy of la Fayette, a reconciliation ensued, and he accompanied the general to the army, and actually served under him. He also followed his fortunes, and for some time shared his fate; but his mother, madame Lameth, by means of her own influence, and that of her brother M. de Broglie, obtained first a melioration of his captivity, and then his liberty.

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La Fayette perceiving himself abandoned by his army, and proscribed by the national assembly, as has been already mentioned, determined on flight. It was the intention of the general and his companions to repair to Holland, as that was a neutral country, and in the neighbourhood of their own. They accordingly set out on horseback dressed in their regimentals, and freely declared to all they met that they had quitted the French army, and were retiring to a place of refuge. They had not however travelled more than a few leagues beyond the frontiers, when they happened to be arrested by an Austrian patrol, and conducted to Luxembourg. Being at length permitted to address a letter to the duke of Saxe-Teschen, governour-general of the Low-countries, that prince not only signified his refusal in the most peremptory manner, but added, with a degree of bitterness wholly unsuitable to the occasion, "that they should be reserved for the scaffold."

Immediately after this, a correspondence took place between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, relative to these prisoners; and as it was at length determined that the monarch who commanded the combined army should be entrusted with the custody of la Fayette and his companions, they were immediately conducted under an escort, and imprisoned at Wesel, where they were confined separately, and constantly superintended by non-commissioned officers, who received strict orders never to permit them to remain for a single moment out of sight, or to answer any questions that were put by them.

La Fayette, overwhelmed with chagrin and mortification, fell sick, and became so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of; while in this condition, Maubourg was refused permission to visit his friend, now supposed to be on his death-bed. But a salutary crisis having occurred, and the king of Prussia thinking that he might be able to profit by his convalescence, caused it to be intimated that his situation would be meliorated, provided he would draw up plans against France; but la Fayette exhibited by means of an energetick answer his scorn of such a proposition: on this, the rigours of his confinement were increased; he and his companions were soon after thrown into a waggon, and conveyed to Magdebourg, care being taken that they should learn nothing respecting their families;

concerning whose fate they experienced the most lively emotions, in consequence of the proscriptions that prevailed in France.

By removing them in this manner, it seems to have been the intention of their persecutors to aggravate their miseries, and excite the publick indignation; but if such were their motives, they were greatly disappointed, as they every-where experienced that interest and compassion, produced alike by the injustice of their detention, and the constancy of their courage.

"They remained," says Segur, *Tab. Pol.* t. III. p. 299, "during a whole year at Magdebourg, in a dark and humid vault, surrounded by high palisades, shut up by means of four successive doors, fortified by iron bars, and fastened with padlocks. Their fate however appeared to be now milder, as they were permitted to see each other, and allowed to walk for an hour each day on one of the bastions."

At length the king of Prussia, all of a sudden, ordered la Fayette to be removed to Neifs; Maubourg in vain solicited to be shut up along with him, but this favour was denied, and he was conducted to Glatz, whither Bureau de Puzy was also carried soon after.

Alexander Lameth, who was dangerously ill, could not be transported along with his companions. His mother, after many solicitations, prevailed on the king to permit him to remain within his own dominions; and soon after the peace had been concluded between that monarch and the French republick, he was fortunate enough to obtain his liberty.

The other prisoners were now confined in Neifs, for the purpose of being delivered up to Austria; and although the dungeon inhabited by them was still more dismal and unhealthy than any of the others, yet they still deemed themselves fortunate, for the three captives were permitted to enjoy the society of madame de Maisonneuve, who had courageously repaired thither to participate in the lot of her brother la Tour Maubourg.

Soon after this they were conducted to Olmutz, and on their arrival there, were so completely stripped of every thing, that only their buckles and their watches remained; some books were also taken from them, in which the word *liberty* happened to be inserted, particularly "L'Esprit," by Helvetius, and Paine's "Common Sense," both belonging to la Fayette. It was also declared to each while shutting them up separately in their respective cells, that henceforth they would never see any thing but the four walls of their dungeon; that they might expect no manner of intelligence either concerning persons or things; that the mention of their very names, even by the jailors, or in the dispatches sent to court, was prohibited, and that thenceforward they would only be designated by particular numbers; that they could never receive any information concerning the fate of their families, or their own reciprocal existence; and that as men in this situation would be naturally inclined to destroy themselves; they must be inter-

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BOOK I. dictated the use of a knife, fork, and every other instrument which might produce
CHAP. III. suicide.

1792.

After three different attestations on the part of physicians, pointing out the indispensable necessity of fresh air for la Fayette, he was permitted to walk in the fortrefs. It was this circumstance that afforded him an opportunity to escape, on the 8th of November, 1794. Two Americans, doctor Dollman and Mr. Cruger, being affected with gratitude for the disinterested part he had acted during that war which rendered their country independent, and inspired at the same time with indignation and pity at his cruel and forlorn situation, conceived the generous resolution of becoming his deliverers. This was accordingly effected, and he was actually carried off, but he happened to be retaken at Sternberg eight leagues distant, and reconducted to prison. During the struggle between la Fayette and the corporal to whose care he was entrusted, and whom he had disarmed, the latter, who had fallen in the contest, bit his hand to the bone: Dollman was delivered up to the Austrians.

Subsequent to that period the captivity of la Fayette became more rigorous, and his malady more violent than before; he was left without any assistance, exposed to a continual fever during a severe winter, deprived of light, and even of the linen that his malady rendered necessary. Maubourg and Puzy, who had never attempted to escape, were also bereaved of the liberty of breathing the air of heaven; and in order to augment the horrors experienced by the general himself, he was made to believe, that the two gentlemen who so nobly interested themselves in his favour had perished on a scaffold.

While la Fayette was thus tortured in his dungeon at Olmutz, and apprehended daily to be delivered up to the axe of the executioner, his unhappy wife, who was confined in a prison at Paris, also expected every hour to suffer the same punishment that had been inflicted on the greater part of her family. The fall of Robespierre at length saved her life; but it was long afterwards before she regained her liberty, and the necessary strength to execute the design she had for some time meditated.

This unhappy lady having at length found means to leave France, landed at Altona, September 9, 1795, set out immediately for Vienna under the name of Mottier, with an American passport, and arrived there with her two daughters before her design had been divulged. The prince de Rosenberg, affected by her virtues and her misfortunes, obtained an audience from the emperour, and leave to participate in the captivity of a husband and a father; but his Imperial majesty absolutely refused to make any promise relative to the liberty of la Fayette, while the wives of Maubourg and de Puzy, inspired by the same sentiments, were denied permission to share the misfortunes of their husbands, and could not even procure his assent to enter into the Austrian states.

On the arrival of madame la Fayette at Olmutz, she and her two lovely daughters were accordingly admitted into the fortress, but they were treated with the greatest inhumanity, and appear to have been refused liberty to hear mass on Sundays, or to have a servant to attend upon them. At length the health of this lady became so precarious, that she was prevailed upon to request permission from his Imperial majesty to spend a week at Vienna, for the purpose of breathing fresh air, and consulting a physician. Two months after this, the *commandant* made his appearance for the first time, and after giving orders that the two young ladies should be confined to a particular chamber, signified to madame la Fayette, that she was expressly prohibited from ever appearing again in the capital, but was allowed to leave the jail, on condition, however, that she should never enter it again. She was at the same time desired to intimate her option : but this courageous female taking up a pen, wrote as follows :

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.
1792.

“ I DEEMED it proper for the sake of my family and my friends, to demand the succour necessary for the re-establishment of my health ; but they must know that the price attached to this object, is not acceptable to me. I can never forget, when my husband and myself were ready to perish, I by the tyranny of Robespierre, and he by the physical and moral evils sustained by him during his captivity, that we were both reciprocally bereft of the knowledge of each other’s existence, as well as that of our family, and I am fully determined never to expose myself again to the horrors of another separation.

“ Whatever then may be the state of my own health, and the inconveniency attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his Imperial majesty has expressed towards us, by the permission to share in all the miseries of this captivity.

(Signed)

“ NOAILLES LA FAYETTE.”

Subsequently to this period no complaints whatever were heard on the part of the unhappy sufferers, who inhaled in those chambers, or rather dungeons, an air so thoroughly impregnated and infected by a common-sewer and the privies which were close to la Fayette’s window, that the soldiers were accustomed to stop their noses on opening the door.

Maubourg, Puzy, and la Fayette, had already been imprisoned during three years and five months in the same gallery, without seeing or being acquainted with the fate of each other, and entertained no prospect whatever of their liberty, when the French directory, by means of their ambassador Barthelmi, interfered in their behalf ; but this was at first attended with no beneficial effect whatever ; and it was not until the conqueror of Italy had sent Louis Romeuf, formerly one of la Fayette’s *aides-de-camp*, to solicit this favour, that the court of Vienna would consent to their deliverance.

BOOK I. - The Austrian ministers endeavoured on this occasion to obtain conditions from
 CHAP. III. the prisoners, which they were determined not to accede to; and it was even re-
 1792. quired by a nobleman employed for that purpose, that la Fayette should quit Europe immediately. Here follows the spirited reply transmitted by the latter:

"THE commission with which the marquis de Chasteler is charged, appears to me to be reducible to three points:

"1. His imperial majesty is desirous that our situation should be verified; but I am not disposed to make the least complaint on that subject. A number of the particulars may be discovered in the letters of my wife; and if it be not sufficient for his imperial majesty to read once more the instructions sent from Vienna in his name, I will willingly afford any information to the marquis de Chasteler that he may be desirous of:

"2. His majesty the emperor and king wishes to be assured, that immediately after my deliverance I will set out for America: this intention has been often manifested on my part, but as my consent at the present moment would seem to recognise the right of imposing this condition, I do not deem it proper for me to accede to it;

"3. His majesty the emperor and king has done me the honour to signify to me, that the principles which I profess being incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he does not wish that I should ever enter his states without receiving his own special permission. There are certain duties which I can never abandon; by these I am connected with the United States, and more especially with France, and I cannot enter into an engagement with any one, in contravention to the claims which my country possesses in respect to my person. These exceptions being admitted, I can assure the general de Chasteler, that it is my invariable determination never to place my foot on any of the territories belonging to his majesty the king of Bohemia and Hungary."

The two other prisoners made similar declarations; and they at length agreed, that they should all subscribe the following engagement, and no other:

"WE, the undersigned, engage to his majesty the emperor and king, never to enter his hereditary states, without having first obtained his special permission, with an exception however to the rights which our country possesses in respect to our persons.

(Signed)

"LA FAYETTE.

"MAUBOURG.

"PUZY."

This unexpected resistance greatly irritated the Austrian cabinet, and the doors of their dungeons were once more shut upon them, while Bonaparte was given to

understand that they had been restored to their liberty. But at length, having received intelligence of what had occurred, he sent Romeuf to Vienna, and they were finally liberated in the month of September, 1797.

BOOK I.
CHAP. III.
1792.

Immediately after this event had taken place they repaired to Hamburgh, and madame la Fayette having obtained leave to return to France, her husband was permitted by Bonaparte to repair thither also, soon after the revolution that occurred in November, 1799.

Latour-Maubourg, as well as his son and brother, were recalled by Bonaparte in 1800; and their friendship with the family of la Fayette has been still further cemented by a marriage between young Maubourg and a daughter of the general.

Alexander Lameth, after having obtained his liberty by the influence of his mother, repaired to England in 1796, but he immediately received notice from the government to leave the kingdom, on which he retired to Hamburgh. In 1797 he returned to France, with a view of having his name erased from the list of emigrants; but he was soon obliged once more to withdraw. At length, however, the revolution effected by Bonaparte operated in a manner favourable to his wishes, and in 1800 he was permitted to reside in his native country.

C H A P. IV.

State of Parties in the Capital—Conduct of the Jacobins—Alarm of the Executive Council—Behaviour of Danton.

BOOK I.
CHAP. IV.
1792.

NO sooner was the king conveyed a prisoner to the Temple, than the two parties which had hitherto united to oppose the court, began to quarrel among themselves. The audacity of the jacobins, however, after a short struggle, prevailed over the timid virtue of the girondists; a national convention was chosen under their influence; and Paris, the legislature, and every department of France, became subject to their control. Marat, incessantly thirsting after blood, occupied an important station in the new municipality; Danton, who had contributed in so eminent a degree to overturn the late constitution, presided over the laws; while Robespierre, surrounded by assassins, coolly dictated lists of proscription.

IN order to impress every mind with terror, revolutionary tribunals were soon after openly instituted and domiciliary visits took place amidst the silence of the night. Not content with these terrible engines of despotism, the prisons were forced, and the refractory priests massacred without ceremony; while a multitude of nobles and officers attached to the royal cause were cruelly butchered, after being interrogated by a pretended court, which, in its forms and decisions, exhibited a complete mockery of justice.

IN order to perpetrate such horrors, it was absolutely necessary that the rage of the Parisian mob should have been excited to an incredible degree of frenzy, by a variety of corresponding events.

The entrance of the combined army within the French territories, the impolitical manifestoes of the coalesced princes, the equivocal conduct of the kings of Spain and Sardinia, the denunciations of vengeance contained in the ill-timed declarations of the duke of Brunswick, and, above all, the threats and menaces of the exasperated emigrants, were calculated to inspire both rage and despair. Longwy and Verdun had fallen by treachery on one frontier, while on another and still nearer the metropolis, a body of Austrians, under the command of the prince of Saxe Teschen, over-ran Flanders, and threatened Lisle itself with a siege. The feeble army, opposed to the veteran troops of Prussia and of Austria, was known to be deficient in numbers, and the officers were suspected of attachment to the cause of monarchy. One of the generals * believed to be a traitor, after raising the standard of revolt against the legislature, had fled from his camp with several of his partisans; while the faith of another †, to whom was entrusted the last hopes of the state, was still dubious. In short, the people appeared to be exposed on every side to treason and vengeance; and it had been successfully inculcated into their minds, that on the nearer approach of the enemy, they would experience a general insurrection on the part of the prisoners and the aristocrats, with which the capital was known to abound.

THE Parisians were thus incited by their fears, either to become the tame spectators, or the bloody actors in this tragedy; while the new members of the commune, not content with the butchery perpetrated by their orders within their own jurisdiction, wished, in imitation of Charles IX. at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to make the provinces participate in their crimes ‡.

* La Fayette.

† Dumouriez.

‡ *Circulaire de la Commune de Paris, du 2e Septembre.*

“ Frères et amis, un affreux complot, tramé par la cour, pour égorgé tous les patriotes de l'empire Français, complot dans lequel un grand nombre de membres

BOOK I.

CHAP. IV.

1792.

Vigorous conduct of the Jacobins.

BUT although the jacobins displayed a bloody, vindictive, and ferocious disposition, it cannot on the other hand be denied, that they exhibited at this critical moment a degree of courage, energy, and perseverance, which achieved for a while, not only the complete triumph of their own party, but also the independence of France. All the implements of war were placed at

de l'assemblée nationale sont compromis, ayant réduit, le 9e du mois dernier, la commune de Paris à la cruelle nécessité de se servir de la puissance du peuple pour sauver la nation, elle n'a rien négligé pour bien mériter de la patrie. Après les témoignages que l'assemblée nationale venait de lui donner elle-même, eût-on pensé que dès-lors de nouveaux complots se tramaient dans le silence, et qu'ils éclataient dans le moment même où l'assemblée nationale, oubliant qu'elle venait de déclarer que la commune de Paris avait sauvé la patrie, s'empresait de la destituer, pour prix de son brûlant civisme ? A cette nouvelle, les clameurs publiques élevées de toutes parts, ont fait sentir à l'assemblée nationale la nécessité urgente de s'unir au peuple, et de rendre à la commune, par le rapport du décret de destitution, les pouvoirs dont elle l'avait investie.

“ Fièr de jouir de toute la plénitude de la confiance nationale, qu'elle s'efforcera de mériter de plus en plus ; placée au foyer de toutes les conspirations, et déterminée à périr pour le salut public, elle ne se glorifiera d'avoir rempli pleinement son devoir, que lorsqu'elle aura obtenu votre approbation, qui est l'objet de tous ses vœux, et dont elle ne fera certaine qu'après que tous les départements auront sanctionné ses mesures pour le salut public ; et professant les principes de la plus parfaite égalité, n'ambitionnant d'autre privilège que celui de se présenter la première à la brèche, elle s'empresera de se soumettre au niveau de la commune la moins nombreuse de l'empire, dès qu'il n'y aura plus rien à redouter.

“ Prévenue que des hordes barbares s'avancent contre elle, la commune de Paris se hâte d'informer ses frères de tous les départements, qu'une partie des conspirateurs féroces, détenus dans les prisons, a été mise à mort par le peuple, actes de justice qui lui ont paru indispensables pour retenir par la terreur les légions de traîtres renfermés dans ses murs, au moment où il allait marcher à l'ennemi, et sans doute la nation, après la longue suite de trahisons qui l'a conduite sur les bords de l'abîme, s'empresera d'adopter ce moyen si utile et si nécessaire ; et tous les Français se diront, comme les Parisiens : nous marchons à l'ennemi, et nous ne laissons pas derrière nous des brigands pour égorger nos femmes et nos enfants.

(Signé) “ DUPLAIN, PANIS, SERGENT, LENFANT, MARAT, LEFORT, JOURDEUIL,

“ Administrateurs du comité de salut public, constitué à la mairie.”

the disposal of the ruling faction; the capital, and every city in the empire became at once an arsenal and a workshop for the armies, while each of the departments presented the appearance of one immense camp teeming with soldiers. The property of the emigrants, hitherto only sequestered, was now ordered to be sold, to oppose them and their allies. The brazen statues of their ancient monarchs furnished cannon to encounter the princes marching against them; the lead stripped from the palace of the last of their kings was melted into bullets, for the purpose of annoying the armies advancing to his support; while, by extracting saltpetre from the walls of the abandoned monasteries, and converting the forests appertaining to the royal domains into charcoal, thousands of chemists were enabled to supply the deficiency of the arsenals, and obtain the elements of destruction by means of a new and an easier process.

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CHAP. IV.
1792.

THE silver saints*, the consecrated vessels, and the bells of the cathedrals, were at the same time coined into money for the maintenance of the armies: when this resource was exhausted, the *assignats* seemed to compensate for the loss of the precious metals; and the stamp, impressed by means of a paltry bit of copper, being circulated in the *name of the nation*, at length beggared the treasuries of all the crowned heads of Europe.

THE guilty magistrates of Paris, as if desirous to obliterate their inhumanity by their patriotism, displayed a promptitude of

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—August 28, 1792.

“Certain petitioners appeared at the bar with a St. Roche and his dog in silver. They said, that they had prayed with great fervency to the saint, to cure their fellow-citizens of the political plague with which so many were afflicted, but in vain. The saint could do nothing for them in his present shape. They therefore requested the assembly to order him to be coined into *crowns*, in which new form they had no doubt but he might still be of service.

“Their gift was received with loud applause; and St. Roche, accompanied by his dog, was immediately sent to the mint.”

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CHAP. IV.

1792.

[Sept. 2.]

exertion worthy of better men ; and at the very moment when they countenanced the massacres of their fellow-citizens in the prisons, they took the most vigorous steps to repel the invasion of a foreign enemy. Having published an energetick proclamation* on that fatal day, enjoining the people to fly to arms, they immediately ordered the *tocsin* to be sounded, alarm guns to

* “ Aux armes ! citoyens, aux armes ! l'ennemi est à nos portes.”

“ Le procureur de la commune ayant annoncé les dangers pressants de la patrie, les trahisons dont nous sommes menacés, l'état de dénuement de la ville de Verdun, assiégée en ce moment par les ennemis, qui, avant huit jours, fera peut-être en leur pouvoir ; le conseil-général arrête :

“ 1. Les barrières seront à l'instant fermées.

“ 2. Tous les chevaux en état de servir à ceux qui se rendent aux frontières seront sur le champ arrêtés.

“ 3. Tous les citoyens se tiendront prêts à marcher, au premier signal.

“ 4. Tous les citoyens, qui, par leur âge ou leurs infirmités, ne peuvent marcher en ce moment, déposeront leurs armes à leur section, et on armera ceux des citoyens peu fortunés qui se destineront à marcher sur les frontières.

“ 5. Tous les hommes suspects, ou qui par lâcheté refuseraient de marcher, seront à l'instant désarmés.

“ 6. Vingt-quatre commissaires se rendront sur le champ aux armées, pour leur annoncer cette résolution, et dans les départements voisins, pour inviter les citoyens à se réunir à leurs frères de Paris, et marcher ensemble à l'ennemi.

“ 7. Le comité militaire sera permanent ; il se réunira à la maison commune, dans la salle ci-devant de la reine.

“ 8. Le canon d'alarme sera tiré à l'instant ; la générale sera battue dans toutes les sections pour annoncer aux citoyens les dangers de la patrie.

“ 9. L'assemblée nationale, le pouvoir exécutif, seront prévenus de cet arrêté.

“ 10. Les membres du conseil-général se rendront sur le champ dans leurs sections respectives, y annonceront les dispositions du présent arrêté, y peindront avec énergie, à leurs concitoyens, les dangers immenses de la patrie, les trahisons dont nous sommes environnés ou menacés ; ils leur représenteront avec force la liberté menacée, le territoire Français envahi ; ils leur feront sentir que le retour à l'esclavage le plus ignominieux, est le but de toutes les démarches de nos ennemis ; et que nous devons, plutôt que de le souffrir, nous ensevelir sous les ruines de notre patrie, et ne livrer nos villes que lorsqu'elles ne seront plus qu'un monceau de cendres.”

be fired, the drums to beat in all the sections, and the barriers to be shut. They then put all the inhabitants of a proper age, and every horse fit for service, in what was termed a *state of requisition*; in other words, they ordered them to be kept in readiness for marching to the frontiers. An immense multitude of the youth ran eagerly to their respective districts, for the purpose of inscribing their names in the new military registers; a number of old men also enrolled themselves as volunteers; such as were disabled by age or infirmities, confided their arms to those who enjoyed health and strength: a military enthusiasm inspired all ranks and all parties; the victors and the vanquished, who had so lately fought at the assault of the Tuilleries, mingled together in the same battalion; and those whose lives were menaced in the capital, hoped to find safety in the camp; happier far to perish in battle against a presumptuous enemy, than to fall beneath the axe of the executioner!

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1792.

THESE new troops, embodied under such unhappy auspices, immediately marched to Chalons, and carrying along with them a spirit of mutiny and insubordination, became more formidable at first to their own officers than to the enemy. But no sooner were their suspicions allayed, than they displayed an unexpected degree of zeal and valour, and contributed greatly by their gallantry, as well as by their obedience, to the victories that ensued.

IN the mean time the members of the executive council were not devoid of fear. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, knowing that the safety of Paris depended on the suspicious fidelity of Dumouriez, and the uncertain resolution of a raw and feeble army, and being equally alarmed at the success of the ferocious jacobins, and the victorious progress of an incensed enemy, they proposed, in case of extremity, to remove with the assembly and the king to the southern departments, where the inhabitants had displayed more zeal and animation than those of the north. They

Terror of
the ministers.

BOOK I. even wished to prevail upon the general to abandon the forest of
 CHAP. IV. Argonne, where they imagined he would be surrounded and
 1792. taken prisoner, and actually prohibited Kellermann from forming
 Conduct of ing a junction with him. But they were successfully opposed
 Danton. by the minister of justice; who, with his usual boldness, rejecting all idea of flight, declared it to be his determination to contest every inch of territory with the enemy, and at length forced his colleagues to adopt a more vigorous system of defence. It was accordingly agreed, to call forth all the resources of the metropolis and the nation; to collect an army of reserve at Chalons, which was to form a junction with that of Flanders, in case of extremity; and, instead of retiring behind the Loire, as had been suggested, to send immediate and effectual succours to Dumouriez. This manly resolution instilled hope into the people, while it diffused courage among the armies; and the same Frenchman who had so recently countenanced the vilest murders, was now beheld exhibiting the stoical virtues of a Roman; for when urged as to the proximity of the danger, and told that the king of Prussia would sup on that day fortnight in the palace of the Tuilleries, Danton replied with the magnanimity peculiar to his character in times of danger—"I have sent for my mother and two children to Paris, and they arrived but yesterday;—sooner, however, than behold an audacious and triumphant enemy enter this city, I and my family will perish here, for twenty thousand torches shall reduce it to a heap of ashes!"

HE afterwards repaired along with the other ministers to concert measures with the legislative body, relative to the defence of the empire; and, on this occasion also, contrived to inspire the resolution with which he himself appeared to be animated into the minds of all who heard him. "The whole nation," exclaimed he, "is in commotion, and languishes to engage the enemy. One portion of the people is at this moment about to

march to the frontiers ; another is ready to construct entrenchments for the protection of the capital ; a third is prepared to defend our cities with their pikes.

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CHAP. IV.
1792.

“ THE magistrates have issued a proclamation, containing a solemn invitation for all able to carry arms to march immediately for the defence of their country. This then is the moment, legislators ! for you to declare that Paris hath deserved well of the nation ; this is the moment that the national assembly ought to become a committee of war. We demand, therefore, that you will concur with us, in directing this sublime movement that hath just taken place on the part of the people, by nominating commissioners in order to second us in the great measures we are about to adopt.

“ WE request, that whosoever may refuse to march in person, or to give up his arms, shall be punished with death. The *tocsin*, which now sounds, is not the effect of alarm ; it is the signal to attack the enemies of our country ; and, in order to conquer them, audacity alone is wanting !”

C H A P. V.

*The Prussians enter France—Surrender of Longwy and Verdun—
State of the French Army—Dumouriez calls a Council of War
—Takes Post in the Forest of Argonne.*

BOOK I.
CHAP. V.
1792.

The grand
army com-
mences its

NO sooner had Frederick-William received intelligence of the insurrection in Paris, the siege of the Tuilleries, and the captivity of the monarch, than he redoubled his exertions. The main body of the Austrians had not as yet arrived, but his own army was numerous; and while the infantry was allowed to be excellent, the cavalry was considered as the best appointed, and most formidable, that had perhaps ever taken the field. The name of his illustrious uncle, and the memory of his exploits, had not only increased the glory, but impressed the terror of the Prussian arms on the minds of mankind; while the general who acted under him was pointed out, by the voice of Frederick and of Europe, as the best captain of his age. Many commanders who had acquired great reputation during the seven-years' war also served with his troops; and the king himself inflamed the zeal of all around him, by the ebullition of that chivalrous spirit so befitting the cause which he had taken upon him to defend. Both he and his son, who accompanied him upon this expedition, appeared to be avaricious of glory, and careless of danger; it was imagined that their presence would ensure success, and that mushroom commanders, unacquainted with the art of war, unadorned by titles, and alike unknown in camps and in courts, would be abashed in the fight of kings. Eager for

victory, and trusting to fortune, although the combined army was amply provided with field-pieces, it happened to be completely destitute of the heavy artillery so necessary for the success of a siege; but it was hoped that no city would presume to resist, and that the fortified places would be readily surrendered by the very garrisons appointed for their defence. The exiles too offered, with their accustomed gallantry, to act as an advanced guard, and were not only desirous of encountering all the dangers of this expedition, but also admirably calculated, by means of their information and connexions, to ensure its success. Among them were many princes and peers of France, who were still supposed to possess immense influence: in their ranks were seen several generals, such as the marshals de Broglie and Castries, who had acquired glory in the last continental war; while the name of the duke de Bourbon and the military talents of the successor of the great Condé seemed to reflect lustre on their cause. This body, in which almost every soldier had been an officer and a noble, already exhibited by its luxury, its ardour, and its presumption, a singular contrast to the gravity and discipline of the German troops; but these circumstances, which in the moment of defeat were construed into a crime, appeared at this period to afford a happy augury of approaching success.

THE combined troops were at length put in motion, and as the season for action was already pretty far advanced, hopes were entertained that the celerity of their motions would fully compensate for the delays that had already intervened. They accordingly commenced their march in three separate columns, and after reaching the frontiers, entered France towards the latter end of summer.

march;
and enters
France,
August 19.

THE success of the invaders appeared at first to justify the hopes and promises of the expatriated nobles. In consequence of the irruption of a body of Austrians into French Flanders, Luckner had not been as yet able to form a junction with the

BOOK I. forces in the Northern department, and he was afraid to expose
 CHAP. V. an inferior number of troops, wholly destitute of discipline, to
 1792. the attack of a veteran army : unable even to maintain a respectable position before them, he had been already constrained to abandon the camp of Fontoi, and was actually forced at this moment to take refuge under the cannon of Metz. Part of the frontiers being thus laid open in consequence of his precipitate retreat, Longwy was immediately invested. Had this place been well supplied with provisions and defended with bravery, it might have arrested for some time the progress of the invaders ; but lieutenant-colonel Lavergne the *commandant*, after a bombardment of fifteen hours, delivered it up at the second summons *. The inhabitants, who were affrighted at seeing a

Surrender of
 Longwy,
 August 22 ;

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—*August 24, 1792.*

“ As the assembly was about to break up, an extraordinary courier arrived from the administrators of Verdun, with intelligence that Longwy had been taken from the French by an army of eight thousand men, commanded by the king of Prussia in person, fifteen hours after the trenches had been opened against it.”

August 26.

“ M. Servan, minister at war, appeared at the bar, and read a letter from marshal Luckner, containing an account of the capture of Longwy, on the morning of Wednesday, the 22d. The enemy presented themselves before the place on the 21st, with sixty thousand men, and besieged it for fifteen hours, during which time they fired upon it incessantly. The magistrates and citizens pressed the governor to surrender, who, yielding to their instances, obtained an honourable capitulation.

“ The Prussian army then entered Longwy without committing the smallest outrage ; and it appeared that they meant to take possession of the post of Fontoi, which had been abandoned by marshal Luckner, in order that they might afterwards lay siege to Thionville.

“ M. Doffer, president of the military committee, asserted that treachery or cowardice alone could have put this place into the enemy's hands. He recapitulated the state of its fortifications and warlike stores, to prove that it was in an excellent state for sustaining a siege, being defended by seventy pieces of cannon, pointed through casemates of an admirable construction, with a garrison of three thousand five hundred men.

“ ‘ He

few of their houses in flames, had assembled and demanded that the gates should be opened to the king of Prussia. This cowardice on the part of the townsmen produced a decree devoting them to reproach and execration; and the governor suffered a capital punishment soon after for his criminal compliance*.

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CHAP. V.
1792.

THE king of Prussia immediately took possession of Longwy in the name of Louis XVI.; and not doubting but that all the neighbouring cities would receive him with equal eagerness, after detaching a body of fifteen thousand men to lay siege to Thionville, he himself advanced with great rapidity against an adjacent fortress, while the little army under Clairfait at the same time seized on Stenai.

THE French territory was thus invaded and its fortified places invested with impunity; the national armies seemed to be annihilated,

“ ‘He is a traitor!’ exclaimed many of the members: ‘His name?’ ‘His name?’ The minister replied, ‘M. Lavergne.’”

“M. Lecointre moved, ‘that the minister of war, the military committee, and the extraordinary commission, should all be ordered to declare whether they had sufficient means to save France from the dangers of this invasion, as marshal Luckner had written in a doubtful manner on the subject.’ He concluded with proposing, ‘that thirty thousand national guards of Paris and the circumjacent departments should march in eight days to the frontiers.’”

“M. Choudieu thought there was no occasion for being so soon alarmed. He endeavoured to point out the immense resources of France, its superiority in point of force, and the gross impolicy on the part of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the empire, as their return would be prevented by the camps of Sedan, Mouzon, Maulde, and Maubeuge. ‘The only way,’ observed he, ‘to ruin our cause, is to resign ourselves to fear and discouragement.’”

“The assembly, struck with the force of these observations, passed to the order of the day.”

* Louis-François Lavergne-Champ-Laurier was tried and condemned on the 31st of March, 1794. His wife, who was present at the sentence, formed the generous resolution of perishing with her husband, and instantly exclaimed “Vive le roi!” She was accordingly executed on the same day: a barbarous and inadequate punishment for a female whose conjugal affection ought to have excited pity and even applause!

BOOK I. and Verdun, which could not be expected long to withstand the
 CHAP. V. assault of a victorious foe, was now furrounded by the royal

1792.
 and Verdun,
 Sept. 2.

troops. Its surrender was accordingly equally prompt, but far more excusable than that of Longwy, while the event itself was rendered memorable by the gallant conduct and glorious death of the officer who commanded there. Notwithstanding the place, owing to the most culpable negligence, was equally destitute of provisions, ammunition, and a suitable garrison, he determined to defend it to the last extremity, knowing how important it was to afford time to the national troops to collect and form a junction. But the enemy kept up a secret intercourse with several of the inhabitants, and even some of the magistrates were supposed to be devoted to them. It was the opinion also of the municipal officers, who were either swayed by treason or their own fears, that the town was not tenable, and that it ought to be immediately surrendered. Beaurepaire, indignant at this advice, determined to persist in his resistance, although the garrison consisted of no more than two battalions; but finding all his efforts useless, he drew a pistol from his belt, and, scorning to survive his honour, discharged it against his temple, in the midst of a council of war*.

IN the mean time Dumouriez displayed no common share of ability and activity in the exercise of the new and important employment with which he was now entrusted. After transmitting peremptory orders to all the officers both civil and military in the department of the Ardennes to liberate the im-

* Delaunai d'Angers afterwards moved for and obtained a decree, in consequence of which his body was entombed under the magnificent dome of the Pantheon, and the following inscription affixed there:

BEAUREPAIRE

AIMA MIEUX MOURIR QUE

DE CAPITULER.

AVEC LES TYRANS.

prisoned deputies and arrest la Fayette, he took the necessary measures for collecting the army of the North. Relying on the resistance of Longwy, and the fidelity of the old and experienced officer who commanded there, he continued his preparations with the chief commissary Malus, and Moreton who was at the head of his staff, so that every thing might be got ready for opening the campaign. As the Swiss regiments had just been disbanded, and there were three of them in garrison on the northern frontiers, he gave orders to enlist all the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who might present themselves; and he intended that these should form the basis of eight independent battalions of eight hundred men each, into which he meant to incorporate all the Austrian deserters who might be tempted to join his standard in consequence of an alluring decree, which held out the temptation of one hundred *livres* per annum, and fifty *livres* by way of gratification, to each*.

BOOK I.
CHAP. V.
1792.
Conduct of
Dumouriez.

He also took the necessary measures to increase to six thousand men the body of Belgians intended to act as the vanguard of his army; he demanded at the same time an augmentation of troops and of arms from the minister at war, and he even found means to procure a further supply of the latter from Holland, by the way of Dunkirk.

BUT he no sooner received the important intelligence of the flight of la Fayette, and the surrender of Longwy after a siege of only two days, than he determined to repair to the camp of Sedan, where the army, destitute of a commander, was reduced to despair and ready to disband. Notwithstanding this, he was still so conscious of the advantages likely to be derived from the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, that he remained during some time for the purpose of communicating his instructions relative to a future irruption into the Low-coun-

* Mém. du General Dumouriez, t. III.

BOOK I. tries: having entrusted the management of this business to
 CHAP. V. Malus and Moreton, he sent notice to general Labourdonnaye to
 1792. repair to Valenciennes and put himself at the head of the army
 during his absence. He announced at the same time, with a
 spirit bordering on the romantick, and an air of prediction
 which he himself could scarcely expect to realise, that he would
 return in a few weeks, and undertake the expedition into Bel-
 [August 26.] gium in the course of that very year. He then set off, in com-
 pany with Westermann, who had just received the *brevet* rank
 of lieutenant-colonel, a single aide-de-camp, and his *valet-de-
 chambre* Baptiste, who already seemed to participate in the
 courage and enterprising genius of his master. On his arrival at
 Sedan, two days after, he found general Dangeſt at the head of
 the army; but he was wholly incompetent to the important sta-
 tion which he now occupied, in consequence of the defection of
 so many officers of superiour rank and abilities. He beheld the
 troops discouraged, dispirited, and divided into two bodies. The
 advanced guard, consisting of six thousand chosen men, occupied
 a camp on the right banks of the Meuse and the high grounds of
 Vau that would have required forty thousand to defend it, while
 the main body, composed of only seventeen thousand troops, was
 posted on the heights of Sedan, at the distance of three leagues in
 the rear.

State of the
 army.

THE invasion of France, joined to the flight of the general,
 had spread consternation throughout the army. The soldiers,
 who had not recovered from the astonishment impressed on them
 by recent events, considered all the officers as traitors, and under
 this pretext neglected discipline and subordination. The mem-
 bers of the neighbouring districts expected and even wished
 for a counter-revolution: no step was taken to check their dis-
 affection on the part of the troops, who were kept in a state of
 inactivity; and had the duke of Brunswick, who could not be
 ignorant of these particulars, pushed forward a detachment

towards Sedan at this critical period, the French would have retired in all directions, carrying terrour and dismay into the adjacent garrisons, and perhaps even within the walls of the capital. After assembling and encouraging the municipal officers of the towns and the magistrates of the department, Dumouriez repaired to the camp. With a singular indelicacy, which no circumstances could justify, he appropriated the field-equipage, horses, and domesticks of his rival la Fayette, to his own use; and, on visiting the troops who had been prejudiced against him, he perceived a sullen air to prevail every-where, more especially among the cavalry, a body that had always leaned towards the aristocracy. Some of the regiments of the line expressed their disapprobation by murmurs, and he was openly accused as the author of all the present calamities of France.*

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NOR was either the character or situation of the new commander calculated to inspire implicit confidence. He had been but lately invested with a civil employment, and had never occupied any military station of importance. He was equally unacquainted with the army that he now directed and the country he was about to defend; he had neither general nor staff-officers to assist him; and after the treacherous surrender of Longwy he could not depend on the resistance of any of the fortresses. A major-general, whom he had sent forward with two battalions in order to strengthen Verdun, had been obliged to retire; while Sedan and Mezieres were incapable of a serious resistance. In

* On passing along the front of a company of grenadiers, Dumouriez heard one of them exclaim, "It is that — who occasioned the war!"

This being one of the motives by which they had endeavoured to render him odious, he instantly stopped and replied, "Is there any one here so great a coward as to lament the war? Do you hope to achieve your liberties without fighting for them?" These observations produced a good effect, and served to reanimate the courage of the troops. Life of Gen. Dumouriez, vol. III. p. 77.

BOOK I. addition to these considerations, his troops did not exceed twenty-
 CHAP. V. three thousand men, at once disorganised and refused to discipline,
 1792. while the enemy could oppose a body of eighty thousand choice
 foldiery, with four times the number of his cavalry, conducted by a powerful monarch, and generals grown hoary under arms.

HE would be obliged too to forsake his present position in a hilly country, in order to defend first the extensive plains of Champagne, and afterwards all the open tract between the Marne and the Seine, so favourable to the evolutions of veteran troops, and where new levies could scarcely be expected to stand a single charge of the horse. Nor must it be forgotten that from Luckner he could expect no assistance; for the marshal was not only his personal enemy, but had rendered himself incapable of serving him by retreating into the camp of Richemont, with a view of covering Metz, left like all the other frontier garrisons in a defenceless state: the northern army was too far distant for speedy succour, and the new-raised battalions from the capital, destitute of arms, of officers, and of discipline, could be but of little service at the commencement of the campaign. Such was the inauspicious situation of the troops and of the man on whom the fate of France now depended, and the result is not a little favourable to all those who, uniting courage with talents, and confidence with discretion, are invested with the glorious office of defending their country.

DUMOURIEZ, who had hitherto exhibited the appearance of firmness and even of gaiety, was now desirous of making himself acquainted with the genius, character, and opinions of the generals under his command. He accordingly assembled a council [August 28.] of war, composed of lieutenant-general Dillon, who, although his senior in point of rank, had not declined to serve under him; and the four major-generals, Vouillers, Chazot, Dangeft, and Dietmann; to these he added Petit, his principal commissary, a

man of whose merits he entertained a high opinion, and the three officers who composed his own staff.

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HAVING presented a map of Champagne, he then told them “ that the king of Prussia having taken Longwy, and sat down before Verdun, while another body of the army advanced beyond Thionville and menaced Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with marshal Luckner, or to procure succours from any other quarter in sufficient time to march against the Prussians and deliver Verdun; that he had dispatched general Galbaud thither with two battalions; that whether he did or did not succeed in throwing himself into a place, with the weakness of which every body was acquainted, it ought to be regarded as lost, for it could only hold out a few days more or less according to the success of Galbaud’s mission; that, whatever might occur, he could not receive any reinforcements for upwards of a fortnight, and even these reinforcements would be very insignificant.

“ THAT accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but the little army which they had along with them, and which was entrusted with the salvation of their native country. It did not in truth amount to one quarter of the enemy’s forces; but, on the other hand, the cavalry was composed of the best regiments of France, and consisted of upwards of five thousand men; more than one-half of the infantry, which exceeded eighteen thousand, was formed of regiments of the line; the remainder of battalions of national guards, well disciplined, rendered warlike by a whole year’s encampment, perpetual marches, and continual skirmishes with the enemy: the artillery was numerous and excellent, there being more than sixty pieces in the park, in addition to the battalion guns.

“ THAT with these means, and the advantage of acting in their own country, every thing was to be expected; because the Prussians would of course be retarded by the necessity of undertaking sieges, the difficulty of finding provisions, the delays

BOOK I. incident to their convoys, their own numbers, and above all
 CHAP. V. by their artillery. A numerous cavalry, the brilliant equipages
 1792. of so many princes, and the quantity of draught horses necessary
 to transport their cannon and provisions, would render their
 march tedious and embarrassing."

HE concluded by observing, "that it was impossible to remain inactive in the position before Sedan, and it became necessary on the instant to take some decided part."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DILLON began by stating it as his opinion, "that the Marne ought to be placed between the troops and the enemy, and Châlons occupied by the former before the latter could reach it." He remarked at the same time, "that in case they anticipated the French, they would be between Paris and the army;" and insisted, "that the safety of the capital was of more consequence than the preservation of a country which they were unable to defend." He then ended by proposing, "to leave general Chazot with a few battalions in the entrenched camp before Sedan, and to make a rapid march with the remainder of the army behind the forest of Argonne, by way of St. Menehould, in order to reach Châlons, and even Rheims if Châlons should be previously occupied; to post the army behind the Marne on purpose to defend the passage of that river, and to wait for reinforcements, which would pour in from all parts and enable the French once more to advance."

Result of the
 council of
 war.

THIS scheme, plausible in itself, was supported by such forcible and cogent reasons, that it was instantly adopted by the whole council; all the members of which immediately separated, except the adjutant-general Thouvenot, who remained alone with Dumouriez. During the interesting conference which had just taken place, the latter attentively studied the opinions and characters of all present; and he thought that he discovered in this officer a degree of zeal and ability that might prove highly serviceable. La Fayette had employed and confided in his genius,

but he had not taken any care of his advancement, nor even forewarned him of his intended flight: these circumstances were calculated to make an impression on the general, and from that moment Thouvenot became his friend and confident. It was to him alone that he disclosed his plans, and detailed his reasons for opposing the prevailing opinion. He observed, "that he did not approve of retiring to Châlons and abandoning Lorraine, the Bishopricks, and the Ardennes, which could not be easily reconquered; that besides it would hold out a fresh inducement for the Prussians to pursue him, and in such a case a retreat would soon degenerate into a flight; that on retiring behind the Marne it would be absolutely necessary to burn Châlons, and sacrifice Rheims and Soissons; that all communication with the army of the north on one side, and the troops under Luckner on the other, would be then entirely at an end; that the Prussians would find abundance of provision, after having traversed *Champagne-pouilleuse*, in the rich countries around Rheims and Epernay; that a position at Châlons would enable them either to march to Paris by the road leading through Epernay and Rheims, or by Vitry and Troyes, unless they rather chose to employ the two remaining months of the campaign in conquering Lorraine and the Ardennes; that, even if they were inclined to cross the Marne at Châlons, it would be impossible to defend that river, which might be passed either above or below the town; that the enemy would then proceed skirmishing all the way to Paris, there not being a single strong post between Châlons and the capital, and that the French army would be destroyed, even before their arrival there, by the numerous cavalry appertaining to the Prussians."

THEN, pointing to the forest of Argonne* upon the map,

* The forest of Argonne, according to the description of general Dumouriez, is a belt of wood which extends from within about a league of Sedan, and stretches east and west as far as Passavant, a little more than a league beyond St

BOOK I. "Behold," continued Dumouriez, "the Thermopylæ of France ;
 CHAP. V. if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all
 1792. will be saved."

THE forest which Dumouriez intended to occupy is of an oblong form, at least thirteen leagues in length, and varying from three to one in breadth ; it extends from the neighbourhood of Sedan to more than a league beyond St. Menchould ; it separates the Bishopricks from the most sterile and barren part of France, termed Champagne-pouilleuse by way of contempt. Being intersected with mountains, rivers, and marshes, this woody country is rendered impervious to the march of an invading army, except by five avenues, called *Le Chêne-populeux*, leading from Sedan to Rhetel ; *La Croix-aux-bois*, in the direction from Briquenai to Vouziers ; *Grandprey*, in the neighbourhood of which is the great road from Stenai to Rheims ; *La Chalade*, which crosses the woods from Varennes to St. Menchould ; and *Les Islettes*, through which lies the road from Verdun to Paris by St. Menchould.

HAVING employed three whole days in making the necessary

Menchould : other tracts of wood, intermingled with plains, running in the direction of Rêvigny-aux-vaches, point towards Bar-le-duc ; but the *forest of Ar-gonne*, properly so called, does not extend further than Passavant, which makes its length thirteen leagues. Its breadth is very unequal, being in some parts three or four leagues, while in others it does not exceed a whole, and even sometimes half a league.

It separates the Bishopricks, a very rich and fertile country, from Champagne-pouilleuse, the most frightful desert in all France, the soil of which is a cold and viscous clay, and where there is neither water, wood, nor pasturage, but only a few miserable villages scattered over a sterile plain, a few parts of which alone rise almost insensibly above the rest. The borders of the forest at the two extremities present a country rich in pasturage, and well stocked with inhabitants.

It is intersected with mountains, rivers, rivulets, lakes, and marshes, which render it impenetrable to the march of an army, except in five openings, which present an equal number of roads leading from Champagne to the Bishopricks.
 See vol. III. of the Life of Dumouriez.

preparations, the commander in chief determined instantly to occupy these important passes, which were to be disputed with the enemy by means of troops unacquainted with this species of warfare, and not sufficiently numerous to execute even a system of defensive operations. It now became necessary to dispatch general Dillon with the advanced guard, which had been posted on the left bank of the Marne, to St. Menehould, in order to shut up the two great roads of Clermont and Varennes by means of two distinct positions, one at Illettes and the other at Chalade; while Dumouriez himself was to be stationed at Grand-prey, on purpose to command the road leading to Rheims as well as that of Croix-aux-bois: such was his deficiency in point of force, that he did not as yet possess a sufficient number of troops to block up the passage of Chêne-populeux, but he hoped that Verdun, with whose surrender he was unacquainted, would hold out for a week at least, and thus afford him leisure for completing his preparations.

IN the mean time, he transmitted orders to Lanoue, at the camp of Maubeuge, to dispatch four battalions and three squadrons to Avesnes: the same courier was to proceed to the headquarters of Duval at Pont-sur-Sambre, and carried instructions for that general in consequence of which he was to strike his camp instantly and repair to Avesnes, to form a junction with the other troops, and occupy the pass of Chêne-populeux with six thousand men, by means of forced marches, on or before the 7th of September.

IN addition to this, he dispatched orders to Beurnonville to march to his assistance with twelve battalions and three squadrons from the camp of Maulde, and also to send forward the French light infantry, as well as that of Belgium and Liege, forming in all eight or nine thousand men: he was expressly enjoined, at the same time, to reach Rhetel on the 13th of September.

By way of supplying the deficiency of superiour officers and

BOOK I.
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1792.
Dumouriez
determines to
occupy the
forest of Ar-
gonne.

BOOK I. rewarding the fidelity of those who remained faithful to their
 CHAP. V. duty, Dumouriez obtained the rank of lieutenant-general for
 1792. Dangeſt, Dietmann, Ligneville, and Chazot; he alſo appointed
 four new major-generals, among whom was Miaczinski, and
 augmented his own ſtaff.

WITH his uſual zeal and activity, he at the ſame time diſpatched
 couriers as well as officers by different roads to Metz, for the
 purpoſe of obtaining intelligence: that neither Mezieres nor
 Sedan might be left deſtitute of ammunition, he obtained ſupplies
 from Fère and Douay: he pointed out St. Menehould as the
 place of rendezvous for all the reinforcements of cavalry and
 infantry which might be ſent from the interior, Châlons, which
 he had at firſt pitched upon for that purpoſe, being too much
 expoſed to the enemy. General d'Harville received inſtructions
 to aſſume the command at Rheims, where he was to aſſemble
 troops; ovens were conſtructed for the ſupply of the army, not
 only there, but at Vouzieres, St. Menehould, and Rhetel; and
 inſtead of eſtabliſhing magazines in the frontier cities, as had
 been done by la Fayette at Verdun and Sedan, the provisions and
 forage were collected in his rear.

WHILE thus buſied in arranging the details of ſervice, Du-
 mouriez did not neglect to acquire the confidence of the troops
 entrusted to his charge. To obtain this, he ſhewed himſelf to
 the army daily, employed every art to attain popularity, and
 after inflaming the minds of the ſoldiery with the hopes of
 glory and of victory, he promiſed to reward their zeal by lead-
 ing them againſt the enemy. As he had determined from the
 firſt to act in conformity to his own plans and judgment alone,
 he formed and iſſued a new order of battle, and beſtowed the
brevet rank of major-general on lieutenant-colonel Stengel, of
 the regiment of Berchiny, with a view of animating his exertions
 and ſecuring his fidelity.

IT now only remained for him to carry his ſcheme into exe-

cution, in such a manner as neither to be anticipated nor beaten by the enemy. This had become extremely difficult: for the distance from Verdun, where the Prussian army was posted, to Ilettes was only about six leagues; while Dillon (now stationed at Mouzon), before he occupied that defile, provided he took the nearest route, must advance in front of Stenai in the face of general Clairfait's army, consisting of about fifteen thousand men; and it would have been impossible to reach the place of destination by taking a circuit in the rear of the forest, without a march of twenty leagues.

DUMOURIEZ also learned that Grandprey, by the straight road through Yon and Buzancy, was twelve leagues distant; but in passing behind the forest more than twenty: when arrived at this post, he would be six leagues only from the Austrians. But the general determined not to follow either of the two great roads leading to the defiles of Argonne, as this would disclose his project and subject him to an attack that might have deprived him of his baggage and artillery. He resolved, on the contrary, to adopt a mode at once more bold and more audacious, in which he completely succeeded by divining the intention of the enemy. Perceiving that general Clairfait did not advance against him, but persevered in remaining on the defensive with a small advanced guard posted on the left bank of the Meuse, he concluded that it was the intention of this army to act merely as a corps of observation, and that on being attacked it would instantly occupy the strong camp of Brouenne in the rear. Dumouriez, who was not mistaken in his conjectures, determined to effect his purpose in the following manner: having divided his army into three bodies, he gave orders that his vanguard should advance against Stenai, which it was instructed to mask, and, lest any obstacle might intervene, he himself was to follow with the main body, composed of twelve thousand men, in order of battle, without any incumbrance whatever; while general Chazot, with

BOOK I.
CHAP. V.
1792.

March of the
French.

BOOK I. a detachment of five thousand troops, should escort the baggage
 CHAP. V. and artillery through Tannay and Armoises, without any danger
 1792. of molestation in consequence of this decisive movement in front.

[Sept. 1.] ACCORDINGLY, after leaving a garrison of four battalions at Sedan, he made a movement with his army and artillery on the 31st of August, and commenced his march on the next morning. In consequence of orders transmitted to Dillon, general Miaczinsky was sent forward with fifteen hundred men to attack Stenai, and he himself was enjoined to support him by occupying the left bank of the river and the wood of Neuville. The brave Pole executed his instructions with equal promptitude and success, and a sharp action ensued, during which the cavalry on both sides displayed great courage; but the Imperialists at length fell back, and Clairfait, as had been predicted by Dumouriez, retired to Brouenne.

[Sept. 2.] HAVING encamped the first night by the side of the great road leading to Stenai, with his head-quarters at Yon, Dumouriez posted some infantry in the wood of Neuville, and along the borders of the Meuse: on the evening of the next day he took post at Berlière, and Dillon at St. Pierremont; on the succeeding afternoon the latter passed through the defile of Chalade and occupied the pass of Illettes, already taken possession of by general Galbaud with four battalions and the garrison of Longwy *, while the main body remained on the same ground,
 [Sept. 4.] on purpose to allow Chazot's column to pass; after which it continued its march and reached Grandprey.

* The troops which had served in Longwy were destitute of arms, and the battalions under general Galbaud became so panick-struck on the appearance of a detachment of Prussians and emigrants at Varennes, that they fled immediately to St. Menchould. On the retreat of the enemy, however, he resumed his former position.

THIS position, rendered so memorable in consequence of the events to which it gave rise, was found to be nearly inexpugnable. Placed between two rivers, it was flanked by hamlets on the right and left, provided with a convenient village in the rear for the artillery, and defended on all sides by means of woods, eminences, a castle, and redoubts lined with cannon *.

BOOK I.
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1792.
Description
of the new
camp.

* Here follows the description of the encampment :

“ This camp is situate between the Aisne and the Aire, the left being flanked by the village of Grandprey, and the right by that of Marque. It consists of a grand amphitheatre very much elevated above a meadow, terminated by the river Aire, which separates Grandprey from the site of the encampment, thence running by the village of Marque, and all along the front of the camp. This amphitheatre is skirted by the forest towards the right, and bound by the river on the left.

“ In the rear of the camp is the village of Senuque, where the park of artillery was stationed. The communication across the river was kept up by means of a stone bridge, and the Aisne was afterwards passed on a second bridge, at the village of Grandchamp : the Aisne runs behind the camp, and is bordered by rising grounds elevated above the level of the camp.

“ A strong advanced guard was posted in front of the Aire, forming a half-moon, and passing from the right to the left by St. Jouvin, Verpelle, Bessieu, and Mortaume. St. Jouvin is a flat and circular spot, easy of defence : colonel Stengel was posted there, and his retreat was secured by means of two bridges opposite Marque. Verpelle and Champigneul were only points of communication ; the retreat thence was towards Bessieu. Bessieu is a village protected by a woody mountain extending along the front of the camp. The point of retreat was towards the village of Chevières, by means of two bridges, under the fire of the castle of Grandprey, and all the batteries of the camp. Mortaume, which protected the left, is situate on a height that overlooks the plain and almost joins the forest.

“ In order to force this camp, it would be first necessary to attack and carry all the posts of the advanced guard, and afterwards to cross the Aire. The enemy would then find themselves within a basin surrounded by fire, proceeding as well from the heights of Marque and the castle of Grandprey, as from the front of the camp. The French could not be forced without the loss of fifteen or twenty thousand men ; they might then resume another formidable position behind the Aire, on the heights of Autry. This camp may be considered as impregnable, more especially when defended by a numerous and excellent park of French artillery.”

C H A P. VI.

Camp at Grandprey—Gallantry of Colonel Labarpe—Situation of the rival Armies—Dumouriez retreats from the Forest of Argonne—Terrour and Confusion during the March—The French occupy the Camp of St. Menebould—Siege of Thionville.

BOOK I. **T**HE army had scarcely taken possession of the camp of Grand-
 CHAP. VI. prey, when intelligence arrived of the surrender of Verdun, the
 1792. particulars of the capitulation, and the heroick death of Beau-
 Disposition of the army. repaire, who scorned to survive the cowardice and treason which he could neither anticipate nor prevent. These circumstances, instead of discouraging the troops, served only to excite their rage. They now considered their own fidelity as the sole resource of their country; they were penetrated with the justice of the cause which they were called upon to maintain; they found themselves in possession of a strong post, to which they had been conducted by means of a masterly manœuvre; and they began to respect a leader, of whose zeal and talents they were the daily witnesses.

THE general himself, with his usual confidence, transmitted the following letter to Servan, minister of the war department, in which he affected a laconick style, joined to a republican audacity, on purpose to keep alive the zeal of the Parisians:

“VERDUN is taken, and I expect the Prussians. The camps of Grandprey and Islettes have become the Thermopylæ of France: I shall prove more fortunate than Leonidas.”

IN another, intended for his private perusal, he particularised the advantages of his position, and enumerated all his wants:

he also communicated the orders transmitted to Beurnonville and Duval, to form a junction with him; recapitulated his instructions to Labourdonnaye respecting the defence of the northern department, and to Moreton and Malus for hastening the preparations for offensive measures against the Austrian Low-countries. In the mean time, he requested succours from Flanders, reinforcements from the interior, detachments from the army of the Rhine, which had nothing to fear, and assistance from Luckner, who might either attack the invaders both in flank and rear, or form a junction between the two armies, which would produce a grand effect.

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1792.

NOR did he omit to state his conjectures relative to the conduct of the Prussians after the surrender of Verdun. As the season was far advanced, and the weather rainy and unfavourable, he foresaw that they would choose to advance directly to Paris, rather than consume the remainder of the campaign in sieges. As a proof of this, he remarked that they had neglected to seize on Montmedy, which they had left in their rear, although by this omission their communication with Luxembourg, whence they must draw their supplies, would be cut off in consequence of the activity of general Ligneville and his garrison, an event that actually occurred.

As there was now no strong place remaining between the enemy and Paris by the road leading from Chalons, he imagined that the exaggerated hopes of the emigrants, joined to the entreaties of the French princes who accompanied him, might induce the Prussian monarch to select this as the readiest and least difficult route, and, after beating the army encamped in the forest of Argonne, he would be taught to believe that he could arrive in the capital, after seven or eight marches, without experiencing the least opposition.

THE combined troops had as yet been uniformly fortunate.

BOOK I. Two garrisons had capitulated in the most shameful manner ;
 CHAP. VI. several other towns appeared ready to open their gates to them ;
 1792.

and their camps were crowded, not only with disaffected persons, but also with many who wavered between the two parties, and were desirous, by recurring to a temporising policy, to have it in their power to declare in favour of the victor. Some trifling events, however, served to intimate that they were not always to expect cowardice, disaffection, or treason ; and it is not a little remarkable, that the first checks received by the army of the coalition proceeded from two foreigners. It has been already stated in what manner a Pole drove in the outposts of the Austrian army, and forced the brave but cautious Clairfayt to retreat to the intrenched camp of Brouenne. The next exploit was performed by a native of the *Pays de Vaud*, a country always treated with peculiar cruelty and injustice by the canton of Berne.

Gallant conduct of a
 Swiss colonel.

Laharpe *, one of its most illustrious defenders, driven into exile because he had endeavoured to loosen the chains of his countrymen, took refuge in the French camp, where he was welcomed as the martyr of liberty. Appointed chief of a battalion of volunteers †, he was stationed at the castle of Rodemark, and exposed to the first onset of the invaders. Shocked at the general defection, he determined to give an example of devotion to the nation which had adopted him, and was lucky enough to communicate to the troops under him the enthusiasm with which he himself was actuated. Well knowing that their little post was not tenable, they entered into a solemn engagement not to capitulate, but either to open a passage through the enemy with

* Amadeus Laharpe, lord of Utins, born in 1754, in the castle of the same name, served both in Holland and France until recalled a little before the death of his father, under the name of the baron de Yens, another lordship appertaining to his family.

† The 4th battalion of Seine and Oise.

their bayonets, or bury themselves under the ruins of the castle, the vaults of which they had converted into mines for that purpose. Having received orders however from his commanding officer to evacuate this position in consequence of the approach of the enemy, who were already masters of all the surrounding posts, the Swiss colonel sallied forth at the head of his garrison, and transported the artillery and stores to Thionville, in the face of a superiour force. This daring feat, calculated to inspire the troops with valour, and prove that the foe was not invincible, procured for him who achieved it the appellation of "the brave Laharpe," with which he was afterwards honoured at the head of the French army.

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1792.

IN the mean time Dumouriez was exceedingly anxious that general Kellermann, who had now assumed the command of the army of the Moselle, should approach nearer and effect a junction. Nor did he neglect the necessary dispositions for resisting the enemy, in which he was seconded by the ardour and patriotism of his troops. He ordered the inhabitants to cut down the trees on the skirts of the forest, then to inter the roots, and, pointing the branches in a horizontal position, thus form them into *abatis*; he commanded them also, on hearing the alarm bell, to fly to arms and oppose the enemy: he established a chain of posts to keep up the communication with Dillon, the second in command, by Marque, Châtel, and Apremont, to Chalade and Illettes. He enjoined that general to dispatch a body of light infantry, and several squadrons of chasseurs and hussars, to consume the forage on the borders of the Aire, to protect the Barrois, and prevent the combined forces from making incursions, or harassing his flank. In addition to these measures of precaution and security, he made use of others to strengthen his system of defence. He ordered the officer stationed at Croix-aux-bois to fortify that post by means of trees and intrenchments, and to break up the road leading to it: he was at first obliged to line the

Preparations
made by
Dumouriez :-

BOOK I.
CHAP. VI.

1792.

opening of Chêne-populeux with a few troops only, but the appearance of general Duval, on the day appointed, relieved him from all fears relative to that important pass.

HE also draughted troops from the garrisons of Givet, Philippeville, Mariembourg, and Rocroy, on purpose to reinforce the garrison of Sedan; he sent Miaczinski forward with a detachment of horse to keep up the communication with Montmedy, and assist Ligneville, the commandant, in intercepting the convoys from Longwy and Luxembourg.

his plan of
defence.

HAVING thus taken the necessary means to prevent the possibility of a surprise, he did not despair of being able to resist the utmost efforts of the numerous and formidable army about to oppose him. If the Prussians should attack the camp of Grandprey, or endeavour to force a passage at Islettes, which were his strong points, he had some reason to hope that he would be able to repulse them; on the other hand, if they inclined to adopt a less hazardous plan, and proceeding along the forest to the left, attempted to penetrate through the Barrois by Vitry, he was certain of anticipating them at the opening of Revigny, and of being joined there by the army of the Moselle, after which, with a mass of nearly sixty thousand men, including the detachments from the northern department, he could cover and protect the Barrois and the Marne. But should they endeavour to enter by Chêne-populeux, after having contended that passage with them, he hoped to be able to arrest their progress on the borders of the Aisne, where, being reinforced by Beurnonville's division and the army under Kellermann, he would dispute the passage of the river, and reduce them to such a state of despair as to perish by hunger in the quagmires of Tierrache, whence they would never be able to extricate their baggage and artillery*.

THE enemy, the quickness of whose motions could alone

* Mém. de Dumouriez, t. III.

insure success, spent nearly seven days in complete inactivity after the capture of Verdun. On the eighth the vanguard of the Prussian army was at length discovered, and the main body began to occupy the extensive plain, and display its front from Briquenay to Clermont; its head-quarters were established at Raucourt. On the succeeding day the Prussians commenced a series of attacks on the outposts of the French army, which, instead of being intimidated, expressed much joy at the appearance of the foe, and repulsed them at all points.

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CHAP. VI.
1792.

[Sept. 8.]
Proceedings
of the two
armies.

[Sept. 9.]

A CELEBRATED foreigner, who arrived that very evening, distinguished himself in the course of the next forenoon. This was Miranda, who after forming the daring project of achieving a revolution in New Spain, of which he was a native, and refusing the most brilliant offers on the part of the emperors of Russia, had repaired to Paris, and tendered his services to the patriots. Being posted with a detachment at Mortaume, he conducted himself with great gallantry, and withstood a brisk assault on that village, which he had been ordered to occupy. General Stengel, born in the dominions of the Elector-Palatine, also acquired credit by his defence of St. Jouvin, and the enemy were repelled on all sides, without having been able to make the least impression.

DUMOURIEZ, ever active and full of resources, contributed not a little to the general success, by dispatching troops and artillery towards the points likely to be assailed, without being discovered by his adversaries, as his operations were concealed by the mountain of Bessieu: in consequence of this the Prussians always perceived themselves opposed by a body of five or six thousand men, supported by twelve-pounders; and, as they themselves could not display a more extensive front, and possessed battalion-guns only, they of course fought to a disadvantage, and imagined that they were deceived by their spies, who concurred in asserting that the French army did not exceed twenty thousand men.

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BUT although the formidable position assumed by him possessed many advantages, his troops were exposed to a slight diarrhœa, on account of the bad quality of the water: they were also frequently destitute of provisions, as the means for obtaining a regular supply had not been yet settled; but the soldiery supported this deprivation with unusual gaiety, and the daily skirmishes that occurred, by diverting their attention, prevented that languor and listlessness which in a crowded camp is always the forerunner of malignant disorders. It was otherwise however with the principal officers, the greater part of whom, from the nature of this petty warfare, remained in a state of inactivity, and already began to consider their situation as desperate; they were also deprived of all the luxuries of the table, being obliged to live on brown bread, wretched beer, and sorry wine, a circumstance that contributed not a little to their chagrin.

FIVE generals having determined to remonstrate with their commander, called upon, and stated to him, "that he had great merit in having conducted the army to a camp almost impregnable, but that the position was unhealthy; disease and disgust were beginning to prey upon the troops, and no succours had as yet arrived. In the mean time there were one hundred thousand men in sight, who were already masters of the plain, and might at any time reach Vitry, and even Chalons, by marching through Bar-le-duc: that it was therefore of the utmost importance to anticipate them, and choose a good camp behind the Marne, where the French army might strengthen itself by means of reinforcements, and procure provisions in abundance." This advice was instantly rejected by Dumouriez, whose firmness was also put to a still severer trial in consequence of the solicitations, and even orders, of the commander in chief and the minister at war, to retreat behind the Marne, where he was to have been joined by Kellermann, who proposed, in that case, to give battle to the Prussians.

AT length the grand army seemed determined to put an end to the awful suspense in which Europe had been for some time kept. The king of Prussia in person now began to menace the camp of Grandprey, while the prince of Hohenlohe appeared before Islettes, and general Clairfayt presented himself at the pass of Croix-aux-bois. But a variety of circumstances seemed to combine, in order to render these tardy attacks inefficacious. At this critical period the rainy season had set in; the roads were extremely bad, and famine and disease already made their appearance among the invaders. Having consumed all the provisions found in Longwy and Verdun, and being unable to draw further supplies from a country previously exhausted by the French army, the duke of Brunswick was obliged to have recourse to Luxembourg and the electorate of Treves, which exposed his convoys to the attacks of the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Metz. In addition to this, a body of French troops under general Custine had already penetrated into Germany, and was supposed to have meditated the capture of Coblenz, which would have enabled him to attack the enemy in flank and rear, and rendered a retrograde movement, in case of any disaster, extremely hazardous.

BOOK I.

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1792.

[Sept. 10.]

Situation of
the combined
forces.

IN front of the combined forces at this moment appeared only a small army; but it was posted on a height, provided with an immense quantity of artillery, and commanded by Dumouriez, an active and resolute general. Another, under Kellermann, was ready either to form a junction with, or facilitate its retreat: immense bodies of troops were collecting in the interior; the people had hitherto received the foreign mercenaries not as deliverers but as enemies; and the fairy dreams of triumph began already to be dissipated.

SUCH was the melancholy situation of the invading army, when an unpardonable omission on the part of the French

BOOK I. general revived its hopes, and reduced his own country to the
 CHAP. VI. very brink of despair.

1792.

Errour com-
mitted by the
French ge-
neral.

ALTHOUGH Dumouriez was well acquainted with the importance of the various passes leading through the forest of Argonne, and by a bold and decisive movement had rendered himself master of them; yet, in consequence of an oversight, equally gross and obvious, he had neglected the defence of one of the most important. Instead of stationing an experienced officer at the post of Croix-aux-bois, he had committed it to the care of a colonel of dragoons, who, by the nature of the service to which he had been accustomed, was unqualified for a situation where a veteran officer of infantry alone could have been useful. He had also neglected the professional assistance which might have been derived from the corps of artillery or engineers; and, notwithstanding he possessed a park well stored with cannon, this important avenue into the heart of France was not guarded by a single eight or twelve pounder. In short, the defence was entrusted to a regiment of cavalry, who were unable to act with any effect, and three battalions of infantry, one of which was

[Sept. 11.] totally destitute of arms. In consequence of the colonel's report, in which he stated that his entrenchments and *abatis* were impregnable, the commander in chief, relying implicitly on his judgment, and being thus lulled into a false security, permitted him to return to camp, and entrusted the defence of *Croix-aux-bois* to one hundred infantry, sixty horsemen belonging to the *gendarmerie nationale*, in quarters at Vouzieres, and the battalion of Ardennes, which he ordered in the mean time to be supplied with muskets.

[Sept. 12.] On the next day the officer of dragoons evacuated the entrenchments before he had been relieved, and the colonel of the battalion of Ardennes waited for the arms at Vouzieres, which were not sent in conformity to orders.

No sooner was the wary and intrepid Clairfayt made acquainted with these mistakes by means of his spies, consisting

of the country people, the greater part of whom were the vassals of the expatriated nobles, than he resolved instantly to take advantage of them, and accordingly dispatched prince Charles de Ligne by break of day to attack the entrenchments. BOOK I.
CHAP. VI.
1792.
[Sept. 13.]

As the trees had been newly felled and thrown across the road without either order or connexion, and the ends were neither buried in the earth, nor the branches cut in such a manner as to present their sharp points to the enemy, as is customary in all operations of this kind, the Imperialists found but little difficulty in removing them and clearing the passage. The roads too were broken up in such a slovenly and irregular manner that they were soon enabled to advance with both cavalry and artillery, while the hundred men posted there, abandoning their position which had become untenable in consequence of the immense superiority of the assailants, fled across the woods, and arriving by noon at the camp of Grandprey, brought consternation and dismay along with them.

DUMOURIEZ, who happened luckily to be there, was instantly aware of the critical situation in which he was now placed in consequence of his own palpable negligence. He accordingly took the most speedy and efficacious measures to remedy the mischief, and for this purpose dispatched general Chazot with two brigades, six squadrons of horse, and four eight-pounders, besides the battalion pieces. He was instructed to march with the utmost expedition, and commence an immediate attack with fixed bayonets, to prevent the enemy from throwing up new works. But the whole of that afternoon and the next day were suffered to elapse without any thing decisive being effected, although the commander in chief had reinforced the general with two battalions, and dispatched *aides-de-camp* almost every hour enjoining him not to defer the attack for a single moment. At length, on the succeeding morning, Dumouriez was relieved from [Sept. 15.]

BOOK I. his uneasiness, having received a note from Chazot, stating,
 CHAP. VI. "that after a very long and very bloody conflict, in which the
 1792. prince de Ligne was killed, he had retaken the entrenchments."

But in consequence of neglecting to issue orders for the advance of the working tools, with which the defile was to have been rendered impracticable, or even to post a body of infantry and some cannon at the opening, a fresh and more numerous column of Austrians commenced a new attack two hours after, gained the adjoining heights, took some artillery, and forced Chazot, who made but a feeble resistance, to retreat, without being able to transmit the intelligence of this disastrous event to headquarters.

DURING these skirmishes at Croix-aux-bois, the enemy had several times attacked the outposts of the camp at Grandprey, but without success. They were more fortunate however at Chêne-populeux; for, although a body of emigrants who had presented themselves there were driven back by the French, yet no sooner did general Dubouquet learn that the other road had been forced, than he took advantage of the approaching night to retire by Attigny and Somme-puis, towards Chalons, to prevent his whole detachment from being cut off.

IT was not until five o'clock in the evening that the commander in chief received intelligence of the retreat from Croix-aux-bois from some of the fugitives; all the fatal consequences likely to ensue in consequence of this event were immediately anticipated by him, and he could depend on the vigour and resources of his own mind alone to extricate himself and his army from their present perilous situation. The number of his troops was now reduced to fifteen thousand men: before him was an army of forty thousand Prussians; in his rear were twenty thousand Austrians; and a body of enraged emigrants had already penetrated into the forest, and was advancing on his flank. He was thus liable to be assailed in front by the duke of Brunswick,

while general Clairfayt, by occupying the position of Croix-aux-bois, actually commanded his camp, and by inclining to the left might descend towards Olizy, Termes, and Beauregard, and thus cut off the passage of the Aire and the Aisne, at Senucque*. In case of that event, he would have been inclosed with his army between the rivers and the forest, and being destitute of provisions and ammunition, and opposed by an enemy posted on the eminences, he must have either laid down his arms, or held out without the least prospect of relief.

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HIS communication was now interrupted with Beurnonville, who had arrived at Rhétel with nine thousand men destitute of shoes, harassed by fatigue, and unprovided with ammunition; while Kellermann, on hearing that two of the passes were carried, would either retreat towards Metz or cross the Marne. He was also reduced to the necessity of decamping in the presence of the enemy, and encountering a thousand unforeseen difficulties; but, notwithstanding the imminence of his danger, the French general exhibited great presence of mind, and never betrayed the least symptom of fear relative to his perilous situation. On the contrary, he mounted on horseback, exhibited himself with confidence to the troops, and, after calling in all his detachments, dispatched orders to Beurnonville to set off instantly from Rhétel, and following the course of the Aisne as far as Attigny, to march towards St. Menchould, with a view of effecting a junction there; he also instructed Kellermann to hasten by Bar and Revigny for the same purpose.

AT the same time he laid his injunctions on general Dillon to defend the passes of Islettes and Chalade with the utmost obstinacy, and to push forward his light troops beyond Passavant, with intent to harass the enemy's left flank. That he might

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

BOOK I. insure his own retreat, he posted six battalions and as many
 CHAP. VI. squadrons on the heights of Olizy, Termes, and Beauregard,
 1792. with a few cannon, so as to face Croix-aux-bois, arrest the
 progress of the Austrians, and prevent them from descending
 towards Senucque; while three hundred chasseurs were employed
 in scouring the forest on the side of Longueve. He also ordered
 the park of artillery to file off immediately across the two
 bridges, with an intent of gaining the heights of Autry, on the
 other side of the Aisne, where it would be removed from danger.

ABOUT seven that evening he learned that Chazot* had
 retreated to Vouzieres, and that his own situation was not so
 critical as he had supposed. Content with obtaining possession
 of the important passage of Croix-aux-bois, and expecting
 perhaps to be attacked again on the next day, the enemy had
 not pushed forward according to his expectation: he was there-
 fore still master of the whole course of the Aisne; and, although
 his rear-guard might be attacked, he hoped to be able to dispute
 the passage of that river, and gain a commanding eminence on
 its further bank.

Interview
 with a
 Prussian
 officer.

WHILE incessantly occupied with preparations for securing his
 retreat, an *aide-de-camp* arrived from the prince de Hohenlohe †,

* General Chazot was denounced by Marat and Pons de Verdun, on account of his conduct upon this occasion. He was also summoned to the bar of the Convention, April 7, 1793, and imprisoned by its orders; but he found means to make his innocence evident, and was released soon after.

† It may be necessary to remark that this officer, usually styled the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, was a general in the service of Prussia, and commanded a division of the grand army; he was also a great favourite of the monarch, whom he accompanied to the congress of Pillnitz, in 1791. The princes of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg and Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen are frequently confounded with him; but they are both in the service of Austria: the former is a general of artillery, and distinguished himself against the Turks in 1739; the latter is also a general officer, and acquired great credit in the army of the Rhine during the campaign of 1796.

requesting an interview. This embarrassing circumstance was turned to advantage by Dumouriez, who took care on this occasion to remove many of the prejudices entertained on the part of the enemy. He accordingly selected major-general Duval, who had served during the seven-years' war in the legion of Soubise, and was rendered respectable by his grey hairs and majestic figure, to meet the Prussian officer at the time and place appointed: the latter was unable to conceal his surprise at seeing so much order and regularity observed at the outposts, and so many well-bred officers adorned with ribbands and crosses; for the emigrants had represented the army as commanded by tailors, shoemakers, and obscure tradesmen. It also added not a little to his astonishment to hear that most of the generals had served during one or two wars, and that Dumouriez himself was a major-general before the revolution. By way of concealing the intended retreat, it was at the same time intimated to him, in pursuance of one of those maxims by which untruth is admitted among the legitimate stratagems of modern warfare, that Beurnonville was to enter the camp in the course of the next day with a reinforcement of eighteen thousand men, while Kellermann, at the head of twenty thousand more, was only two marches distant.

ON that very evening however, the moment it became dark, the French advanced-guard, in pursuance to orders, fell back in three columns, without either augmenting or diminishing the number of its fires; the right retreating through Marque, the centre by Chevieres, and the left by Grandprey. Duval and Stengel, the commanding officers, as soon as they had crossed, ordered all the bridges in the rear to be broken down, and then halted until the army, to which they were to act as a rear-guard, had commenced its march. It was not until midnight that the commander in chief left his head-quarters at the castle of Grandprey, and ascended to the camp, which he still found.

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1792.

The French
army com-
mences its
retreat.

BOOK I. standing: the roads were so bad, and the night so cloudy, that

CHAP. VI. his orderly-men were missing; but he issued verbal instructions
1792. for the tents to be instantly struck. The main body however was

not in motion until three hours after; a circumstance which proved advantageous, for the troops perceiving nothing that indicated either haste or alarm, and being entirely ignorant of the cause of their retreat, conducted themselves with great regularity.

At length the army commenced its march, and proceeded without any interruption on the part of the enemy, over the bridges and through the defiles, according to the route fixed upon. On arriving at the heights of Autry the general drew up his troops in order of battle, to protect the rear-guard, which did not pass the bridges of Senucque and Grandchamp until eight in the morning, and then formed a similar disposition on the high ground. A detachment of Prussian hussars, supported by three or four pieces of horse artillery, had attempted to harass this body without effect: but they proved more fortunate against the troops from Vouzieres, under general Chazot; for having made a charge, the latter instantly betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the light troops. Some of the fugitives fled as far as Rheims and Chalons, and the panick might have become general had not Duval obliged the Prussians to fall back, and taken a couple of their cannon and some baggage, while Miranda, with his usual presence of mind, immediately rallied the army.

In the mean time the general, who now deemed his retreat secure, had ordered the park of artillery to continue its march, while he himself repaired to Dammartin, four leagues distance from Grandprey, where they were to halt at the end of that day's march. While employed in tracing out his camp, several fugitives arrived and announced to him, "that all was lost, the army being in confusion, and the enemy in full pursuit." On his return however he met general Miranda, who had displayed

equal coolness and intrepidity upon this occasion, by preventing the flight of the infantry, and at the same time arresting the progress of the enemy; he also received favourable intelligence from the generals Duval and Stengel, whom he ordered to halt with the rear-guard on the borders of the morafs of Cernay, until the whole army had crossed the Tourbe: they were then to advance along the banks of that river, take post between the main body and the enemy, and pass the evening there. Having returned to Dammartin, and ordered the troops to remain all night under arms, the general, who had been twenty hours on horseback, alighted, and sat down to table at six o'clock, with a view of taking some refreshment: but he was disturbed by a new alarm, which had taken place in his camp, in consequence of the arts of some disaffected persons. Although the rear-guard remained undisturbed at a league distance, the appearance of the enemy was every-where announced; the artillery which was harnessed, endeavoured to gain a height on the other side of a rivulet, called the Bionne; all the troops were mingled together in the confusion, and a general and immediate flight appeared to be inevitable. Dumouriez having remounted his horse, instantly repaired to the spot, accompanied by the officers of his staff, his *aides-de-camp*, and his escort of dragoons, who at length succeeded in rallying the fugitives by means of blows.

HAVING thus prevented a complete rout, he ordered fires to be lighted, and commanded the soldiers to pass the night in the position then occupied by them. At break of day order was restored among the dispersed soldiery, after which the tents were struck; the army continued its march in three columns, and arrived without any accident at the camp of St. Menchould; for the enemy had not taken advantage of the confusion that ensued, but advanced with caution, and did not appear in sight of the French until the next day. Being no longer under any ap-

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1792.

The French
army assumes
a new po-
sition.
[Sept. 17.]

BOOK I. prehensions, the commander in chief immediately communicated
 CHAP. VI. his situation to the president of the national assembly, in a letter
 1792. written with Spartan brevity, and calculated to inspire confidence :

“ I HAVE been obliged to abandon the camp of Grandprey ; the retreat was completed when a panick terrour seized on the army : ten thousand troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians. The loss does not amount to more than fifty men, and some baggage : order is again restored, and I am ready to answer for the consequences.—DUMOURIEZ.”

IN the mean time it was determined by the allies to lay siege to Thionville. In conformity to the original plan of the campaign, that place ought to have been attacked at an earlier period ; but such was the defective state of the park of artillery belonging to the grand army, that a sufficient number of heavy cannon could not be found to open the trenches. On this, application was immediately made for assistance to Luxembourg ; and it was not doubted that the arsenals of an ally would readily furnish whatever might be necessary for the service of the common cause : but the governour declined to comply until he should receive instructions from the court of Vienna. This delay had obliged the duke of Brunswick to leave that important fortress in his rear, marred all his plans, and was productive of a variety of untoward consequences. The convoys of provisions were from that moment continually exposed to be cut off, the jealousies between the Austrians and Prussians were renewed, and by the withdrawing of the troops destined to cover the Palatinate soon after, with a view of converting the blockade into a regular siege, Germany was left open to the victorious incursions of the French.

Siege of Thionville.

[Sept. 17.]

THIS important fortress was now invested by the Austrians and emigrants, under the command of the princes of Hohenlohe and Condé ; and but little doubt was entertained, that the garrison would follow the example of Longwy and Verdun. General

Felix de Wimpffen, a native of Alface, and a colonel of dragons under the old government, happened to be entrusted with the command of the place; and as he was a noble by birth (for he had represented that order in the states-general), it was supposed that he might be easily seduced; every art was accordingly resorted to for that purpose*. He is said indeed to have been secretly attached to the cause of the exiles; but whether instigated by the point of honour, or actuated by a sense of duty, or overawed by the fidelity of the troops, or terrified by the fate of la Fayette; certain it is, that on the present occasion he refused to capitulate, and contributed not a little by his spirited resistance to the catastrophe that ensued.

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THIS place, like all the other frontier towns, was unprovided with the means of effecting a vigorous resistance, and did not contain a sufficient quantity of provisions to enable the garrison to sustain a long siege. The enemy, on the other hand, was but ill prepared to reduce so formidable a fortress, for M. d'Autichamp, who superintended the attack, was not in possession of any battering cannon.

* It was confidently asserted by many at the time, and has not been belied by subsequent events, that Wimpffen had resolved to deliver up Thionville to the French princes, and only persevered in defending it in consequence of the indiscreet manner in which it was attacked, as the out-works were untouched, and no plausible pretext allowed for the surrender. Among the various persons who accused the general of treachery on the present occasion, was a jew belonging to the department of the Moselle; he asserted at the bar of the convention, February 17, 1793, that he himself had been actually sent by the governor of Thionville to the general of the besieging army on purpose to state, "that it was now too late to obtain possession of the fortress." But the representatives of the nation did not deem it prudent to pay any attention to the numerous denunciations against Wimpffen; on the contrary, a vote passed, declaring, "that he had deserved well of his country."

In 1793, general W. affected to enter into the resentments of the girondists, then proscribed by the faction of the mountain, and even to head an army in their defence; but he was at length suspected of treachery, and must be allowed at all events to have achieved nothing worthy of his former reputation.

BOOK I. NOT content with merely remaining on the defensive, Wimpffen
CHAP. VI. immediately evinced a degree of activity that proved highly disastrous to his opponents. Being afraid lest he should be starved
1792. into a surrender, he determined to cut off the resources of the enemy, and thus force them to abandon the idea of a blockade. He accordingly made a sally at the head of four hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry; and with this small detachment destroyed a large quantity of forage in front of the camp at Richemont, by means of a stratagem; for by dividing his party into six separate bodies, and concealing the depth of his columns, he deceived the besiegers in respect to his numbers, and amidst the general confusion carried off their magazine, with one hundred and thirty-three waggon, which had been mistaken by them for a train of artillery*. He was also fortunate enough to cut off a convoy in the course of the same evening; and four days after he seized upon and destroyed a large quantity of provisions at Gavisse, destined for the supply of fifteen thousand men.

* Mém. Révolutionnaire, t. I. p. 97.

C H A P. VII.

*Kellermann and Beurnonville effect a junction with Dumouriez—
Approach of the Combined Army—Skirmish at Valmy—The
Consequences resulting from this indecisive Action.*

THE negligence of Dumouriez had occasioned the retreat of an army on which the safety of France depended; but his subsequent prudence, activity, and good fortune, repaired his errors, and he now once more occupied a formidable position. St. Meneshould, only one hundred and ten miles distant from Paris, and twenty-five from Chalons, is rendered strong by the hand of nature. In front are high grounds, consisting of a barren clay, which occupy the space formed by the Tourbe, Bionne, and Aube. The site of the encampment, about three quarters of a league in extent, not only commands these elevations, but also the valley below; it resembles in form the letter S, the right flank terminating at the river Aisne, a little above Neuville-au-pont, and the left at the great road leading to Chalons; the village of Chaude-fontaine assumes a central position in the rear. In a hollow, situate exactly in front, are the hamlet and castle of Braux St. Cohère, where the ponds and morasses begin, which separate the left of the camp from the hill of Valmy, rendered conspicuous by its wind-mill. The heights of Gizacourt are near to the great road, and behind is a morass and some branches of the Aube, at the extremity of which is a position well calculated for a small camp, with the village of Dampierre in front, and that of Elise in the rear.

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CHAP. VII.
1792.
Description
of the new
camp.

THE general established his head-quarters at St. Meneshould, the chief place in the district of Argonne, and one of the prin-

BOOK I. cipal towns in Champagne; it was a league from his camp, and
 CHAP. VII. exactly facing the centre of the grand army. Resolving to add all
 1792. the advantages resulting from art to those derived from nature, he
 erected batteries in his front so as to command the valley, by
 enfilading it on every side. He stationed his vanguard along the
 Tourbe, with orders to retard the enemy's march by every
 possible means, and to retire slowly and in good order, taking
 care to cut down all the bridges in the rear; after this, the
 troops were to take post behind the Bionne. Injunctions were
 at the same time issued to lay waste the country around, and to
 forage in all the adjacent villages, so that nothing might remain
 for the enemy's cavalry. Dillon was still left to defend the de-
 files of Islettes and Chalade, while, by way of strengthening his
 right flank, a battalion of troops of the line was stationed in
 the castle of St. Thomas, situate on a steep and commanding
 eminence.

Punishment
 of the fugi-
 tives.

HAVING thus carefully fortified his position, and endeavoured
 to inspire the troops with confidence not only in him but in
 themselves, Dumouriez assembled the army, and attempted to
 gain the soldiery by soothing rather than reproaching them. He
 determined at the same time to banish cowardice and disaffection,
 by means of shame, and accordingly resorted to the following
 expedient. Having ordered twenty-eight of the fugitives who
 had been arrested by Dillon, and sent prisoners to him, to be
 brought to the front of his camp, he commanded the hair of
 their heads and eye-brows to be shaved, after which their uni-
 forms which they had disgraced were taken from them, and being
 thus branded with ignominy, they were dismissed amidst the
 hootings and revilings of their companions.

IT now became necessary to effect the junction so much desired
 by the general, whose army was not sufficient to check the pro-
 gress of the Prussians, although hunger and disease began already
 to make great havock in their camp. Beurnonville, misled by

the accounts of the fugitives, had at first retreated to Chalons, but he at length arrived very opportunely with a body of troops, who were happy at the idea of rejoining and serving once more under their old commander, at the camp of Maulde; had he remained but twenty-four hours later, all communication with Dumouriez would have been cut off. Intelligence was also received in the course of the same day, that Kellermann, after leaving a detachment of five thousand men to cover Bar and Ligny, was only two leagues distant with fifteen thousand men, one third of which consisted of excellent cavalry, being chiefly composed of regiments of the line.

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[Sept. 19.]

ON receiving this joyful news, Dumouriez instantly dispatched instructions to his colleague, to continue his march and occupy the camp between the villages of Dampierre and Elise, behind the Aube, in the course of the next morning; and as he began to suppose from the extension of the enemy's line, that they meant to try the fate of an action, he pointed out the heights of Valmy and Gizancourt, as a proper station for his field of battle; but having neglected to repair thither in person, or even to send an engineer to mark out the ground, the former mistook his field of battle for his camp, and much confusion ensued in consequence of this event.

IN the mean time the duke of Brunswick's operations had been greatly retarded, by the difficulties incident to the subsistence of so great an army in an enemy's country. His ovens were at Verdun, and much time was consumed in bringing bread to the camp: in proportion as the season became wet, obstacles of all kinds would of course multiply; and it at length appeared hazardous to advance a single march further from the magazines, for fear of being entirely deprived of their benefit. The commander in chief, therefore, was fettered in respect to his future progress, as he dared not to lose sight of his communications for a moment, but he had it still in his power to

BOOK I. compel the enemy to make such movements in his presence as
 CHAP. VII. would afford him an opportunity of attacking them to advantage.

1792.

The combined army advances in pursuit of the French.

[Sept. 16.]

THE combined army was now in full march against the foe. Having entered Grandprey, it filed off next day by Vouzieres and Autry, as far as Cernay; and at the very moment the reinforcements had arrived in the French camp, it appeared in fight. As the king of Prussia was extremely desirous to discover the exact position of the enemy, he had already reconnoitred the camp of St. Menchould from a rising ground not far from Ville-sur-Tourbe, and on perceiving the confusion that had taken place on the hill of Valmy, in consequence of the mistake already alluded to, it was concluded, that in consequence of orders from Paris Dumouriez had commenced his retreat.

[Sept. 19.]

THIS opinion, in addition to intelligence of a similar nature, induced his majesty to resume his march, and the army accordingly advanced to Somme-Tourbe, while the reserve under the orders of the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe took a position between Somme-Tourbe and Somme-Bienne; both passed the night under arms, and it was fully expected that the French would be intercepted before they reached Chalons.

[Sept. 20.]

ON the succeeding morning, at break of day, some of the allied troops appeared on an eminence, while the French carabineers were discovered to have formed behind La Lune; and an opinion still prevailed in the invading army, that the enemy had been stopped in their retreat. This circumstance prevented the heights of Gizancourt from being occupied at first, and the delusion was rendered still more complete by the situation of Kellermann's detachment, which was hid by the intervening eminences.

AT length it became evident that the French, instead of betaking themselves to flight, now occupied a strong entrenched camp, supported by an immense park of artillery, and were prepared to give battle. As Dumouriez appeared to have assumed a masked position, with a view of concealing the number and

situation of his troops, orders were instantly issued to obtain possession of the heights of Gizancourt. Several columns were accordingly put in motion ; and the artillery was sent forward. On this Kellermann brought up the whole of his cannon to a commanding eminence, on the hill of Valmy, and by means of a well-directed fire, arrested the progress of the combined army.

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1792.
Action of
Valmy.

NOR was Dumouriez deficient in point of skill and exertion ; for perceiving that his colleague could not extend his line along the high ground of Gizancourt, because he was already out-flanked on his left, the former took advantage of a pause on the part of the enemy, to dispatch general Chazot with nine battalions of infantry, and eight squadrons of cavalry, by the great road leading to Chalons, with orders to get behind the heights of Gizancourt, to flank the position of Valmy, and support Kellermann ; he at the same time commanded Stengel to march to the extremity of the Hyron, and take the enemy on the other flank. Beurnonville was also dispatched with a column consisting of sixteen battalions to support Stengel, while Leveneur with twelve more received directions to turn the left of the enemy.

IN the mean time the king of Prussia had established a battery on the heights of Gizancourt, which commanded the position at Valmy ; but as Stengel now out-flanked the enemy, and had opened a sharp fire on the left of the attack, the assailants received a check, and were not only prevented from storming Valmy, but perhaps from also beating, surrounding, and cutting off the detachment under Kellermann ; for as his troops were incumbered, and the great road leading to St. Menchould choked up, with the baggage, a retreat would have become extremely difficult.

AT the close of day the artillery ceased to fire, and the troops detached by Dumouriez retired ; those commanded by Kellermann remained under arms, on purpose to withdraw to the station originally intended for them, while the Prussians not only retained

BOOK I. the heights of La Lune and Gizancourt, but completely blocked
 CHAP. VII. up all intercourse with Chalons, and occupied a position between
 1792. the enemy and the capital.

Situation of
 the two
 armies.

THUS ended the skirmish of Valmy, during which only three or four hundred men were killed, although the rival armies fired more than forty thousand cannon-shot. The combined forces on this occasion, by means of a masterly evolution, had contrived to cut off all direct communication between Dumouriez and his magazines; but they completely failed in the main object of the contest, as the French were neither beaten nor intimidated. On the contrary, they in the end derived from this contest all the advantages that could have been expected from a signal victory.

THEIR troops, although inferior in point of number, had stood the shock and checked the progress of the invaders. The national guards, contrary to expectation, conducted themselves with as much bravery as the soldiers of the line; the division under general Lynch in particular, sustained the action with all the firmness of veterans; while the carabineers and grenadiers commanded by Valence displayed equal bravery and coolness. Those Frenchmen who expected to have seen the hero of the league delivering up Paris to the plunder of his soldiers, could scarcely give credit to the intrepidity of their countrymen; while the courts of Europe would not at first believe that a simple hussar*, and an obscure captain of cavalry, should have been able to foil commanders who had studied the art of war in the school of the immortal Frederick.

GENERAL CLAIRFAYT, who did not arrive until the morning after the engagement, assumed a position near Valmy, having on his left wing the Prussian camp of Hans, and on his right the

* Kellermann was originally a private in the legion of Conflans; he was afterwards promoted, and became a field officer in the Colonel-General hussars.

advanced guard, now stationed on the road leading to and within four leagues of Chalons. The prince of Hohenlohe occupied the heights of Gizancourt, and the post of La Lune, while the emigrants were placed in the rear. On the other hand, the French under Dumouriez still retained their original camp, with the right inclining to Islettes, and the left strengthened by a strong redoubt, provided with eighteen pieces of cannon of large dimensions; Kellermann's troops were posted to the left, and in part covered by the Aube and inundations.

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THE late action, since dignified with the appellation of the *battle of Valmy*, completely dissipated the illusions of Frederick-William II. who, after seeing the hopes of the emigrants in some measure realised by the surrender of Longwy and Verdun, is said to have expected either the immediate flight or desertion of the French forces*; but their intrepidity and patriotism not only disappointed his hopes, but gave a new turn to the war. The veteran troops, who had neglected on the preceding day to carry the heights of Valmy by the bayonet, might still indeed have marched straight to Chalons, which was only a few leagues distant; but the enemy, whose supposed disadvantages were now fully counterbalanced by a decided superiority in respect to artillery, as well as by recent events, would have cut off all communication with Verdun.

Effects of the
skirmish at
Valmy.

THE king of Prussia accordingly began to reflect seriously on the critical situation to which he was reduced. He had fully acquitted himself of his engagement to enter France. None of the armies appeared in the least disposed to join him, and not a single department, or even district, had declared in favour of the ancient monarchy. He himself had already expended immense sums, and hazarded the existence of an army on which the security of

* Tableau Historique & Polit. t. II. p. 283.

BOOK I. his own dominions depended, in behalf of the common cause.
CHAP. VII. He had also neglected the opinion of the commander in chief,
1792. who insisted soon after the commencement of the campaign, that, in consequence of the changes which had occurred in Paris, it was become absolutely necessary to give a systematic direction to the operations of the combined armies: for as the French monarch had been dethroned, and his party dissipated, all hopes of effecting a sudden revolution were completely annihilated. In addition to this, the fervour of his own zeal had induced him to neglect many necessary precautions; several fortresses had been left in his rear; many of his convoys had been cut off, and not only famine but disease already prevailed in his camp.

C H A P. VIII.

Conduct of Dumouriez—France is declared a Republick—Arrival of the Deputies in the French Camp—The Soldiers take the new Oath.

WHILE the combined army was encamped within sight, fifty thousand French maintained the formidable position of St. Menchould, and were in daily expectation of receiving fresh succours; for general d'Harville was assembling troops at Rheims, and general Sparre at Chalons. Paris, Soissons, Epernai, Troyes, and Vitry, were also pouring forth swarms of volunteers, unacquainted indeed with discipline, and impatient of restraint, but zealous to shed their blood for their country, and acquire liberty and glory for themselves. On the other hand, the forces of the allied courts, which had been deceived as to the opposition they were likely to experience, became dispirited and dejected. They found themselves entangled amidst the fastnesses of a sterile province, destitute of water, forage, and provisions, with a resolute enemy in front, fresh levies pouring in from all quarters, and their own resources diminishing daily. The garrisons of Thionville, Sedan, and Montmedy, at the same time, harassed and cut off their convoys, which arrived but slowly in consequence of the circuit they were obliged to take by Grandprey, Longwy, and Verdun. The autumn, which was now far advanced, also happened to be wet and cold; diseases were generated; the roads became nearly impracticable, and it was at length almost equally difficult either to advance or retire. The combined forces might indeed have marched either by Cha-

BOOK I.
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1792.
Situation of
the armies.

BOOK 1.
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1792.

lons or Rheims to Paris; but in that case they must have exposed their rear-guard to the danger of being cut off at the passage of the Marne, and would assuredly have been followed by Dumouriez: however, in an attempt of this kind something was to be hazarded, and one fortunate battle might still have rendered them masters of the destiny of France. But neither the prudence of the duke of Brunswick, nor the policy of the Prussian cabinet, would permit the adoption of a plan, which, although it might have restored the Bourbon race to the throne, in the event of success, would have shook the stability of the house of Brandenburg in case of disaster. Similar considerations prevented the commander in chief of the combined army from risking a general attack on the French camp; in short, a disgraceful retreat had now become inevitable, and a pretext was only wanting for that purpose.

Conduct of
the French
general.

DUMOURIEZ on the other hand was equally aware of the superiority of his own position, and the critical and even desperate situation of the enemy. But a different opinion prevailed at Paris, whence he received couriers daily with injunctions to retreat. It was in vain he assured the members of the executive council that their uneasiness was ill timed, and that he would be answerable for the event: they well knew that he was destitute of experience as a commander, and, although his talents could no longer be doubted, they had reason to be suspicious of his principles, having already suffered by his perfidy while minister. In addition to these considerations, they had been lately deceived by him in respect to the camp of Grandprey, which he had represented as inexpugnable but a few days previously to his abandonment of it, in consequence of a gross and very culpable mistake.

THE romantick hopes and extravagant projects of this general, instead of allaying, served only to increase their fears; for, although the combined forces were posted between him and

the capital, and the immediate communication with his own magazines cut off, he asserted with great confidence that his Prussian majesty would not be able to penetrate further into Champagne ; and that within the short space of ten days, his once-formidable army, consumed by hunger and disease, must be forced to retreat through the same defiles by which it had entered France. Not content with this prediction, which was speedily realised, he also assured them that he should have time to march to the succour of Lille, now menaced by the duke of Saxe Teschen, and demanded by way of recompence for his services, that he might be permitted to make Brussels his head-quarters during the winter, as he intended to be there by the 15th of November !

BUT, although the troops of the allied courts had by this time experienced many of the disadvantages incident to an autumnal campaign—a wet season, a desert province, and an enemy's country—the general to whom was entrusted the security of the empire, was also exposed to some difficulties: by obstinately persisting in his original mode of defence, he subjected himself to personal responsibility for all the misfortunes that might ensue ; most of the principal officers were of opinion that he ought to retire ; Kellermann actually threatened to desert him, and even his own camp began to be menaced with famine. But the firmness of Dumouriez saved France. Had he yielded to the injunctions of his superiours, the advice of his colleague, or the voice of timidity, a tumultuous and disorderly retreat would have ensued ; the enemy would have established themselves in a fruitful country, where they would have recovered from their fatigues ; and a flying and dispirited army would have carried terror, discontent, and dismay along with it to the capital. Opposing, therefore, the intrepidity of his character to the current of opinion, Dumouriez determined at the risk of his life to persevere ; and in answer to a letter from Servan, the minister at war, stating that his obstinacy in remaining at St. Menesould was considered

BOOK I. criminal, as the Hulans made inroads to the very gates of
 CHAP. VIII. Rheims, and laid waste all the country before them, he replied
 1792. by means of the following note :

“ I WILL not alter my plan on account of a few marauders. There are more than ten thousand men in Rheims, and the Hulans whom they suffer to ride up to the very walls of that city are by no means numerous : let them pursue and slay them.”

As the direct road to Chalons, where his provisions were deposited, was now blocked up, he ordered his convoys to ascend along the left bank of the Marne to Vitry ; he also caused new roads to be cut, and posted detachments to keep up the communication. But, notwithstanding all his care, the army, which was sometimes two or three days without bread, began to murmur. On these occasions, in imitation of the generals of antiquity, he was accustomed to mingle with and appease the soldiery.

“ THE famous marshal Saxe,” said he, “ has written a book on the art of war, in which he maintains that the regular delivery of provisions to the troops should be discontinued at least once a-week, in order to make them less sensible of such a privation in cases of necessity. As for us !” he would exclaim, “ we have not half so much reason to complain as these Prussians encamped within our sight, who are sometimes destitute of bread for four days in succession, and reduced to the necessity of feeding on their dead horses ! You have plenty of hogs’-lard, rice, and flour ; make cakes with these, and liberty will give them a relish.”

At another time, when a convoy had been retarded, he assumed a severe air and cried out—

“ WHICH are the bad citizens who are so cowardly as not to sustain hunger ? Let them be stripped of their arms and uniforms, and instantly chased away. Such are not worthy of participating with us in the honour of saving our country ! You

cannot receive any bread before to-morrow; shew yourselves therefore capable of surmounting every thing. No more murders: Liberty for ever!" On this the whole camp began to shout—"Liberty for ever! Long live our father!"

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NOR was the firmness of Dumouriez less conspicuous than his policy. Seven battalions of federates, after committing a variety of excesses at Châlons, had announced that they would not suffer epaulets, crosses, or embroidered uniforms in the army, and that the generals themselves should be forced to listen to their representations. No sooner did the commander in chief receive this intelligence, than he ordered them to encamp apart, with some squadrons of horse behind, and cannon in front. He then rode up to the head of their line, accompanied by the whole of his staff, and an escort of an hundred hussars; when, after surveying them with a stern aspect, he spoke as follows:

"You! whom I cannot term either citizens or soldiers, behold the artillery in your van, the cavalry in your rear. You have dishonoured yourselves by crimes; but know that I will not suffer assassins to remain in my camp, and that I have ordered you to be cut to pieces on the least appearance of mutiny. On the other hand, if you correct your errors, if you promise to conduct yourselves after the example of the brave army to which you have the honour to belong, you will find in me a father. I know there are bad men among you, who are instructed to instigate you to the commission of crimes: until you chase them away, or denounce them to me, I render you responsible for all their actions." These battalions, which he visited daily, behaved afterwards with great gallantry, and even displayed more patience than the other troops.

FINDING that he now began to be popular among the soldiers, he passed the evenings with them around their fires, partook of their fare, explained his own position as well as that of the enemy; and, by way of encouraging them to perseverance,

BOOK I. boldly foretold, that in the course of a few days they would
 CHAP. VIII. behold those very Prussians seeking safety in retreat, who had
 1792. threatened to overwhelm the capital of France with their vengeance.

France declared a republic.

WHILE Dumouriez was thus occupied by turns in opposing the enemy, and soothing, reprimanding, and acquiring the confidence of his own troops, a great event had occurred at Paris, which produced a complete change in the nature and form of the government. At the very moment when the king of Prussia, at the head of an immense army, had driven the French from the camp of Grandprey, and Longwy and Verdun were in possession of the enemy, a national convention had assembled, royalty was abolished, and France declared a republic*.

[Sept. 23.]

Arrival of three deputies, who administer the new oath.

THIS intelligence soon reached the camp of St. Menchould, and was immediately succeeded by three commissioners, who ordered the new oath of allegiance to be administered to the troops; and the commander in chief, even had he been otherwise inclined, was under the necessity of exhibiting a prompt obedience. The soldiery were already prepared for this event. Sillery, who had spent his youth in the army and attained the rank of major-general, was subtle and seductive; the veterans as well as the new levies were pleased to behold an old officer deputed to them, and heard him with reverence and attention. Carra, although a man of education, affected a popular eloquence both in his newspaper, which was read by all military men, and in his

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*September 21, 1792.*

“THE national assembly decrees, that royalty is abolished in France;

“That all public acts shall be dated—‘The first year of the French republic;’

“That the seal of the state shall be changed, and have for legend ‘French republic;’

“And, that the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; on the exergue shall be engraved ‘Archives of the French republic.’”

speeches, which were listened to with joy by the troops; his face also was well known in the camp, and he was personally acquainted with many of the privates and subalterns, whose cause he had frequently espoused. Prieur, bold, ardent, and burning with zeal, was a native of Champagne, the scene of the present contest, and which had furnished many of the regiments that composed the army. In short, the deputies had been selected on purpose to procure the accession of the army to the late decree of the convention; and their success did not belie the expectations that had been conceived of them, for, being indignant at the supposed treachery of the king, and the presence of "a horde of foreign mercenaries," they consented with joy to pass from a monarchical to a republican form of government*.

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CHAP. VIII.
1792.

DUMOURIEZ, who had received the commissioners with open arms, profited greatly by their presence. He detailed all the advantages resulting from the formidable position now occupied by him, as well as the misfortunes likely to ensue in the event of a sudden retreat. He exhibited the prisoners and deserters brought daily into his camp, and, after ridiculing the terrors prevalent in Paris, he insisted on the immense benefit that had already accrued from the junction of Beurnonville and Kellermann, as well as the gallantry displayed by the troops during the cannonade of Valmy; and concluded by requesting their consent to retain his present station but one week longer, at the end of which period, if the enemy did not withdraw, he was ready to decamp from St. Menchould and cross the Marne.

* Mem. du Général Dumouriez, t. III.

C H A P. IX.

Interview between Dumouriez and Colonel Manstein—Agreement for an Exchange of Prisoners—The Emigrants are excepted—The King of Prussia assembles a Council of War—Preparations for a decisive Battle—His Majesty determines to Retreat—Conduct of the French Nobility—Sufferings of the Prussians—Reflections.

BOOK I.
CHAP. IX.

1792.
[Sept. 22.]

Armistice.

DUMOURIEZ was not mistaken in his conjectures. The Prussian monarch had already become tired of a war whence he could reap neither glory nor advantage, and began to wish for some pretext for withdrawing his army, the safety of which had now become precarious. It was with this intention that he sent colonel Manstein, his adjutant-general, to the French headquarters, for the purpose of holding a conference with the commander in chief*, under colour of entering into an agreement

* *Verbal Proposition by Manstein to Dumouriez.*

“MAKE him your king under the strictest limits that any king ever was placed. Do not content yourself with tying him up, like the king of England, to do nothing of himself—make him a king of Mahrattas—make him a stadtholder—make him the principal tax-gatherer in the country—give him only a place—that is all we ask—and then we shall have a pretext for retiring.”

Account of a Conference between the French and Prussian Generals, previous to the Retreat of the Combined Armies.

[It was produced by a negotiation for preventing the *vedettes* (centinels) of the two armies from firing upon each other, in which the Prussian generals found it necessary to call for the duke of Brunswick.]

“*The Duke of Brunswick.*—WHAT are your names, Gentlemen?

La Baroliere.—My name is Baroliere; that of my colleague Galbaud.

The Duke to Galbaud.—It is you who hath placed these cannon. They have

about the mutual exchange of prisoners. After many compliments on both sides, it was finally resolved to discontinue skirmishing in front of their respective camps, and a suspension of arms accordingly took place in that direction.

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1792.

done us some harm; and I confess, that I cannot conceive how you could have a design of bringing them so near to our redoubt.

Galbaud.—What you say proves the goodness of our operation. In truth, we are very near to you. But our soldiers know no danger, when they labour for their country.

Brunswick.—General Kalkreuth has told me of your proposal, as to our giving up the wood; you must agree that there would be many more difficulties if I were less sparing of human blood. But before this arrangement is concluded, let us talk a little of your nation; I love it, and that I have proved more than once. I am sorry that Dumouriez, upon the subject of my last manifesto, has been so angry with some insignificant words that are found in it. Such expressions are for the people; informed persons know how to estimate them; and I am astonished that Dumouriez should treat them so seriously.

Galbaud.—Permit me to ask you, if the French people, become free, are not as capable of understanding the language of truth as general Dumouriez? Judge whether they could suffer that one of their generals, forgetting the respect owed to his sovereign, should hear any thing against the national sovereignty!

Brunswick.—I do not dispute the right of your nation to regulate its government; but, has it chosen the form which best suits its character? This is what is generally doubted in Europe; and certainly, when I came into France, I had no other intention than to restore order.

Baroliere.—Permit me to ask you, what power has rendered you an intermediate between the French people and its interests? [At this instant, Galbaud perceived near him the *ci-devant* camp-marshal Klinglin, on horseback, in uniform, and with a white cockade. In his surprise, he cried out, "Ah! this is M. Klinglin!" The latter answered nothing. Kalkreuth whispered in the duke's ear, who contemptuously made a sign for Klinglin to retire, which he did.]

Brunswick.—You perceive how I treat the emigrants. I have never loved traitors. Do with them as you will; they are of little consequence to us. But I insist upon it that the French nation, when they know their interests better, will return to more moderate principles.

Baroliere.—I ask the duke of Brunswick, if it be the author of the manifesto who speaks? to him I can only answer with cannon shot. If, on the contrary, it

BOOK I. DUMOURIEZ with his usual acuteness took advantage of this
 CHAP. IX. event, for he instantly dispatched orders to general Dubouquet,
 1792. who was stationed at *Notre Dame de l'Epine* in the neighbour-
 Policy of the hood of Châlons, to march at the head of sixteen battalions of
 French ge-
 neral.

is a friend of humanity who holds this language, to him I shall say, that the best proof he can give of his favourable disposition, is to evacuate the French territory, before our armies, who daily accumulate round him, shall force him to do so. We know that the Prussians are overcome by a variety of disorders; that they daily lose men and horses. In this state of things they cannot long resist, and I think it would be for their interest to spare an useless effusion of blood. If you will treat for the cession of Verdun, I doubt not that the nation will grant whatever can be reconciled with its interests, and with the vengeance due for the violation of our territory.

Brunswick.—The French are an astonishing nation. Scarcely have they proclaimed the republick, but they assume the language of republicans. As to the rest, I can at present say nothing to you upon this subject, or upon that which has brought me to you; I must speak to the king. Let us agree to suspend hostilities between our *vedettes* for twenty-four hours; let every thing remain *in statu quo*. General Kalkreuth shall come to you to-morrow; he is in the king's confidence, and will confer either with general Dumouriez, or with whomsoever he may appoint. I am happy to have become acquainted with you: as to general Galbaud, I see with pleasure an old officer of artillery. You have given by your battery a specimen of the talents of the ancient *corps royal*. Continue both to serve your country well; and believe me that, notwithstanding the tone of the manifestoes, one cannot help esteeming those who loyally endeavour to ensure the independence of their country.

Kalkreuth.—Permit, gentlemen, that, requiring your friendship, I may accompany you a few paces."

The French party, upon quitting the Prussians, cried "*Vive la Nation!*" Kalkreuth, astonished, enquired if he was safe. Galbaud answered, that French faith would guarantee him. At a few steps further, the generals parted.

This account is certified by the formal testimony and signature of general Galbaud.

Second Conference between the French and Prussian Generals.

[The following is the relation of a conference between the generals Dillon and Galbaud, and the Prussian general Kalkreuth, at Glorieux, on the 11th of October.]

"*Dillon.*—You know, general, the tenour of the summons which I have given, as one of the generals of the republick, to the Prussian commandant at Verdun. I ought to have a speedy answer. It is full time that foreign armies should evacuate

infantry and two squadrons of dragoons to Frefne near Som-BOOK I.
mievre, while general Després-Craffier was to advance with two CHAP. IX.
thousand foot and a thousand horse to Espense and Noirliet. He 1792.
also dispatched eighteen squadrons of light horse under Treche-

our territory. This measure is a necessary preamble to every accommodation; it is a result of the deliberation of the executive council of the republic, sanctioned by the national council.

Kalkreuth.—I have no particular mission; but, having professed at all times a high esteem for the French people, I shall deem myself very happy by concurring in an accommodation equally advantageous to the two nations. I know that the king is very much disposed to hear all honourable propositions.

Dillon.—You are not ignorant that the French have always esteemed the Prussians, that they have always blamed the monstrous treaty of 1756; but then the people were slaves, and the arbitrary will of kings, often guided by the particular interests of the courtiers, regulated the destiny of nations. Let us pass over these politics; and may the two states, better acquainted with their own interests, unite against their common enemy. The French nation has not commenced the war with the view of conquest.

Kalkreuth.—Doubtless there is nothing more noble than this declaration; but what security can France give for her perseverance in that system?

Dillon.—Her interest, and the frankness which should serve as the base of every republican government. Let the king of Prussia reflect upon this, and he will regret having shed the blood, and dissipated the treasures of his people, especially since his true policy was to unite with us, and humble the house of Austria; but, since I also have no particular mission, I repeat to you, that, before we treat of such great interests, the Prussian armies must evacuate the French territory.

Kalkreuth.—The summons you have given is liable to much observation. You dictate laws, and yet you have not gained a battle. Our combined armies are as strong as yours: you have Verdun; but if we had persevered in guarding it, you would not have obtained it without a victory. I hope that our conduct in giving you up the place, will prove to you the desire of the king to arrange all disputes with France.

Dillon.—This affair being terminated, there remains another no less important; the surrender of Longwy. The king of Prussia, by giving up that place immediately, may prove his desire of an accommodation with the republic; and I will not conceal from you that we can march two hundred thousand men there, if it is necessary.

Kalkreuth.—Longwy is not occupied by the king's troops, so that the business does not directly concern him. What he can do is to promise that he will not

ville, towards Sommiervé, Herpont, and Moyon, on purpose to occupy the attention of the right flank of the combined army; and he repeated his injunctions to lieutenant-general d'Harville to proceed to Pont-Fauergues, and even as far as St. Hilary.

As the Prussians by the armistice in the van sacrificed the emigrants who had advanced in flank, the latter were forced by these movements to fall back from Suieppe, which they had reached, towards Croix-en-Champagne, where they already began to anticipate the fate that was preparing for them. But this was not all; for colonel Trecheville, at the head of a body of horse, advanced boldly in the rear of the Prussians and obtained much booty; while general Neuilly, marching from Papavant with the light troops, took a circuit by the forest of Argonne on purpose to annoy the ene-

assist in its defence; I even think myself able to assure you, that his troops will take no part in it.

Dillon.—This assurance is not sufficient. It is necessary that the king should use his influence for the evacuation of that fortress without the effusion of blood.

Kalkreuth.—I have no power to treat. This conference can be only considered as confidential; but I am persuaded that it would not be difficult to induce the surrender of Longwy as easily as that of Verdun.

Dillon.—The king of Prussia may give a convincing proof of his disposition towards us, by separating his armies entirely from those of his allies, and ceasing to protect their retreat.

Kalkreuth.—You know that when travellers have promised to make a journey together, honour obliges them to go through it. It is not however necessary that they should commence another. I take my leave, full of esteem for the French nation and for you. I shall report our conversation to the king, and I doubt not of happy measures.

Dillon.—Adieu, general; I hope that there will be no campaign next season, unless France and Prussia are united, and that you will assist in liberating the Low-countries. Remind the king of Prussia that he cannot have a more glorious alliance than with a free people.

Kalkreuth.—Rely upon me, and believe that no person estimates higher the immense advantages of such an alliance. I should rejoice to go to Paris myself to negotiate it."

M. M. Dillon and Galbaud have certified this conference with their names.

my's left wing. Beurnonville's advanced guard at the same time penetrated by Marque across the forest to the old camp of Grand-prey, and by cutting off the supplies of provisions, carried on a still more fatal and destructive species of warfare.

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So adventurous had the French now become, that a single squadron of the hussars of Lauzun traversing the woods, in a part never before visited by cavalry, entered Buzancy and destroyed a convoy there, which they were unable to carry away, after making forty-seven horsemen belonging to the escort prisoners.

COLONEL MANSTEIN having about the same time repaired to the head-quarters of Dumouriez, a treaty took place relative to the exchange of prisoners; but it extended only to the Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops, for the unfortunate exiles were excluded from any participation in this cartel, and that too by the express consent of the very monarch who pretended to have invaded France for the sole purpose of restoring the king to his throne, and the nobles to their estates. Such a flagrant dereliction of an ally, so gross a violation of faith with confederates, in some measure sanctions the suspicions entertained by the French nation, as well as by many of the best statesmen in Europe, relative to the purity of the motives by which the combined powers were actuated.

Second interview with
Manstein.
[Sept. 24.]

THE unhappy emigrants being now considered as rebels, in consequence of this concession, the Prussian adjutant-general assured Dumouriez that his majesty was no longer desirous of continuing the war against France, that he did not wish to intermeddle either in respect to her constitution or government, but merely expected that the king should be liberated from his confinement, and his authority restored in the same manner as it existed previously to the 10th of August.

IN reply to these propositions, which were unnecessary before the combined forces entered France, but had become impracticable in consequence of their aggression, the general presented

BOOK I. colonel Manstein with the official documents just received from

CHAP. IX. Paris, by which it appeared that the national assembly had been
 1792. changed for a national convention, and the monarchy converted into a republick !

IN the mean time the utmost cordiality took place between the advanced posts of the two armies. Dumouriez presented the king of Prussia with coffee, sugar, fruit, and wheaten bread, which he knew the monarch to be in want of, while the troops divided their rations of provisions with the enemy who were dying of hunger and exposed to the ravages of the dysentery.

Negotia-
tions.

COLONEL THOUVENOT, according to instructions, repaired next day to the head-quarters at Hans in the rear of the camp of La Lune, where he was well received by the duke of Brunswick; and the French general, wishing to take advantage of these friendly dispositions, with his usual readiness and ability drew up a memorial *, in which he threw the whole blame of the war on the

* *Memorial to the King of Prussia.*—Sept. 26, 1792.

“THE French nation has undoubtedly decided its fate, and foreign powers cannot refuse to acknowledge the truth of this assertion. They no longer see the national assembly, whose powers were confined; whose acts required to be either confirmed or abrogated, to have the force of laws; who possessed only a contested authority, which might have been considered as usurped; and who had the wisdom to appeal to the whole nation, and to request of themselves the eighty-three departments to put an end to their existence, and to supply their place by a representation invested with all the powers and complete sovereignty of the French people, authorised by the constitution itself, under the name of the National Convention.

“This assembly, the first day of its sitting, actuated by a spontaneous movement, which is the same throughout the whole empire, decreed the abolition of royalty. The decree was every-where received with great joy; it was every-where expected with the utmost impatience; it every-where augments the energy of the people; and at present it would be impossible to make the nation re-establish a throne overturned by the crimes which surrounded it. France then must necessarily be considered as a republick, since the whole nation has declared the abolition of monarchy. This republick must either be acknowledged or combated.

“The powers armed against France had not any right to intermeddle in the de-

house of Austria, and endeavoured to persuade the king of Prussia that it was his interest to detach himself from an alliance at once unnatural and disadvantageous. But these remarks appear to have been disagreeable to his majesty, for an aide-de-camp was

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[Sept. 28.]

bates of the National Assembly respecting the form of its government. No power has a legitimate pretext to impose laws on so great a nation ; they however resolved to employ the right of the strongest.—But what has been the result ?—The nation has been more incensed ; they have opposed force to force, and certainly the advantages which the numerous troops of the king of Prussia and his allies have gained are of very little consequence. The resistance which he meets with, and which increases as he advances, is too great not to prove that the conquest of France, represented to him as very easy, is absolutely impossible. Whatever difference of principles may exist between the respectable monarch who has been misled, and the French people, neither he nor his generals can any longer consider that people, or the armies which oppose him, as a collection of rebels.

“ The rebels are those infatuated nobles, who, after having so long oppressed the nation in the name of monarchs, whose throne they themselves shook, have completed the disgrace of Louis XVI. by taking up arms against their own country, by filling Europe with their falsehoods and their calumnies, and by becoming, in consequence of a conduct as foolish as it is criminal, the most dangerous enemies of Louis XVI. and of their country. I myself have often heard Louis XVI. lament their crimes and their chimeras.

“ I shall leave the king of Prussia and his whole army to judge of the conduct of these dangerous rebels:—Are they esteemed or despised ? I do not require an answer to that question ; I already know it : yet these men are suffered to remain in the Prussian army, and to form the advanced guard of it, with a small number of Austrians, as barbarous as themselves.

“ Let us now come to the Austrians. Since the fatal treaty of 1756, France, after sacrificing its natural allies, became a prey to the ambition of the court of Vienna. All our treasures scarcely served to satiate the avarice of the Austrians. In the beginning therefore of our revolution—at the opening of the national assembly, under the name of the States-General, the intrigues of the court of Vienna were multiplied to deceive the nation respecting its real interests ; to mislead an unfortunate king, surrounded by bad advisers, and lastly to render him perjured.

“ It is the court of Vienna that has occasioned the downfall of Louis XVI. What has been done by that court, the crooked politicks of which are too subtle to display a bold and open conduct ? It represented the French as monsters, while both

BOOK I. soon after dispatched by the commander in chief, with a manifesto
 CHAP. IX. couched in the same haughty tone as his former proclamations.
 1792. This production appeared so harsh and ill-timed to Dumouriez,

it and the criminal emigrants paid emissaries and conspirators, and kept up by every possible means the most frightful discord.

“ This power, more formidable to its allies than its enemies, has engaged us in a war against a great king, whom we esteem ; against a nation which we love and which loves us. This perversion of all political and moral principles cannot long continue.

“ The king of Prussia will one day know the crimes of Austria, of which we have proofs, and will abandon it to our vengeance. I can declare to the whole world, that the armies united against the forces which now invade us cannot be induced to look upon the Prussians as their enemies, nor the king of Prussia as the instrument of the perfidy and vengeance of the Austrians and the emigrants. They entertain a nobler idea of that courageous nation, and of a king whom they wish to consider a just and an honest man.

“ The monarch, say they, cannot abandon his allies—Are they worthy of him ? Has a man who has associated with robbers a right to say that he cannot quit their society ? He cannot, it is said, break his alliance—Upon what is it founded ?—On perfidy and projects of invasion.

“ Such are the principles upon which the king of Prussia and the French nation ought to reason, in order to understand each other.

“ The Prussians love royalty, because since the great elector they have had good kings, and because he who now conducts them is doubtless worthy of their affection.

“ The French have abolished royalty, because, since the immortal Henry IV. they have always had weak, proud, or timid kings, governed by mistresses, confessors, insolent or ignorant ministers, base and abject courtiers, who have afflicted, with every kind of calamity, the most beautiful empire in the universe.

“ The king of Prussia has too pure a soul not to be struck with these truths. I present them to him for the interest of his own glory, and above all for the interest of two magnanimous nations, the happiness or misery of which he can secure by one word ; for it is certain that his arms will be resisted, and that no power can subdue France. I shudder when I think on the dreadful misfortune of seeing our plains strewn with dead bodies, from a vain idea of a point of honour, for which the king himself will one day blush, when he sees his army and his treasure sacrificed to a system of perfidy and ambition, in which he has no share, and to which he is rendered the dupe.

“ In the same degree that the French nation, become a republick, is violent and

that he spoke to the officer to whose care it had been entrusted as follows :

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“SIR, I took the liberty to transmit a memorial to the king of Prussia, but I did not address myself to the duke of Brunswick,

capable of making every effort against its enemies, in the same degree it is generous and affectionate towards its friends. Incapable of bending its head before armed men, it will give every succour, and even expend its blood for a generous ally : and if ever there was an epoch when the affection of a people could be depended on, it is that when the general will forms the invariable principles of a government ; it is that when treaties are no longer subjected to the insidious politicks of ministers and courtiers. If the king of Prussia will consent to negotiate with the French nation, it will become a generous, powerful, and unchangeable ally ; but if the illusion of a point of honour shall continue to prevail over his virtues, his humanity, and his real interests, he will then find enemies worthy of him, who will combat him with regret, but combat to the utmost, and who will be continually succeeded by avengers, whose number daily increases, and whom no human efforts will prevent from living or dying free.

“Is it possible that the king of Prussia, contrary to the rules of true policy, immutable justice, and humanity, should consent to be the instrument of the will of the perfidious court of Vienna ; should sacrifice his brave army and his treasures to the ambition of that court, which, in a war it has been directed to undertake, has the finessè to expose its allies, and to furnish only a small contingency, while it alone, were it brave and generous, ought to support the whole burden ? The king of Prussia at present can act the noblest part that any king ever acted. His operations alone have been attended with success ; he took two towns ; but this success was owing to treachery and cowardice. Since that he has found free and brave men, from whom he cannot withhold his esteem. He will still find a greater number ; for the army which stops his march increases every day ; it is in excellent discipline, and animated by the same spirit. It has been freed from traitors and cowards, who might have excited an idea that France could be easily conquered ; and instead of defending, it will soon attack, unless a reasonable negotiation make a distinction between the king and his troops, whom we esteem, and the Austrians and the emigrants, whom we despise. It is time that an open and sincere explanation should terminate our discussions, or confirm them, and enable us to know our real enemies. We will combat them with courage ; we are upon our own soil ; we have to avenge the excesses committed in our country ; and it may be readily believed that a war against republicans proud of their liberty must be a bloody war, which can never end but with the entire destruction of the oppressors or the oppressed.

“ This

BOOK I. who undoubtedly mistakes a French commander in chief for a
 CHAP. IX. burgo-master of Amsterdam : tell him, that the truce ceases from
 1792. this moment, and that I have given orders for that purpose in
 your presence."

"This dreadful reflection ought to agitate the heart of a just and humane prince. He ought to consider that instead of protecting by his arms Louis XVI. and his family, the more he continues our enemy, the more he will aggravate their calamities.

"I hope, for my part, that the king, whose virtues I respect, and who has shewn me marks of esteem which do me honour, will be pleased to read with attention this note, dictated by the love of humanity and of my country. He will pardon the hurry and incorrectness of the style of these truths from an old soldier, occupied still more essentially with military operations, which must decide the fate of the war.

(Signed) "DUMOURIEZ,
 "Commander of the army of the North."

Memorial of the Duke of Brunswick.

"WHEN their majesties, the emperour and the king of Prussia, in entrusting me with the command of the armies which these two allied sovereigns caused to march into France, rendered me the organ of their intentions, published in the two declarations of the 25th and 27th of July, 1792, their majesties were far from supposing that such scenes of horror could take place, as those which preceded and paved the way for the imprisonment of their majesties the king and queen of France, and the royal family. Such crimes, an example of which can scarcely be found in the history of less polished nations, were not the utmost boundary which the audacity of some factious men, who had rendered the people of Paris the blind instruments of their wills, prescribed to their criminal ambition. The suspension of the king, and of all the functions which had been reserved to him by that very constitution which has so long been declared to be the will of the whole nation, was the last crime of the national assembly, which brought upon France the two terrible scourges of war and anarchy. There is one step more only to be taken in order to perpetuate them; and the spirit of infatuation, the fatal forerunner of the fall of empires, will soon precipitate those who assume to themselves the title of deputies chosen by the nation to secure its rights and its happiness upon the most solid basis. The first decree which their assembly passed was the abolition of royalty in France; and a small number of individuals, some of whom were foreigners, assumed to themselves the right of balancing the opinion of

THE necessary preparations were accordingly made, and the army rejoiced greatly at the event, for they began to be jealous of the frequent communications that took place between their general and the Prussians.

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fourteen generations, who have filled the fourteen centuries of the existence of the French monarchy. This step, at which the real enemies of France ought to rejoice, if they could suppose that it would have a lasting effect, is directly opposite to the firm resolution which their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia have taken, and from which these two allied sovereigns will never depart, of restoring to his most christian majesty liberty, safety, and royal dignity, or of exercising just and exemplary vengeance against those who shall any longer dare to infringe them.

“For these reasons the undersigned declares to the French nation in general, and to each individual in particular, that their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, nevertheless persist in requiring that his most christian majesty, as well as the whole royal family, shall be immediately set at liberty by those who detain them prisoners.

“Their majesties insist also, that the royal dignity in France shall be immediately re-established in the person of Louis XVI. and of his successors; and that such measures may be pursued as may secure that dignity from insults similar to those to which it has been lately exposed. If the French nation has not entirely lost sight of its true interests, and if, free in its resolutions, it wishes to put a speedy end to the calamities of a war, which subject so many provinces to all the evils that follow in the train of armies, it will not delay a moment to declare its opinion in favour of the peremptory demand I now address to it in the name of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia; and which, if refused, will immediately bring upon a once flourishing kingdom new and more terrible disasters.

“The course which the French nation may adopt in consequence of this declaration, will either extend and perpetuate the fatal effects of an unhappy war, by destroying, in the suppression of royalty, the means of re-establishing and maintaining the ancient connections between France and the sovereigns of Europe—or will open negotiations for the establishment of peace, order, and tranquillity, which those who assume to themselves the title of depositaries of the will of the nation are the most interested to restore as speedily as they are necessary to that kingdom.

(Signed) “C. F. G. DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

“Head-quarters-general, at Flans in
Champagne, Sept. 28, 1792.”

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[Sept. 27.]

Proceedings
of a council
of war.Plan of the
intended
battle.

THE conferences having been thus broken off, the situation of the grand army became every moment more critical, but it might still have been relieved from its embarrassments by a victory, and a council of war was accordingly held for the purpose of deciding on the propriety of giving battle. Thirteen generals were assembled upon this occasion, and the duke of Brunswick is said to have contented himself with briefly recapitulating the state of his own forces and that of the French. The marshal de Castries, after a short preface, declared it to be his opinion that an immediate action should take place, which was instantly assented to, and the order of attack actually agreed upon. General Clairfayt with the Austrians was to assail the enemy's right flank commanded by Dumouriez; the Prussians were to march at the same time against Kellermann, while the emigrants headed by the count d'Artois in person were to carry the redoubts*.

FREDERICK-WILLIAM II. having thus agreed to hazard the event of a battle in express opposition to the private opinion of the commander in chief, the necessary instructions were accordingly issued for that purpose; but after the combined army had been drawn out and the signal for action was expected with impatience, the fickle monarch with his usual irresolution commanded the troops to retire†.

Conduct of
the emi-
grants.

As it was not now judged adviseable either to advance or risk a general action, and the daily havock of famine and disease increased in the allied camp, proper precautions were adopted to withdraw the troops as soon as possible from this scene of death and desolation. But no sooner did the gallant French nobles commanded by the marshals de Broglie and Castries receive intelligence that this humiliating measure was determined upon, than they were reduced to despair. They had supported incessant

* Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France, t. II. p. 228.

† Tableau Historique & Politique de l'Europe, par Segur, ex-ambassadeur. 2d edition, t. II.

fatigue and continual disgust without murmur, in the hope of at length fighting a decisive engagement, on the success of which they placed the most implicit reliance. Their surprise was extreme when they heard of a retreat, in consequence of which they would be devoted to misery, opprobrium, and death. A number of the chiefs being suddenly convoked at the headquarters in the castle of Vouziers, the count d'Artois was accordingly deputed by them to wait on the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick, in order to represent their critical situation. The brother of Louis XVI., whose representations are said to have been also supported by those of general Clairfayt, supplicated these august personages in the first place to abjure so fatal a resolution; on this his royal highness was informed in reply, that the allies had been grossly deceived by the representations of the emigrants, and that it was no longer prudent to persevere. The count then requested that the Austrians and French alone might be permitted to march against and attack the enemy; but this favour was also denied, and from that moment the cause of these titled exiles became hopeless!

IN the mean time the troops who had threatened to avenge the cause of sovereigns, to restore the dispossessed nobles, to rebuild the violated altars, and to reinstate the deposed monarch, were obliged to take advantage of the night in order to conceal their flight and ensure their own safety. The camp of La Lune was accordingly abandoned late in the evening, and in the course of the succeeding morning the main body fell back about a league, the artillery and heavy baggage having been sent off before. On receiving this intelligence, Dumouriez immediately sent a courier to the minister at war*, and dispatched general Dam-

Retreat of
the combined
forces.
[Sept. 30.]

* *Copy of a Letter from General Dumouriez to the Minister at War.*

"MY DEAR SERVANT,

"THE Prussians are in full retreat; the brave Beurnonville, who has been christened the 'French Ajax,' has taken within these two days from them above

BOOK I. pierre with a brigade of infantry ; the latter found the ground
 CHAP. IX. lately occupied by the Prussians strewed with the carcases of men
 1792. and horses, while the ditches were so full of blood that many of the
 sick had fallen into them and actually perished there. Such a po-
 sition as this became untenable, on account of the infection arising
 from epidemick maladies, and it was accordingly relinquished by
 the French.

IN the mean time a *corps* under general d'Harville was ordered to push forward to Chêne-populeux, on purpose to fall on the rear-guard of the emigrants, who were expected to retreat through that pass, while general Miaczynski was to advance on the side of Tannay and harass the unhappy fugitives in their flight towards Stenay or Mouzon. Chazot was instructed to hang on the rear of such of the Prussian columns as might take the road to Longwy ; Stengel, and Frecheville, were to annoy them on the side of Condé, and Dillon on the path leading to Verdun ; while Valence with a powerful body of carabineers, cavalry, grenadiers, and chasseurs, was intended to overwhelm all opposition.

BUT, whether from the orderly retreat of the Prussians, the disputes between Kellermann and Dumouriez, or a secret agreement on the part of the latter, certain it is, that the grand army

four hundred men, more than fifty waggons, and above two hundred horses. By what we can learn from the prisoners and deserters, their army is wasted by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux. The enemy march always by night, only going one or two leagues during the day-time to cover their baggage and artillery.

“ I have reinforced Beurnonville, who has above twenty thousand men, and who will not rest until he has exterminated them. This day I shall join and assist him. I have sent you copies of my correspondence with the enemy, which I have caused to be printed that no suspicion may arise.

“ I hope, if the troops have any confidence in me, to winter at Brussels. Assure the august assembly of the sovereign people that I will not rest until I have rendered the tyrants incapable of doing us any further mischief.

“ DUMOURIEZ.”

effected its escape without experiencing so many difficulties as might have been expected. The French commander in chief, instead of attending to the pursuit of the enemy, spent the whole of the first day in his camp; the two next were consumed in negotiations with his colleague, whose conduct he loudly censures, and he himself did not put his own troops in motion until the 6th of October.

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1792.

IN the mean time the detachment under Valence advanced and seized on some baggage and a few stragglers, while the light troops headed by Beurnonville entered Grandprey and took some prisoners, but they permitted the sick to retire unmolested, in consequence of the danger of contagion: of these miserable wretches, the unhappy victims of ambition, many perished by disease and hunger in the woods. The route of the retreating army might be traced by the carcases of the men and horses that were scattered along the road, as well as by the famished and enfeebled aspect of their surviving companions, whose ghastly countenances bespoke their impending fate. Had Dumouriez come up with the main body, while the other generals attacked the enemy in flank, there can be but little doubt that the forces of the king of Prussia would have been annihilated; but they were permitted to retreat in safety, and left to struggle with disease rather than the sword.

Sufferings of
the Prussian
troops.

IT happened otherwise with the unfortunate emigrants, for general Miaczinski, who lay in ambush with some light troops and artillery near Tannay, after surprising and putting them to flight, took part of their baggage. About the same time Frederick-William II. purchased the safety of one of his detachments by the cession of Verdun; Longwy surrendered by capitulation* on the 22d of

* *Au Camp de Martin-Fontaine, le 18e Octobre, 1792.*

SA majesté le roi de Prusse étant résolu de faire évacuer la ville et forteresse de Longwy, la présente convention a été arrêtée entre nous soussignés, le citoyen François-Cyrus Valence, lieutenant-général des armées de la république, et le

BOOK I. October, while Kellermann appeared rather to conduct than pursue the Prussians out of the territories of the republick.

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BUT, on the other hand, the Austrians were repeatedly attacked by general Dillon, and both the victors and the vanquished seem to have exhausted their wrath on the unhappy nobles. Instead of being detached in front, they were frequently employed in the rear-guard. The aged, the wounded, and the infirm, unable to keep up with the main body of the combined army, fell into the hands of their own countrymen and were shot, while the Prussian hussars pillaged their baggage with the most unparalleled cruelty and insolence*. It is impossible to consider the fate of these gallant exiles without pity; nor can the time and manner in which they were abandoned, be contemplated without the most lively indignation!

Distresses of
the Prussian
army.

ON the whole, the retreat of the Prussians from Champagne was effected with the utmost difficulty, and it is extremely pro-

comte de Kalkreuth, lieutenant-général de sa majesté le roi de Prusse, pleinement autorisés à cet effet.

Art. I. La porte de France de la forteresse de Longwy sera remise aux troupes Françaises le 22e du courant, la ville totalement évacuée 24 heures après.

II. Toute l'artillerie et les magasins seront remis dans l'état où ils étaient lors de la reddition de la place, à l'officier désigné par le général Kellermann pour la recevoir.

III. Pour les malades et effets, il en sera agi comme à l'évacuation de Verdun.

IV. Le général Kalkreuth enverra un officier pour prévenir de la sortie des troupes, afin d'éviter tout accident, dès qu'elles auront achevé de passer la porte de Bourgogne.

V. Si par hasard il arrivait quelque événement imprévu, cela ne changera rien aux précédens articles de la capitulation. Les coupables seront punis, et la convention exécutée.

VI. Pour donner plus d'authenticité à la présente convention, elle sera scellée du cachet du peuple Français, et de celui de sa majesté le roi de Prusse.

(Signé, etc.)

VALENCE, Lt. G.

KALKREUTH, Lt. G.

* See "Précis Historique, par Lacretelle," t. I. p. 444.

able, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents of the duke of Brunswick and the bravery and perseverance displayed on this occasion by the king of Prussia himself, that if the whole French army had proceeded in pursuit, while Custine advanced on the side of Coblenz, they would have been reduced to the necessity of capitulating*. The distance from the camp of La Lune to Luxembourg does not exceed twenty-eight leagues, yet no less than three whole weeks were consumed in the route. As part of the way led through a marshy country, and the roads were broken up by the rains, while the neighbouring rivers overflowed their banks, but little progress could be made; accordingly the troops often marched from break of day until night, without advancing more than five or six miles. The whole army was literally *stuck fast in the mud* during a week, before the village of Grandprey; and in order to save the artillery it became necessary to cut down part of the neighbouring forests, and by placing the trees side by side a new road was constructed, with infinite toil, for the cannon and baggage.

IN the mean time the generals Stengel, Beurnonville, Galbaud, and Chazot, although at too great a distance to produce any considerable effect, hung upon their flanks and rear, cut off the stragglers, and destroyed all the forage and provisions they could

* It appears pretty evident, notwithstanding the express denial of Dumouriez in the three volumes of Memoirs written some time after he had fled from France, that a secret convention actually took place between him and the king of Prussia; in consequence of which it was stipulated, that the latter should be permitted to retreat with as few obstacles as the necessary appearances of hostility would permit, provided the court of Berlin undertook to separate its interests from those of the coalition. On the other hand it seems to have been expected, that the French, confining their operations to the Austrian Low-countries, should no longer harass Germany with incursions.

But this treaty was never ratified by the executive council, as the efforts of Custine, whose unexpected successes had dazzled the minds of the people, would have been thereby rendered abortive.

BOOK I. find in the neighbourhood. Valence, on being nominated to
 CHAP. IX. succeed Arthur Dillon, attacked and carried several of their posts,
 1792. and obliged them to agree to the surrender of Longwy and the
 evacuation of Verdun before he would consent to an armistice*.

[Oct. 23.] AT length the Prussian army reached Austrian Flanders, reduced to the most deplorable state by famine and the dysentery, with the surviving soldiers entirely destitute of shoes, clothes, and not unfrequently even of arms. All the way from the heights of Hans to the fortrefs of Luxembourg was strewn with the wreck of the fugitives; the camp equipage was abandoned, and half of the cavalry either killed or rendered unfit for service.

Reflections
 on the cam-
 paign.

THUS, after the loss of upwards of twenty thousand Prussian and Austrian troops, the sacrifice of the French king, princes, and nobility, and the recognition of that very republick which had been threatened with annihilation, ended this memorable campaign; in which, perhaps for the first time in the annals of mankind, the fate of a great empire was decided without a battle. A variety of obvious causes may be assigned for the failure of this expedition. The grand army took the field at too late a season of the year for effective operations; the indiscriminate vengeance of the allied courts, instead of dividing, united France; the house of Austria, in consequence of a recent war with the Turks, had been rendered unable to fulfil its engagements; while the increasing jealousies of ancient rivalry, and the secret and perhaps separate views of those princes who publicly professed to restore the mitre and the crown, perpetually intervened, so as to prevent a cordial union. To these are to be added the difficulties of the original enterprise, the constitutional versatility of the hero of the league,

* This armistice is so far memorable, as it afforded the first opportunity of recognising the republick, by the admission of the following article:

“ Pour donner à la présente convention la plus grande authenticité, elle sera revêtue du sceau du Peuple Français, et de celui de S. M. le roi de Prusse.”

the deficiency in respect to battering cannon, the prevalence of death and disease, the critical irruption of Custine into the empire, the steady patriotism of the republican troops, the immense superiority of the French artillery, the disaffection of the nation to the cause of the invaders, and the perseverance of Dumouriez, who not only selected excellent positions, but taught his raw soldiers to look the veteran legions of Germany in the face.

BOOK I.
CHAP. IX.
1792.

ON the other hand, the basest as well as the most generous motives have been urged with the most confident assurance. Some have not scrupled to assert that the king of Prussia was bribed with the crown jewels; while others have maintained, with an equal degree of improbability, that his majesty was arrested in his career of vengeance by a letter from Louis XVI., in which the captive monarch supplicated his forbearance, as the only ransom that would be accepted for his own existence and that of his illustrious family*.

THE world has been long in possession of the ostensible causes which are said to have produced this unsuccessful irruption; but the secret motives and precise intent, luckily perhaps for the projectors, remain to this day undefined: the disastrous consequences that have resulted from it are, however, no longer equivocal. Such was the fatal impolicy of the original measure, that it involved in certain ruin all those whom it professed to save: it whetted the axe of the executioner, and prepared the scaffold for the unhappy king; it put an end to the reigning dynasty, converted monarchical France into a military commonwealth, and hath finally endangered not the repose alone but the independence of Europe. In the course of a single fortnight after the publication of the two celebrated declarations by the duke of Brunswick, Louis XVI. was not only suspended but imprisoned; and immediately after

* *Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France*, par Ant. Fantin-Défolioards, 4me edit. tome II. p. 228.

BOOK I. the treacherous surrender of Longwy and Verdun, royalty itself
 CHAP. IX. was abrogated and the republick proclaimed.

1792.

IT was thus that the coalesced courts, by an imprudent attack, revolting manifestoes, and indiscriminate menaces, unintentionally contributed to bereave the monarch first of his liberty, and then of his life. Nor was this all; for the triumphant faction, driven to despair by the approach of a victorious and implacable enemy, not only planned and perpetrated the execrable massacres of September, but swore the destruction of the whole Capetian race. From this moment too, the democracy of France, wielded by a coarse and irresistible arm, after demolishing the nobles, the dignified clergy, and the throne, was uplifted to crush all the surrounding states.

THE retreat of the combined army also, while it demonstrated the power, tended not a little to flatter the vanity of the people. The soldiery, in conformity to the ruling passion of the nation, attributed this event less to famine than to fear; they began to fancy themselves heroes, and actually became so. The immense resources of the empire, aided by the genius of her generals, enabled France by degrees to cope with the numerous foes embattled against her, and the republick was at length powerful enough to realise the wildest speculations of the monarchy.

BUT while the consequences of this fatal enterprise are allowed on all sides to have been eminently disastrous, its flagrant miscarriage necessarily attaches blame either to the original project itself, or the measures by which it was afterwards attempted to be carried into effect.

IT exhibited but little wisdom perhaps on the part of Frederick-William II. to engage in such a contest; and the credulity with which the romantick theories of the emigrants were at first listened to, and the cruel manner in which they themselves were afterwards abandoned, seem equally to subject the memory of that prince to reproach.

BUT in whatever point of view the invasion of France is to

be contemplated, it appears to have been not a little censurable in respect to the manner in which it was conducted, as the operations neither exhibited the degree of celerity necessary to a sudden conquest, nor that happy discrimination which could alone have ensured success to a regular and scientific attack.

BOOK I.
CHAP. IX.
1792.

THE moment that Dumouriez had been forced by his own misconduct to abandon the strong position at Grandprey and retire to St. Menchould, the combined forces might have marched directly to Chalons, where they would have obtained possession of all his magazines, and avoided the famine and diseases that awaited them in the deserts of Champagne. In that case also, the invading army would have occupied an advanced position between the French troops and the capital, which it might have reached before them; and, had a victory been necessary to sanction such a measure, instead of trifling away so much precious time in festivals at Verdun, the Prussians ought to have given battle before the junction of Kellermann and Beurnonville had rendered the event in some degree problematical.

BUT even then, perhaps, it was not too late for veteran soldiers and experienced generals to have overcome an inferior number of new levies headed by untried commanders: this however was not to be achieved by a few indecisive manœuvres and a distant cannonade, such as occurred at Valmy; for these infallibly serve to inure new troops to danger, and teach them at the same time to despise it.

ON the other hand, had a more regular plan been adopted, as was at first intended, Sedan, Montmedy, and Thionville, ought to have been invested according to the rules of war, after which winter-quarters would have been obtained in Lorraine, and, if the confederates did not quarrel in the interval, the campaign might have been concluded in the ensuing spring. But while the original plan was conceived with vigour, the new measures, although rash in their own nature, were at the same time slow, languid,

BOOK I. and inefficacious; and both the troops and treasure of the great
 CHAP. IX. Frederick were improvidently wasted in an expedition which
 1792. reflected but little glory on his successor.

THE nominal command of the grand army had undoubtedly been conferred on the greatest captain of his age; his opinions, however, were unceasingly counteracted by the projects of contending politicians, the intrigues of interested favourites, and the jealousies of rival princes. Had the duke of Brunswick been permitted to conduct the operations of the campaign without controul, that general perhaps would have effected for the Bourbons what Alberoni, the czar Peter the Great, Charles XII., Louis XIV., and Louis XV., attempted in vain to achieve for the Stuarts; but even in that case we should probably have beheld France dismembered by the victors, and the outrageous principles of an over-weening despotism inculcated and professed by every cabinet in Europe.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

The French determine to penetrate into Germany—Capture of Worms, Metz, and Francfort—Incurfions into the Dominions of the Prince of Hefle.

SUBSEQUENTLY to the demife of the emperor Charles V. BOOK II.
 France has generally been confidered as the firft kingdom in CHAP. I.
 Europe ; but neither the power nor refources of that country had 1792.
 ever been called forth to their full extent during the exiftence
 of the monarchy, and nothing fhort of a grand revolutionary
 ftruggle could have conveyed any adequate idea of their im-
 menfity. At the very moment when Dumouriez, at the head of
 a few undifciplined forces *, collected in hafte and bereaved of Power of
France.
 their original leader, was ftruggling againft the efforts of the
 combined army in the plains of Champagne, prodigious exertions
 took place throughout the whole empire. Camps were formed
 on all the frontiers, and fwarms of armed citizens were put in

* He afferts in his Memoirs that he began the campaign with only 17,000 men.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

1792.

Plans of re-
taliation.

motion against the enemy in every possible direction. While the fate of the empire appeared as yet uncertain, inroads were made into the territories of hostile powers; and those very states that had entertained the project of dismembering it, were themselves taught to experience all the horrors of dismemberment. Germany, which had so lately poured forth her warriors in the hope of a speedy conquest, soon beheld the three-coloured standard floating on the banks of the Maine and the Rhine; the mountains of Savoy did not secure the dominions of Sardinia from the incursions of an exasperated nation, and even Italy itself, which had so long enjoyed an exemption from the calamities of war, began to re-echo with the shouts of victory.

WHILE the duke of Brunswick menaced France on the side of Champagne, the executive council had collected a considerable body of forces in Alsace, and in order to effect a diversion, the territories of several of the neighbouring princes were threatened with invasion by general Biron, who actually undertook an expedition for that purpose. At length a favourable opportunity occurred of making a more serious impression, and care was taken to improve the advantage. The Austrians had hitherto retained twelve thousand men in the neighbourhood of Landau, under the command of baron d'Herbach; this body of troops not only kept the French in check, but covered the frontiers of the Palatinate and protected the convoys of provisions for the supply of the forces destined to co-operate with the Prussians; it was determined however, in an evil hour, to employ them on another service. As it had now been deemed absolutely necessary to obtain possession of Thionville, the importance of which became every day more evident, this little army received orders to march thither and invest that fortress; but the general who commanded it, on his arrival on the borders of Champagne, became an unwilling spectator of the retreat of the combined forces from that province.

IN the mean time, as the frontiers of Germany were now

uncovered, it was determined by the enemy to make a second and more formidable irruption. Accordingly, an active and enterprising general being entrusted with the command, he immediately collected a body of troops for that purpose, and entrusted the defence of Landau, during his absence, to the patriotism of the national guards of Alsace, who, being inflamed with enthusiasm, had proffered their services upon this occasion. The necessary dispositions were made with a considerable degree of secrecy; and, in order to conceal the real object of the enterprise, a report was propagated, with equal industry and success, that an attack was about to be made by Custine on a body of emigrants stationed in the territory of Baden, under the command of the prince of Condé, while Biron, with the right wing of the army, was to cross the Rhine at Strasburgh, and give battle to general Esterhazy, who was at the head of some Austrian troops in the Brisgaw.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.
1792.

Irruption
into Ger-
many.

EVERY thing being now prepared, Custine commenced his march, at the head of about 20,000 men, and proceeded directly to Spire, which contained immense magazines belonging to the enemy. In consequence of the recent movements already alluded to, that portion of Germany between the Rhine and the Moselle was entirely unprotected, and nothing left to oppose his progress but about four thousand troops belonging to the emperor and the elector of Mentz. [Sept 29.]

HAVING arrived next day by two o'clock in the afternoon at the spot where the great road branches off towards Spire, Worms, and Mannheim, the French general immediately marched against the first of these cities, under the walls of which he found the enemy drawn up in battle array; their right being posted on a declivity, with a ravine in front, while the left was flanked by garden ground, surrounded by steep hedges.

Capture of
Spire.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strength of their position, Custine did not hesitate a single moment to commence the attack.

BOOK II. While his troops were forming for this purpose under cover of a
 CHAP. I. heavy fire of artillery, four battalions had been dispatched to
 1792. take possession of a height which not only commanded but over-
 hung the enemy's left flank. On this they retired within the
 city, and the French general advancing in pursuit, orders were
 issued to force the gates by means of cannon; but on perceiving
 that the soldiers were animated with an extraordinary degree of
 ardour, he preferred to make use of the hatchets of the grenadiers.
 One of them was according cut open in the course of a few
 minutes; another experienced the same fate, and the Germans,
 on seeing themselves repulsed on all sides, immediately retired to
 the houses, in the walls of which loop-holes had been formed for
 their musquetry, and as the enemy advanced they poured down
 an incessant fire upon them*.

BUT Custine, having placed eight-pounders and howitzers at
 the head of the columns, was soon enabled to rally his troops,
 who had fallen back on finding themselves galled by the enemy,
 and at length succeeded in forcing the Austrians to evacuate the
 city with the loss of eight hundred slain during the action. The
 fruits of this day's victory, besides the magazines, consisted of

* The French have recorded the following extraordinary instance of valour and good fortune during the cannonade that took place in the course of this day. Lutau, one of the general's *aides-de-camp*, after having given the first cut to the gate with a hatchet, entered the city on purpose to reconnoitre. On this he was surrounded by some troops belonging to the elector of Mentz, which had been placed in ambuscade on his appearance, and now exclaimed "A prisoner! a prisoner!" Lutau, who imagined that the enemy had retired, immediately lifted his sabre and split the skull of an officer who had wounded him slightly with his sword in the side, and then, springing forward, cut down three privates who impeded his retreat. A general discharge being made, one of the musket balls cut the leather of his right stirrup and wounded his horse on the shoulder, another forced his hat round, and a third pierced the lappet of his regimentals; but none of them struck his body, and he retired in safety to the French army. *Mém. Revolution.* t. I. p. 102. n.

two thousand nine hundred prisoners, who laid down their arms and were sent to France, five stand of colours, and a contribution of 450,000 livres, levied on the opulent churchmen.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.
1792.

THE French general issued strict orders for the protection of both the persons and property of the inhabitants, and the conquerors conducted themselves at first with great moderation; but in the course of a few days some of the soldiery began to pillage the houses of the clergy, a set of men whom they had been taught to consider as hypocrites, profiting by a superstition in which they themselves did not believe, and living luxuriously on the spoils of the people. Custine, who was aware of the impolicy and injustice of such a conduct, immediately gave orders for the drums to beat to arms, and encamped without the walls; but in the course of that same night, three battalions, left by way of garrison in the place, began to pillage anew.

[October 1.]
Conduct of
the French
soldiers.

THE commander in chief being determined to repress these disorders, which were countenanced by some of the subaltern officers, ordered several of the plunderers, who had been denounced and delivered up by their own companions, to be executed on the spot*. Not content with this instance of

Punishment
inflicted by
order of the
general.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION, *Saturday, Oct. 6, 1792.*

A letter was read from general Custine, addressed to the minister at war and dated from Spire, October 2, informing him, "that in consequence of the excesses committed by some of his troops, he had been under the sad necessity of adopting rigorous measures on purpose to preserve that city from destruction. He had accordingly ordered a captain, two officers, and a whole company, to be shot."

"This dreadful example, which he considered as the only means of saving the honour of the French nation, had met with the approbation of the whole army, and tranquillity was again restored."

"The commander in chief requested the minister at war to communicate this affair to the national convention, which would doubtless approve of the motives by which he had been actuated."

In another letter the general states, "that he had levied a contribution of 450,000 livres on the canons and bishop of Spire, whom he considered as the staunch friends of the emigrants."

BOOK II. feverity, he determined at the same time to exhibit an example
 CHAP. I. of justice, and accordingly took care that all the effects which
 1792. had been stolen should be instantly restored to the inhabitants.

THE conquest of Spire, and the complete defeat and subsequent
 capitulation of the troops entrusted with its protection, not only
 affrighted the garrisons of the neighbouring cities, which soon
 experienced a similar fate, but induced the inhabitants to court
 rather than avoid the protection of France, as a fruitless resistance
 would only expose them to a bombardment. Custine, taking ad-
 vantage of the terrour recently impressed by his arms, marched
 soon after against Worms, which immediately surrendered; and
 [October 21] the valuable magazines contained in that city not only produced
 a timely supply of provisions and necessaries for his own troops,
 but served also to cut off the resources of the enemy. He was
 now desirous to obtain possession of Mentz, which has always
 been considered as one of the bulwarks of Germany. He ac-
 cordingly appeared before that place while still unprepared for
 a siege, and defended only by a feeble garrison, which imme-
 diately capitulated, and was permitted to march out with all the
 honours of war, after the exchange of some cannon shot.

and
 Mentz.

A FEW days subsequent to this, several detachments from the
 same army, proceeding along the banks of the river, appeared
 suddenly before Francfort. The inhabitants, who imagined that
 this expedition was directed against the dominions of the prince
 of Hesse, were greatly astonished to find two columns of French
 at their gates, the one commanded by general Neuwinger, and
 the other by colonel Houchard; but before they could recover
 from their surprise the magistrates received a summons to admit
 these troops within their walls. As the sole defence of the city
 consisted of a broad ditch, and the enemy's cannon were already
 pointed, resistance became unavailing; the keys were accordingly
 presented; the invaders entered amidst the sound of military in-
 struments and warlike musick; the navigation of the Maine became

Capture of
 Francfort.

tributary to the victors, while Hesse, Hanau, and the neighbouring country, supplied them with provisions.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

1792.

IN order to secure the attachment of the inhabitants, the troops were prohibited under the severest penalties from treating them with injustice, and the French for some time affected to be the guests of the citizens rather than the garrison of the city. Immediately on their being admitted, the general drew up the detachment in order of battle before the town-house, and addressed it as follows in the presence of the surrounding multitude: "Soldiers of the republick, the inhabitants of this place, who have just received us within their walls, are, like yourselves, free; respect their property, which I now place under the protection of your faith.*" These sentiments inspired the people with the hope that they should be entirely exempt from contributions; this illusion lasted however but a short time, for general Neuwinger assembled the magistrates the day after his arrival, and read an order from Custine, enjoining them to pay the sum of two millions of florins within a certain period, under the penalty of military execution. The motives assigned for this severity were various. It pretended that those in authority had countenanced the publication of a gazette destined to multiply the enemies of the republick in Germany, and that several of the opulent burghers had not only protected the emigrants, but, at their instance, circulated false assignats, with the view of bringing the paper-money of France into disrepute. As the principal persons in the city were alone implicated in these transactions, it was intimated that the above sum should be levied exclusively on the property of

Military contributions.

* "Soldats republicains, les habitans de cette ville, qui viennent de nous recevoir parmi eux, sont libres comme vous; respectez leurs propriétés, je les mets sous la sauve-garde de votre foi."

BOOK II. the princes, the nobles, and the ecclesiasticks, and that all the
 CHAP. I. plebeian families should be entirely exempt from this impost.

1792.

By means like these it was hoped that the cause of the mass of the people would be separated from that of the magistrates; but the commander in chief, after having thus exasperated the most wealthy inhabitants, committed a great mistake in placing a slender garrison in the city; nor was he less blameable in omitting to mount a few cannon on the ramparts, and leaving the artillery and ammunition found in the arsenal under the care of the municipal officers, who embraced the earliest opportunity of liberating themselves from the odious dominion of foreigners, and obliging the reluctant people once more to submit to their ancient government.

Advantages
 accruing to
 France.

In the mean time, the advantages resulting from these conquests were immense. Besides the camp equipage and military stores seized upon this occasion, several large contributions were imposed *. The navigation of the Rhine and the Maine to a considerable extent were subjected to the controul of France; and many of the inhabitants of the free Imperial cities, who had acquired ease and opulence by means of a successful commerce, became the proselytes of her new political faith. In addition to the direct benefits acquired, these irruptions also operated in no inconsiderable degree as a diversion, and proved not a little serviceable to the invaders by accelerating the retreat of the Prussians, and favouring the operations of Dumouriez in Belgium.

THE French general, being fully sensible of the benefit likely to be derived from the possession of the German cities, adopted efficacious measures for strengthening the interests of his country. He accordingly introduced a severe and rigorous discipline among his troops, who were obliged to supply all their wants by means

* Custine levied to the amount of 1,200,000 livres at Worms, and 1,500,000 at Francfort.

of ready money. Mentz in particular was treated with great lenity and indulgence. No interruption whatsoever was given to the commerce of the inhabitants; and as they exhibited a marked aversion to the regency by which they had been governed, as well as to the nobles of the surrounding country, they were already prepared in some measure to evince a decided attachment in favour of a republican constitution which had actually abolished titles and loudly professed to redress grievances of all kinds. The government of this place was new-modelled; political societies were formed, popular magistrates were elected, zealous deputies were chosen, and, with an exception to the language alone, Mentz closely resembled in every thing a French city.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.
1792.

Conduct of
Custine.

BUT, not content with altering the forms of administration, and changing or rather directing the opinions of the inhabitants, Custine determined to recur to the best means in his power for the preservation of his new conquests. He accordingly augmented the fortifications of Mentz, and placed a strong garrison in the suburbs of Cassel, situate on the opposite bank of the Rhine: as this was a post of considerable importance, a number of redoubts and batteries were erected there. By paying one-half of the price in ready money, and undertaking to discharge the remainder in a short time, provisions were obtained in abundance for the troops; and in the course of a few weeks one hundred and thirty pieces of brass ordnance, one hundred iron cannon, and a proportionable number of mortars and howitzers, were mounted on the ramparts, while the magazines were amply stored with powder and ball.

IN the mean time preparations were made to extend the reputation of the French arms, and carry dismay into the territories of the petty German princes friendly to the cause of the emigrants. Taking advantage therefore of the absence of the Prussians and Austrians, several expeditions were undertaken into

BOOK II. the country between the Maine and the Lahn, which contributed
 CHAP. I. not a little to augment the respect of the untitled Germans for
 1792. the French revolution. Coblenz was menaced, and the important fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein would perhaps have fallen, had it not been for the forced marches of the Hessians. The county of Hanau, appertaining to the Landgrave of Hesse, a prince particularly odious to the invaders, was laid under contribution; Freidberg and the salt-pits of Nauheim were seized upon by a body of troops under Houchard, while other detachments took possession of Hombourg, Usingen, and Veilbourg. A similar fate was reserved for the rich abbeys of Arnshourg and Erbach, where the French soldiery assisted the German monks to empty their cellars, which had been well stored with Rhingau wine; and in all these expeditions care was taken to ensure the favour of the peasantry by the most exemplary moderation. On the other hand, the princes, nobles, and dignified clergy, were treated with great harshness, and the prince of Hesse in particular experienced the marked enmity of the French generals*.

Fresh incur-
 sions.

* When Houchard set out on his march against Nauheim, where he took a small body of Hessian troops prisoners, and seized on an immense quantity of salt, he published the following offensive proclamation in the name of the commander in chief:

“LE landgrave de Hesse rassemble, dans les environs de sa residence, des troupes nombreuses. Ne pense-t-il donc pas que le jour du jugement des princes injustes, et celui de la deliverance des peuples enchainés par eux, sont arrivés? &c.

“Montre, sur la tête duquel,” &c.

“THE landgrave of Hesse is at present occupied in assembling a number of troops around the place of his residence. Does he not believe then that the day for judging unjust princes and delivering nations enslaved by them is at length arrived? He caused to be encamped around him those by whom he expects to support his tottering throne—the most precious portion of his people; the blood of whom he but lately sold, in order to fill his treasury, to all the potentates who could pay for it.

“Monster! on the head of whom, like a portentous cloud, have been so often

No sooner did his serene highness receive intelligence of the first expedition into Germany under Biron, than he recalled his troops from the allied army for the defence of his own dominions; an event which accelerated the evacuation of Verdun. On hearing of the successes of Custine, he immediately collected a considerable body of forces around his little capital, and prepared for a determined resistance, as he well knew that his attachment to the cause of the emigrants precluded the possibility of forgiveness.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.
1792.
Conduct of
the Land-
grave of
Hesse.

It was thus that the successful career of the French armies carried terror into the heart of Germany; but on the other hand their progress exasperated the court of Berlin, and afforded just cause for the diet of the Empire to depart from its neutrality.

collected the maledictions of Germany, the tears of widows, and the cries of orphans;—thy soldiers, too long maltreated, are about to deliver thee up to the just vengeance of the French. Thou shalt not escape from them by flight; for what people will give an asylum to a tiger like thee?

“And you, Hessian soldiers, who are not the enemies of the French, that nation offers to improve your lot: fifteen kreutzers a-day if you carry arms in her behalf; forty-five florins of pension if you demand your discharge; the rights of a citizen; fraternal affection and liberty;—these are what I offer to you, in quality of general of the French armies.

“ADAM-PHILIP CUSTINE.”

C H A P. II.

Invasion of Savoy—Capture of Chamberri—Conduēt and Situation of General Montesquiou—Anselme takes possession of Nice and Montābin—The Victories of the Republick are celebrated at Paris.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

1792.

New projects
of retaliation.

House of
Savoy.

Character of
the late king.

WHILE the Imperial and Prussian eagles were flying before the army of Dumouriez, and the banks of the Rhine, the Lahn, and the Maine, refounded with the shouts of the victorious French, preparations had been already made to carry the three-coloured standard into the dominions of the king of Sardinia, and avenge the real or supposed injuries committed by the court of Turin.

THE dukes of Savoy originally possessed territories neither remarkable for their extent nor value, and towards the middle of the sixteenth century the princes of that family experienced nearly a similar fate with that of one of their successors at the beginning of the nineteenth. But a fortunate peace* restored to them their paternal dominions; and, profiting afterwards by their misfortunes, they exhibited uncommon discernment in respect to the future quarrels of the great European states. In consequence of a sage policy, their dominions were accordingly enlarged; and the regal dignity being annexed to them, they at length acquired no inconsiderable rank among the neighbouring monarchs. But Victor Amadeus III. confiding in his alliances, his troops, and his resources, and prognosticating great advantages perhaps from the

* That of Cateau Cambresis.

aspect of continental affairs, forgot the maxims which had ag-
grandised his family. At the age of seventy he was swayed by two
opposite attachments: a passion for military affairs, and a blind
devotion to the priesthood. This extraordinary union necessarily
produced a motley mixture of parade and superstition at his court.
His majesty had accordingly set apart nearly the whole of his
revenue to the increase of his army; and if the soldiers were not
equal to the veterans produced under the auspices of the great
Frederick, the drums* must be allowed to have been superiour to
those of the most warlike nation in Europe. On the other
hand, cardinals and priests were consulted by him in political
affairs; and the aged monarch, who is said to have deemed
himself invulnerable when clothed in the uniform of his patron-
saint, and to have carefully encircled his joints with holy relics,
if report be true, never visited his mistress without being im-
mediately afterwards closeted with his confessor †.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

IT was in vain that the prince, heir to the wretched rem-
nant of those dominions which he has since deemed it proper
to abdicate, opposed his solitary voice to the interested spirit of a
court, which is said to have looked forward to the extension of
its territories on the side of Italy and the southern provinces of
France: it was by rejecting his counsels, and neglecting that uni-
form wisdom in consequence of which the counts of Maurienne
became first dukes and then kings, that the barren and unhealthy
island of Sardinia was destined to constitute his sole appanage.

Conduct of
Charles-
Emanuel,
prince of
Piedmont.

FROM the commencement of the revolution, this court, attached
by a triple marriage to that of Versailles, displayed a decided

* The late king of Sardinia is said to have prevailed upon Preganzi, the best violin player in Italy, to superintend this department; and to have actually rewarded him with the rank of captain.

† The inquisitive reader is desired to consult "L'Etat Moral, Physique, et Politique, de la Maison de Savoie," and also "Mémoires Secrets et Critiques, par Joseph Gorani."

BOOK II. hostility to the recent changes that had occurred in France.

CHAP. II.

1792.

Conduct of
the court of
Sardinia.

When the count d'Artois retired into the dominions of his father-in-law, he endeavoured to make him declare in favour of the exiled princes and nobles, and at length actually prevailed upon Victor Amadeus to recur to measures equally inconsistent with his neutrality and fatal to his interests. A number of conspiracies were hatched at this period, by the emigrants residing in Turin and the county of Nice ; they are also said to have formed plots against Marseilles, Toulon, Antibes, and Lyons, all of which were discovered and disconcerted*.

Situation of
the duchy of
Savoy.

IN the mean time his own dominions were threatened. Savoy had never been content with its sovereigns : poverty and a mountainous country, in all ages favourable to liberty ; imposts trivial in a rich but onerous to the inhabitants of an unproductive soil ; the insolence of the Piedmontese ; the vicinity of France, and the constant intercourse with that nation ; had rendered the hardy natives at this critical moment particularly discontented with the government. Many of them also were accustomed to frequent the jacobin societies both in Paris and the departments, and these having in return sent a number of missionaries into their country for the purpose of cherishing the germ of insurrection, they became discontented with their fate and longed for a change. It was in vain that the king of Sardinia endeavoured to secure the fidelity of this duchy by force. The garrisons sent thither, and the military executions that ensued, tended only still more to irritate the minds of the people, and hasten the events that speedily followed.

At length the national assembly, indignant at the temporising conduct of his ministers, had required Louis XVI. to demand an immediate explanation relative to the conduct and intentions of the Sardinian monarch. It was urged, that the court of Turin

* Les Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

had withdrawn its ambassadour from Paris, and treated the French plenipotentiary* with such coolness, as constrained him to request leave to resign. Not only were Savoy and Piedmont crowded with persons notoriously disaffected to the French government, but regiments of emigrants were actually formed and embodied; the king had publicly solicited the Swiss cantons to enter into a league under pretence of guaranteeing his Trans-Alpine territories, while the administrators of Dauphiny and Provence repeatedly announced to the legislature, that a large quantity of artillery, consisting chiefly of battering pieces, had been collected on the frontiers. In addition to these circumstances, the subsequent arrest of Semonville, the new minister-plenipotentiary from France at Alexandria, in express violation of the law of nations, contributed not a little to irritate the French, and at length a war appeared not only inevitable but seemed to be considered by the assembly as a matter of course †.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.
Complaints
on the part
of France.

[Sept. 16.]

THE French, who have been but little ambitious of following the wise maxim of the Romans, never to engage in war with more than one state at a time, had long anticipated this event; for Montefquiou was appointed, in the spring of 1791, to the command of the southern departments with the rank of *maréchal de camp*. In the course of the ensuing summer he denounced the hostile preparations of the king of Sardinia, and accused the minister ‡ for foreign affairs, of neglecting the necessary pre-

* The count de Choiseul.

† NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—September 16, 1792.

THE minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly, "that the executive council had resolved that war should be declared against the king of Sardinia, his openly encouraging French rebels, and insulting the ambassadour from France, having rendered such a step necessary." On this the national assembly immediately passed a decree, declaring war against the king of Sardinia.

‡ Chambonas.

BOOK II. parations on the side of Italy. In consequence of these repre-
 CHAP. II. sentations, the general was enabled to collect a considerable force,
 1792. and it was decided that he should attack Savoy and the county of
 Plan of the campaign. Nice; after conquering these, he was to stop at the natural bound-
 aries of the Alps, the defence of which was to be entrusted to
 him. He was directed at the same time to pay the most scrup-
 ulous attention to the neutrality of the Swiss cantons, but
 always to keep a small body of reserve in the neighbourhood of
 Lyons on purpose to observe their motions, and not to inter-
 meddle in the troubles of Geneva except with the utmost circum-
 spection, care being taken to preserve the tranquillity of that
 city.

Montesquiou
 is denounced.

WHILE Montesquiou was adopting the necessary measures to
 ensure success, and making such dispositions as enabled him to sur-
 mount all opposition, his conduct was considered as equivocal,
 and his motions as too tardy, by a party which could never forget
 that he was a noble by birth, and had been attached by sentiment
 to a constitutional monarchy. Chenier observed in the con-
 vention, "that it was sufficient for a general to be suspected, in
 order to be cashiered." Tallien, Carra, Chabot, and Danton,
 united to procure his disgrace, under pretence that he had de-
 layed his march into the territories of the enemy under the
 most frivolous pretences, and general Anselme was actually no-
 minated to succeed him.

[Sept. 24.]

AT the very time the general was thus not only denounced to
 the representatives of the people, but actually deprived of his
 command, he had already entered Savoy on the side of Mont
 Melian, with near twenty thousand troops, without recurring
 to the formality of a manifesto. Having kept up a close
 correspondence in several of the principal towns and villages,
 Chamberri, the capital, immediately surrendered on his ap-
 proach, and he subdued the whole duchy without experiencing

He enters
 Savoy.

any serious resistance *. The new national flag now waved triumphant on the summits of the Alps, and along the borders of the lake Lemman to the gates of Geneva. This interesting little city, justly jealous of her liberties, in consequence of the war between France and Savoy, and in express uniformity to ancient treaties, invited sixteen hundred Swiss belonging to the cantons of Berne and Zurich within her walls. It was asserted, without the least foundation in justice, that this act violated the neutrality of the re-

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*Friday, September 28.*

THE country of Savoy being now entirely conquered, a member proposed to form it into the 84th department.

M. Lacroix on this arose and said—"You have entered into Savoy in order to give liberty to the inhabitants, and not to conquer them. Above all things you ought to avoid ever putting that country into the hands of its ancient oppressors. I propose, therefore, that the above motion be referred to a committee."

M. Louvet—"It could never enter into the head of any republican, that after taking possession of Savoy we should deliver it up to the spoilers who have tyrannised over it; far less can we retain possession of this duchy in our own name, for we have consecrated it as a solemn principle that we shall never make conquests, or violate the sovereignty of any people.

"On the contrary, I affirm it to be good policy to avow that we intend to deliver nations from the oppression of their tyrants, and that we will never force the inhabitants of a conquered country to receive laws from us. Let us declare therefore—that the moment we have chased away the cohorts of despotism, we shall do every thing in our power in order to enable the people to assemble and enact laws for themselves."

M. Lacroix—"What is to indemnify us for the expences of the war?"

M. Louvet—"The reflection that we have given liberty and consequently happiness to mankind, will be a sufficient indemnification. This principle will occasion the despair of tyrants, who shall no longer dare to calumniate you by saying that your renunciation of conquests is a fiction!

"In combating despotism, you will convince the world that you yourselves are not despots. Proclaim then this principle—that instead of forcing nations to adopt your laws, you will guarantee their independence by force of arms."
(*Plaudits.*)

M. Danton—"While you give liberty to the neighbouring nations, you ought to say to them—You shall no longer be governed by kings; for if we are sur-

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

1792.

Disputes re-
lative to Ge-
neva.

[Nov. 2.]

publick, and orders were issued by the executive council to prohibit all intercourse with the French territories, which had hitherto supplied the greater part of the provisions consumed by the citizens. Prompt and decisive measures were also adopted to prevent any succours being sent from the cantons; but the celerity of the allies rendered this precaution abortive.

ON this, general Montesquiou was instructed to advance with his army, and procure the evacuation of the city by force. He obeyed with reluctance, but adopted such wise measures that a treaty ensued, in consequence of which both the French and Swiss retired without any flagrant violation of the independence of the republick having occurred*.

rounded by tyrants, a coalition among them may effect the destruction of our own liberty. By sending us here, the French nation has created a committee for the general insurrection of every oppressed people on the face of the earth: let us fulfil our mission."

The assembly decreed, that this question should be referred to the diplomatick and military committees.

* The republick of Geneva, in consequence of treaties which stipulate that when war exists between France and Savoy it may call in a garrison from the cantons of Berne and Zurich, having resolved to station sixteen hundred Swiss troops within its dominions, the executive council of France ordered a sufficient number of French soldiers to march into the territories of Geneva to prevent the entrance of the Helvetic troops. The counsellor of state of Geneva visited the French commissioners with the army on the 8th of October, 1792, who referred him to general Montesquiou, and the dispute at last terminated in the following convention:

I. ALL the corps of Swiss troops which are now in Geneva, shall successively retire into Switzerland, and the said retreat shall be completed betwixt the present period and the 1st of December next.

II. Between this time and the same epoch, the heavy artillery, and the French troops who surround Geneva, and who had approached it on account of differences terminated by the present convention, shall be withdrawn, and posted in such a manner as not to give any cause of alarm to Geneva.

III. From the date of the present convention, a free communication between the inhabitants of Savoy, and the two republicks, and full liberty of passing from Ge-

IN the mean time the conquest of Savoy occasioned great joy in Paris, and restored popularity to the general. Barrere presented himself before the convention, and after reading the dispatch announcing the new victory obtained by France over her enemies, obtained the repeal of the decree of accusation. Deputies, however, were nominated for the army of Savoy, and within the space of a week after the signature of the treaty already alluded to, the commander in chief was accused by the same member, "of having outraged the dignity of the French people and the interests of the Genevese patriots." A vote also passed that a committee should be appointed to enquire into his conduct; and in two days more, a second decree of accusation was proposed by Rovere, seconded by Dubois Crancé, and agreed to by the assembly.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

[October 7.]

A new decree
against Montefquiou.

IN consequence of this event, commissioners were sent to arrest Montefquiou; they accordingly repaired to Geneva for that purpose, but on receiving intelligence of their arrival, he imme-

neva to Switzerland and from Switzerland to Geneva, shall be re-established on the same footing as in time of peace, agreeably to treaty and to usage.

IV. The republic of Geneva expressly and solemnly reserves to itself all anterior treaties with its neighbours, and particularly that of 1584, with the respectable cantons of Zurich and Berne, as well as the first article of the treaty of 1784.

V. The present convention shall be ratified by the French republic and the republic of Geneva, and letters of ratification shall be exchanged on both sides in the space of twelve days, or, if possible, sooner.

Done and agreed upon between us, at the head-quarters of Landracy,

Nov. 2, 1792, First Year of the French Republic.

(Signed)

MONTESQUIOU.

J. F. PREVOST, Chancellor of State.

AMÉ LULLIN, Counsellor of State, Member
of the Grand Council.

FRANÇOIS D'HIVERNOIS, Member of the
Grand Council.

BOOK II. diately embarked on the lake, and thus luckily escaped the vengeance of his enemies *. The deputies, disappointed of their prey,
 CHAP. II.
 1792.

* GENERAL MONTESQUIOU.

Anne-Pierre-Fezenfac Montesquiou, a man of high birth and extensive knowledge, appears from his early youth to have been desirous of a change in the government of France, although he was more likely to lose than to gain by that event. Anterior to the epoch of the revolution, he was a knight of the royal orders, possessed what was then considered as an honourable office (that of *Premier Ecuyer*) in the household of *Monseigneur*, enjoyed the rank of *maréchal de camp* in the French armies; and, what gave him perhaps a still better claim to respect, he was one of the forty members of the French academy.

On the convocation of the states-general, the marquis de Montesquiou was nominated a deputy from the nobility of Paris, and not only protested against the *separate deliberations* of his own order, but was actually the eighth person who seceded, he having joined the third estate some time before the reunion of the minority. During the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, he distinguished himself by his reports relative to the finances; and although his voice was feeble and indistinct, yet he was always listened to with attention.

On the dissolution of the first assembly he offered his services, and was employed in April, 1791, with the rank of major-general in the southern departments; during which period, if he did not countenance, he has been reproached with having at least apologised for, the violent proceedings of the jacobin party. Before the members of that celebrated society had acquired a disgraceful celebrity by their outrages, he was a very popular commander, and the zeal with which he denounced the preparations for war on the part of Austria and Sardinia, as well as the negligence of Chambonas, the minister for foreign affairs, at the bar of the convention, on the 24th of July, 1792, created great expectation on the part of the nation, as he was considered by all parties to be a man of extraordinary talents.

The late season at which he commenced the campaign in Savoy was objected to him as a reproach; but the complete success of all his operations fully refuted the calumnies of his enemies. This however did not prevent their triumph; for under pretence of having profited by the contracts made for the supply of his troops, and violated the honour of the French nation in his treaty with the deputies of Geneva, as well as the interests of the patriots of that city, a decree of accusation was obtained against him, and in November, 1792, commissioners were sent expressly for the purpose of conducting him a prisoner to Paris.

Having retired into Switzerland, he lived there during some time in great obscurity, and at last found means to return to his native country, leave having been

returned immediately to Paris, and one* of them, after having announced the flight of the general and censured his negotiations with the Swiss, exhibited no small degree of brutal wantonness in the manner with which he treated a small but independent republick, that had successfully struggled for its liberties during more than a century, against the despotism of foreign princes and the contentions of domestick factions †.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

WHILE Montesquiou overran one portion of the dominions of the king of Sardinia, Anselme, at the head of the army of the Var, prepared to attack another. He accordingly commenced his march, and planted the tree of liberty in the city of Nice. [Sept. 28.] Marfeilles not only supplied six thousand soldiers on this occasion, but also furnished transports and a million of livres in money, while admiral Truguet seconded the efforts of the general by means of a squadron of six sail of the line. He then commenced the blockade of Montalban, which soon after capitulated; and having also obtained possession of Villa Franca, a frigate, a sloop of war, several magazines filled with naval stores, and one hundred pieces of ordnance, became the prey of the republicans. But in the course of a few weeks a stop was put to the career of the French general by an unexpected reverse of fortune; he having received a check at Sospello, and lost several of his cannon. This being followed by a retreat from Castillon, where he had been beaten, he was immediately suspended by the com-

Progress of
general An-
selme.

Anselme is
sent prisoner
to Paris.

obtained for that purpose on the 3d of September, 1795. He however did not long survive this event, having died December 30, 1798.

* Dubois Crancé.

† “A quoi bon tant de façons? Je jetterois Geneve dans le lac à coups de bombes, et j’inviterois les magnifiques cantons à venir la repêcher!”

“What use was there for so much ceremony? I would have first made Geneva tumble into the lake by means of bombs, and then invited the magnificent cantons to have come and fished it up again!”

BOOK II. missionaries who accompanied his army, and sent a prisoner to
 CHAP. II. Paris*.

1792.

Festival for
 the conquest
 of Savoy ;
 [Oct. 14.]

IN the mean time preparations had been made in that capital to celebrate the late victories after the manner of the ancients. The ceremony commenced with the march of a body of cavalry, which set out from the town-house and proceeded to the *Place de Louis XV.* now called the square of the revolution. Each section furnished one hundred armed men, exclusive of serjeants, gunners, and officers. All the commanders of the legions, and two chiefs of every battalion, were present ; the constituted authorities, on the invitation of the municipality, also joined in the cavalcade. At the head of each legion were placed the presidents and commissioners

* GENERAL ANSELME.

This officer, previously to the revolution, had been colonel of the Royal Grenadiers. In 1791 he was made a *maréchal de camp*, and on the 21st of September, 1792, nominated successor to general Montesquiou by the executive council, but he had not time to set off for the head-quarters of the southern army, as the convention rescinded the appointment in the course of the succeeding day. He however was placed at the head of the army of the Var, and conducted himself with so much moderation that the inhabitants of Nice demanded for him the rank of marshal of France. At first all his operations proved successful, and victory seemed to be attached to his standards, but he at length experienced a reverse of fortune, and was soon after suspended from his command by the commissioners by whom he was accompanied. They informed the convention, "that the late disasters had originated in consequence of the departure from principles, carelessness, and want of circumspection, on the part of general Anselme; and that being fully convinced of his incapacity, they had nominated Biron to succeed him." Although neither treason nor venality of any kind appeared to be urged against the conqueror of Montalban, Nice, and Villa Franca, yet Tallien moved for a decree of arrest ; but Goupilleau prevented that measure from taking place immediately, by insisting on previously hearing the commissioners. He was however imprisoned in the abbey a short time afterwards, but on pleading his wounds, permission was granted to retire to his own house. At length he was fortunate enough to be acquitted of all the charges against him, and remained in obscurity during the remainder of the revolution.

of the section to which it appertained, and revolutionary symbols and devices were borne before them.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

HAVING arrived at the place of destination, the magistrates and armed citizens paraded around the statue of liberty, erected on the same base which formerly supported that of the last of the French monarchs. This superb pedestal was now destined to record the glory acquired by the new commonwealth.

ON the east and west sides were inscribed the words "French Republick, 1792." On the north appeared "Entry of General Montesquiou into Savoy;" and on the south, "Entry of General Anselme into the countries of Nice and Montalban."

As the procession paraded around the square, the musick of the military bands played patriotick tunes, and frequent salvos of artillery were fired; while at proper intervals the hymn of liberty was sung in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators, and also of a deputation of the national convention seated in an adjoining amphitheatre.

AT this period of the war, the French made a number of proteges in the conquered countries *. A society of "The Friends

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*October 22.*

AN address from the friends of Liberty and Equality, at Chamberri in Savoy, was read. They already amounted to twelve hundred. They declare their love of liberty and their hatred of tyrants; they also have taken an oath never to be subject to a king.—This address was ordered to be printed.

Barbaroux read another address, from the criminal and civil tribunal established by general Anselme at Nice. It stated, that the tree of liberty had been planted with much solemnity in the middle of the city; and that while Anselme was enforcing respect to the French nation by arms, and the society of the friends of freedom was propagating and encouraging liberty and equality, the members of the above tribunal were causing the laws of the French republick to be loved by the people.

This address, which was dated "the 1st year of the French republick," was re-

BOOK II. of Liberty and Equality" was established at Chamberri, and another at Nice; while the inhabitants, hoping to enjoy an exemption from taxes by their union with France, were eager to transmit addresses replete with attachment to the convention, and the republick of Geneva eagerly embraced the opportunity of being the first independent state that acknowledged the republick*.

Critical situation of the king of Sardinia.

ON the other hand, the court of Turin was reduced to the most deplorable situation. Nice and Villa Franca were already lost; Savoy was annexed to France under the name of the department of Mont-Blanc†; the island of Sardinia was menaced

ceived with general applause, ordered to be printed, and an extract from the minutes of the convention to be transmitted to the members of that tribunal."

* *Address of the Genevese Minister to the National Convention, on his Presentation, December 19.*

"CITIZENS, I am sensible of the value of such a reception as you honour me with.

"Hitherto the presentations made to the depositaries of power have exhibited a vain and fastidious ceremony only. On the one part were seen men erected into demi-gods, receiving an almost idolatrous worship; on the other, servile adorers, drunk with the incense offered at the shrine of their idols. Now a simple citizen presents himself with confidence before men honoured with the same title. The ministers of a powerful and glorious nation have willed, that the representative of a small, but free and sovereign, republick, should receive from them the proof of good-will and fraternity.

"In seeing thus, among free states, the strong countenance the weak, and being pleased with alliances in which the latter have all the advantage, we truly feel that liberty is the most valuable of all ties; that amidst so many countries, strangers to each other, the free nations are fellow-citizens, and that the sentiment of their reciprocal sovereignty establishes between them a tender tie of equality.

"Citizens, the republick of Geneva felicitates itself on preceding the other states in testimonies of attachment and confidence for the French republick; and if under these circumstances they honoured me with their choice, it is because they knew, that, to be the faithful interpreter of their thoughts and wishes, it was only necessary for me to express my own sentiments."

† By a decree dated November 27, 1792, constituting this the 84th department.

by a naval armament, and the republick threatened to plant the tree of liberty in Piedmont. In this forlorn situation, Victor Amadeus applied every-where for assistance. His majesty supplicated the members of the Swiss confederacy for support, and all applied to the canton of Berne in particular; but they professed to adhere to the most rigid neutrality, and refused to enter into the disputes of the belligerent powers. Thus the aged monarch, being denied all manner of succour by his allies and his neighbours, was left to his fate, and already began to anticipate the catastrophe that awaited him.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.
1792.

C H A P. III.

*France makes great Preparations and levies immense Armies—
Invasion of Flanders by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen—Siege of
Lille—The Austrians retire on the Approach of the Army of
Champagne—Beurnonville's Expedition against Treves.*

BOOK II. FRANCE, so lately threatened with subjugation, at this mo-
CHAP. III. ment assumed a most formidable attitude; and instead of being
1792. reduced to the necessity of defending her own territories, as
formerly, she now menaced all her enemies with coercion, and
proclaimed "that the country was no longer in danger*." For-
midable in point of numbers, replete with energy, armed with
the most seductive doctrines, and warmed by the enthusiasm
ever attendant on unexpected success, emperours, kings, princes,
nobles, and all the members of the hierarchy, trembled at the
triumph of a cause so inauspicious to their stability.

Disposition
of the French
armies.

At this memorable period, upwards of sixty thousand men,

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—October 20, 1792.

The foreign enemies of the republic being now forced to quit her territories, the national convention seizes this opportunity to publish the following proclamation to the French armies:

"Citizens in arms, who combat for the rights of men, you whose courage hath ensured the triumph of liberty and equality, a grateful country addresses you through us. Receive then the recompence of the danger, the fatigues, and the sacrifices, which have marked your path towards glory. The national convention accordingly declares, in the name of the French people, that you have saved the republic, and that your country is no longer in danger."

under the generals Kellermann, Valence, and Chazot, were employed in pursuit of the retreating Prussians; eighteen thousand more, commanded by d'Harville, had assembled at Maubeuge; Labourdonnaye had collected nearly thirty thousand, including the garrisons of the northern departments; Custine, with twenty thousand, kept possession of Mentz and Francfort; from fifteen to eighteen thousand were serving under Biron before Strasburgh and Huningen; the successors of Montesquiou and Anselme were still at the head of thirty thousand; while Beurnonville, with about twenty-two thousand more destined for the invasion of the Low-countries, was on his march to French Flanders. Thus an immense body of near two hundred thousand troops had been brought into action, and great and important designs of conquest and revenge were now meditated.

THE national convention, relying on the enthusiasm of the soldiery, addressed a proclamation to the battalions formed in 1791, with the view of encouraging them to persevere in their career until the enemy "had recognised the majesty of the republick, and the sovereignty of the people;" while the executive council published a declaration "that the French armies should not enter into winter-quarters until the foes of the commonwealth had repassed the Rhine *"

* "Citoyens Soldats!

"La loi vous permet de vous retirer; le cri de la patrie vous le defend. Quand Porfenna était aux portes de Rome, Brutus quitta-t-il son poste? L'ennemi a-t-il repassé le Rhin? Longwy est-il repris? Le sang Français, dont des barbares ont arrosé le sol de la liberté, est-il vengé? Leurs ravages & leurs barbaries sont-ils punis? Ont-ils reconnus la majesté de la république, & la souveraineté du peuple? Soldats! voilà le terme de vos travaux. C'est en dire assez aux braves défenseurs de la patrie.

"La convention nationale se borne à vous recommander l'honneur Français, l'intérêt de l'état, & le soin de votre propre gloire.

"Le conseil exécutif, considérant qu'en vain le patriotisme des citoyens, la valeur des soldats, et l'habileté des généraux, auraient repoussé au-delà des frontières

BOOK II. IN the mean time, Dumouriez, after conducting his troops to
 CHAP. III. Vouzieres, on their way to the relief of Lisle, repaired to Paris on
 1792. purpose to concert a plan for the winter campaign. Actuated by
 [O&A. 16.] ambition and the love of glory, he aspired not only to the command of the northern army, but also to the direction of all the military operations of France. This general accordingly rendered himself extremely popular during his stay in the capital, and was at infinite pains to acquire the confidence of the ruling party. His reception by the convention, although flattering, was not equal, however, to what he experienced on the part of the jacobins, for Danton, at that time president, after presenting him with the emblem of liberty and the fraternal embrace, exclaimed, "Under your direction the republican pike shall every-where break the regal sceptre, and thrones vanish at the approach of the red cap, with which this society hath honoured you."

Dumouriez
 repairs to the
 capital.

SERVAN also appears to have entirely relinquished to him not only the plan of operations for his own army, but the power of transmitting instructions to the other generals.

les armées ennemies, si elles pouvaient encore, en s'établissant dans les pays circonvoisins, s'y renforcer avec sécurité, & y preparer impunément les moyens d'y renouveler incessamment leur funeste invasion; considerant que toute résolution généreuse & nécessaire pour l'honneur comme pour la sureté de la république ne peut qu'être avouée par la nation & par la convention nationale; arrêta le 24 Octobre que les armées Françaises ne quitteraient pas les armes & ne prendraient pas de quartiers d'hiver, jusqu'à ce que les ennemis de la république eussent été repoussés au-delà du Rhin."

"Citizens-Soldiers,

"THE law permits you to retire; the voice of your country prohibits it. When Porcenna was at the gates of Rome did Brutus leave his post? Hath the enemy crossed the Rhine? Is Longwy retaken? Is the French blood, with which the barbarians have stained the foil of liberty, avenged? Are their ravages and cruelties punished? Have they recognised the majesty of the republick and the sovereignty of the people? Soldiers! behold the conclusion of your labours. This is saying enough to the brave defenders of their country, &c."

It may be easily supposed that the commander in chief, being BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1792. thus invested with all the authority of the war department, did not neglect any thing that could contribute to his own success. He accordingly dispatched the cavalry, infantry, artillery, and ammunition, collected in Paris, to the northern frontiers; he obtained clothes and necessaries for his own troops, who were entirely naked in consequence of the late campaign in Champagne; he required the sum of six hundred thousand livres in money to insure a fortnight's pay for his army; and he boldly announced in return, that so far from exhausting the national treasury in future, he would transmit large quantities of specie from the Low-countries, and at the same time establish the circulation of *assignats* there.

AT length, after a residence of only four days in the capital, [O&A. 20.] he set out for Valenciennes, where he arrived before the army, at the approach of which the Imperialists immediately began to make preparations to raise the siege of Lisle, and return within their own territories.

WHILE Dumouriez defended the important passes leading to the forest of Argonne, the whole of the northern department had been threatened by the Austrians, in compliance with the original agreement between the allied courts, which hoped to derive the most signal advantages from this well-timed diversion. Lieutenant-general Labourdonnaye, who was entrusted with the command of this frontier, possessed only forty-five battalions and twenty squadrons, divided into three camps; that of Maubeuge being under the orders of lieutenant-general Lannoue, while Pont-sur-Sambre was committed to the charge of lieutenant-general Duval, and Maulde to lieutenant-general Beurnonville.

DUKE ALBERT of Saxe-Teschen, the governor-general of Invasion of
French
Flanders. the Austrian Low-countries, who was well acquainted with the weakness of the French in this quarter, prepared to invade

BOOK II. Flanders; but being obliged to detach count Clairfayt to the
 CHAP. III. grand army, he had but few troops at his disposal, and was
 1792. accordingly incapable of attempting great enterprises. He,
 [Sept. 16.] however, entered the French territories, and in the course of
 a few days presented himself before Lisle with twenty-five
 thousand men, and an immense train of artillery; he did not
 pretend to commence a regular siege against this place, the for-
 tifications of which are admirably calculated for defence, while
 its citadel, the master-piece of Vauban, is considered as the
 strongest in Europe; he hoped, however, to be able to obtain
 the possession of the city, either by means of terroure or treachery,
 as the garrison was weak, and discontent prevalent.

Siege of Lisle. MAJOR-GENERAL RUAULT, the commanding officer, was
 assisted on this occasion by Champmorin, an engineer of some
 talents, and Guiscard, colonel of artillery: while André, the
 mayor, greatly distinguished himself by his zeal and energy, as
 he not only encouraged the citizens to hold out, but actually
 threatened to hang the first person who should propose to
 surrender.

EVERY mode of destruction which the invention of modern
 times has discovered was displayed against Lisle, in order to supply
 what was wanting in force by means of fear. Duke Albert com-
 manded the besieging army, and it has been asserted that his
 consort, Christina, a princess of Austria, applied the match to the
 first mortar fired upon this occasion. The bombardment continued
 for eight whole days, during which period the bombs and bullets
 never ceased to shower destruction on this seemingly devoted town.
 In the course of the very first night the church of St. Stephen,
 some mills, and a number of streets in its neighbourhood, were
 set on fire*: but the heroick ardour of the inhabitants and the

* It has been pretended that the Austrians had recourse to expedients on this
 occasion not justified by the rules of war.

garrison, saved the strongest city in France. By means of an excellent police, due order was preserved, and buckets were placed at the door of every house on purpose to quench the flames. The women, emulous to share the dangers of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, carried water, consoled and dressed the wounded, encouraged the combatants, and even danced on the batteries in sight of the enemy.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1792.

At length the assailants, unable to make any impression on the walls, and hearing of the discomfiture of the combined army and the approach of Dumouriez, retired amidst the maledictions of the citizens, two thousand of whose houses were destroyed and six thousand damaged.

In the mean time the executive council, being greatly displeased with Kellermann on account of his indecisive conduct during the retreat of the Prussians, as well as in consequence of his reluctance to join Custine, suspended him from the command, and appointed Beurnonville his successor. The latter immediately prepared to obtain possession of Treves, and accordingly put himself at the head of the army of the Moselle for that purpose. Notwithstanding the badness of the roads and the wetness of the season, this general commenced a winter campaign with obtaining several advantages over the enemy in the neighbourhood of Saarbruck. He however received a check from the Austrians at Pellingen, and fought an action at Gravenmacher with doubtful success; but he continued to encourage the hopes of the convention in his dispatches, and diminished the loss that had occurred during ten different engagements to ten men killed and sixty wounded *. It so happened, however, that

Expedition
under
Beurnonville.

[Dec. 13.]

“ Les boulets etaient perforés pour éclater lors de leur chute. Les bombes contenaient de petites fioles pleines de huile de thérebentine, & quand elles faisaient explosion, l'huile enflammée s'attachait aux boiseries & propageait par-là les moyens d'incendie.” *Mém. Revol.* t. I. p. 94.

* This general gravely asserted in one of his dispatches, that after three hours of

BOOK II. the chief object of his expedition remained unaccomplished, and
CHAP. III. that Beurnonville's army was exposed to great difficulties and
1792. experienced many heavy losses without reaping any adequate
advantage, although he had announced to the government "that
France was mistress of the whole territory between the Sarre and
the Moselle."

THE successes of the French about this period produced a
desire to effect a revolution in the conquered countries. The
national convention accordingly decreed, "that in all the ter-
ritories occupied by the armies of the republick, the generals shall
proclaim peace, fraternity, and equality; abolish tithes, nobility,
and feudal services: that they shall also convoke primary assem-
blies; but none of the privileged orders are to be allowed to vote
until they have sworn to renounce their privileges."

unceasing combat at Gravenmacher, during which the enemy had many men
killed, the French only lost on their part ("le petit doigt d'un chasseur,") the little
finger of a foot soldier!

C H A P. IV.

Preparations for invading Austrian Flanders—Skirmishes between the Imperialists and French—Battle of Gemappe.

THE armies of France had already failed in two attempts to subjugate the Austrian Low-countries, and Dumouriez, under more fortunate auspices, was now prepared with a body of near ninety thousand troops to attack them a third time. Having made all the necessary military arrangements, he resolved to enter immediately on the campaign ; but he did not omit to provide himself with arms of a new kind, far more destructive to the power of the enemy than the most terrible engines of modern warfare. These consisted of pamphlets, declarations, advertisements, and addresses, drawn up with skill and productive of astonishing effect* : he himself penned a manifesto with his own hand, in which he announced to the Belgians that the French intended to enter their country, not as enemies, but as brothers and friends ; that their design was to assist them in the recovery of their an-

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
1792.

Preparations
on the part of
Dumouriez.

* The Austrian government was not insensible to the consequences likely to arise from arts such as these, and the following *ordonnance* was accordingly issued at Brussels, in the name of the emperor, in September, 1792, on purpose, if possible, to cut off all communication between the two nations:

“ All ambassadours and magistrates are forbidden to deliver passports to Frenchmen for entering the Austrian territories. The subjects of his Imperial majesty are also prohibited from trading with the French, or transmitting money to them, and orders are issued to shut up all the passages by which a communication may be carried on. Every traveller in future is to be considered as a spy, and will be treated accordingly.”

BOOK II. cient rights; that they would neither intermeddle in their go-
 CHAP. IV. vernment nor their laws; that they would also leave it to them-
 1792. selves to organise whatever constitution they might be inclined to
 adopt; and that they would not levy any contribution, nor ex-
 ercise any act of conquest whatever.

“PROVIDED,” added he, “you but establish the sovereignty of the people and renounce the dominion of despots, we will become your supporters; we will respect your property and your laws, and the most rigid discipline shall prevail throughout the French armies.

“BELGIANS, we are brethren! Our cause is the same. You have given so many proofs of impatience under the yoke, that we cannot entertain the least apprehension of being obliged to treat you as enemies.”

THIS paper, which had been previously approved of by the convention as consonant to the declaration of the rights of man and the constitution, was immediately printed in the French and Flemish languages, and sent to all the generals with injunctions, as soon as they entered the towns of Belgium, to assemble the people, and exhort them to change the magistrates, but to leave every thing respecting the form of the government and the publick revenue to the decision of a national assembly.

HE also transmitted a letter to the legislative body replete with hopes and promises; for he asserted that on the 15th of November he should enter Brussels, and on the 30th take possession of Liege; while he presented his own army with a short but energetick address, in which he besought the soldiers to exhibit clemency to the prisoners, and display fraternity towards the inhabitants*.

* “Généraux, officiers, soldats, fiers républicains, vous tous mes braves camarades! nous allons entrer dans la Belgique, pour repousser et chasser des ennemis barbares et les perfides émigrés. Entrons dans ces belles provinces comme des amis, des frères, et des libérateurs; montrons de la clémence envers les prisonniers de guerre, et de la fraternité envers les habitans du pays.”

IN the mean time the Austrians determined to adopt a defensive system, and, by means of a war of posts, provide for the safety of the Low-countries. The duke of Saxe-Teschén accordingly assumed a formidable position for that purpose; for he had already occupied the villages beyond the rivulet of Quiesvrain by means of detachments, while his right flank was supported by the river Haisne, and the marsh in front of St. Ghislain; his left by the wood of Sars. He also posted several different *corps* for the purpose of strengthening his situation and keeping up an intercourse with the rest of the Austrian troops. His highness had accordingly stationed a small body of men in the wood called the Hermitage, which masked Condé and communicated with four or five thousand troops at Bury, and the camp of Trinity consisting of seven or eight thousand more commanded by general Latour, who also occupied Tournay; and by means of several detachments in Lannoy, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, endeavoured to harass Lille, while another small body was posted at the junction of the Lys and the Marque.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
1792.

Situation of
the Austri-
ans.

As the duke of Saxe-Teschén, by his junction with general Clairfayt, was now at the head of twenty-five thousand troops; and Dumouriez, in consequence of the removal of the detachment under Berneron, had no more than thirty-two thousand left with himself, he ordered general d'Harville to reinforce him with twelve thousand more on purpose to preserve his superiority. Three days after this he advanced from his head-quarters at Honning; and the first skirmish took place with the enemy on the part of the Belgick infantry, who, of their own accord, attacked the advanced posts of the Austrians in the village of Thu-

[Nov. 1.]

[Nov. 3.]

“Generals, officers, soldiers, brave republicans, and all my gallant companions! we are about to enter Belgium for the purpose of repelling and driving out a barbarous enemy, and the perfidious emigrants. Let us enter then into those fine provinces, as friends, brethren, and deliverers; let us exhibit clemency towards the prisoners of war, and fraternity towards the inhabitants of the country.”

BOOK II. lin, and drove them before them; but having pursued the fugitives into the plain towards the mill of Boufac, the Imperial
 CHAP. IV. 1792. hussars became the assailants in their turn, and four companies were either killed or taken prisoners.

[Nov. 5.] AT length the French army was ranged in columns along the forest, in such a manner as to be readily drawn up in order of battle parallel to the village of Gemappe, with a wood in the rear, the right at Hamery, and the left at Hormes; it being resolved to attack the heights, on which the enemy were entrenched in the most formidable manner, in the course of the ensuing day.

[Nov. 6.] EARLY next morning the French commander in chief made the necessary dispositions for an assault.

Battle of
Gemappe.

HAVING brought up the artillery, he ordered general d'Harville to advance in a line with the van guard, and after out-flanking the enemy to march to the top of mount Pallizel; thence he was to gain the high ground of Nimy, so that by turning Mons, he might cut off the retreat along the road leading to Brussels. After riding along his front and giving the necessary directions for the commencement of the attack, Dumouriez repaired to the left, where perceiving that the operations against the village of Quareignon had not been successful, he ordered general Rozieres to advance with two twelve-pounders and four battalions: on this the place was instantly carried, and Ferrand and Rozieres ordered to seize on the enemy's outposts.

DUMOURIEZ had originally intended to begin the attack on the approach of day-light, but the subsequent obstacles that intervened proved so formidable, that it was impossible to attempt effective operations before noon. General Beurnonville, who was to commence the assault, had before him the enemy's left wing, stationed on a height that covers Cuesmes, in the vicinity of Gemappe, defended by five large redoubts. Several others extended all along the front, and as far as the right flank of the

village below Quareignon; these were provided with twenty pieces of heavy artillery, several howitzers, and a great number of battalion guns, so as to exhibit three complete stages of fortification, and consequently produce three distinct rows of fire. Nor were the utmost efforts of art wanting to render the approaches difficult; for trees, hollow ways, houses that afforded shelter to bodies of infantry, and trenches thrown up under the direction of excellent engineers, opposed the most formidable obstacles. Terror and intimidation were also resorted to. Knowing the French troops to be raw and undisciplined, the enemy had posted in the centre of their front, across an opening that led to Gemappe, several squadrons of horse, which in case of disorder during the battle were intended to fall on the centre of the infantry and cut them to pieces. This position, which had been carefully selected by the duke of Saxe-Teschen, was moreover defended by nineteen thousand men under the orders of some of the most distinguished generals belonging to the house of Austria.

THE French army, particularly such of the regiments as had served in Champagne, appeared eager for action. The centre was commanded by lieutenant-general the duke de Chartres, son to the duke of Orleans; the right wing by general d'Harville, and the left by general Ferrand. Along the line were displayed ten sixteen, sixteen twelve-pounders, and several howitzers, under the direction of colonel Labayette, who stationed the artillery in such a manner that every redoubt was attacked in flank by two batteries of two pieces each; and a brisk fire had already taken place along the front ever since eight in the morning.

FINDING that Ferrand had not engaged in conformity to orders, Dumouriez at eleven o'clock dispatched colonel Thouvenot to commence and direct the attack: he accordingly took upon him the command, put the columns in motion, advanced rapidly against the right flank and the front of the village of Gemappe,

BOOK II. carried the redoubts, and decided the fate of the action on the
CHAP. IV. left. In the mean time Beurnonville, who had already advanced
1792. towards Cuesmes, was detained by the fire of five redoubts which
he could not silence by means of his own artillery, although he
had been reinforced by four sixteen-pounders. On learning
however that the left wing had been successful, the commander
in chief drew up the infantry of the centre in column by batta-
lion, and having caused the opening to be masked by seven
squadrons of dragoons and hussars, he marched exactly at noon
against the centre of the village. This movement would perhaps
have proved decisive, but a brigade, on perceiving the enemy's
cavalry advance, immediately retired behind a house on the
right, and left a vacant space through which the horse might
have been able to pierce the centre. On this another brigade
on the left, instead of pushing forward, made a halt, was thrown
into confusion, and exposed for some time to a fire of grape
within half-musquet shot of the batteries, while the French
squadrons appointed to keep the Austrian hussars in check, altered
their position.

AT this critical moment, two young men very different in rank
and quality, but inspired with similar zeal, contrived to remedy the
disorder. The first of these was Baptiste Renard, valet-de-chambre
to the commander in chief, who made the recreant brigade ashamed
of its retreat, brought it back to its station, masked the opening
anew, and returned to his master after renewing the engagement.
But the troops, mingled together and destitute of order, were still
unable to act with effect; when the duke de Chartres appeared,
and forming the scattered soldiery into a solid body, termed by
him "the column of Gemappe," instantly advanced, and not only
carried the triple row of redoubts and entrenchments, but ac-
tually penetrated into the village. In consequence of this gallant
attack, so favourable to the movement made by Thouvenot, the
Imperialists being placed between two fires, more than four

hundred were drowned in the Haifne, and the battle was gained in the centre and to the right of the village *.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

1792.

IN the mean time general Dumouriez repaired to the advanced guard commanded by Beurnonville; where he found two brigades exposed to great danger on the height of Cuesmes, on account of the resistance experienced from five redoubts filled with Hungarian grenadiers, the appearance of a formidable body of Imperial cavalry, and a blunder committed by general d'Harville, who, mistaking the French troops for the enemy, swept them down from behind with his artillery. On this the commander in chief instantly galloped along the front of the two brigades, telling them, "that having their father now at their head, they had no longer any thing to fear." The answer of "Long live Dumouriez!" added to the intrepid appearance of the soldiers, convinced him of their firmness. Accordingly, when the enemy's dragoons advanced at a gallop on purpose to force an opening, the brigades, who had reserved their fire until they approached nearly to the muzzles of their muskets, by a general and well-directed discharge formed a rampart before them of the bodies of more than an hundred horses and troopers. The hussars of Berchiny completed their route; the column of infantry also began to retire, and the whole of this body of Imperial cavalry fled as far as Mons.

DUMOURIEZ having stationed Beurnonville, who had just arrived on the field of battle, now moved to the left with the two brigades in conjunction with three bodies of cavalry, and placing himself once more at their head, he began the first stanza of the *Marseillois hymn*, marching at the same time to attack the redoubts by the gorge. The soldiers, who advanced with great gaiety chanting this favourite song, displayed much bravery, and carried the works, notwithstanding the gallant

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. III. p. 338.

BOOK II. defence made by the Hungarian grenadiers, who fought until they
CHAP. IV. were nearly all cut to pieces.

1792.

AT two o'clock it was intimated to the commander in chief by the duke de Montpensier, that his brother had proved victorious with the centre, while Thouvenot arrived at the same instant, and brought the joyful intelligence of the enemy's flight.

BUT the army was too much fatigued to proceed immediately in pursuit, for during four whole days it had been constantly under arms, and engaged occasionally with the Austrians, while for the last eight hours it was unceasingly occupied in different evolutions. The general, therefore, deemed it absolutely necessary to allow two hours for the purpose of taking some refreshment, as the troops had not as yet tasted any thing in the course of the day. He accordingly ordered bread and brandy to be distributed, and gave the necessary directions respecting the wounded.

AT four o'clock orders were issued for forming the ranks, and it being intimated that the army was about to advance, the foldiers, forgetting their fatigues, testified their joy by loud acclamations: but a ridiculous circumstance occurred, which was productive of considerable embarrassment. The two heroick brigades already mentioned, were now seized with a sudden terrour. They, who had so lately braved death, and attacked redoubts crowded with cannon and musquetry, were unaccountably impressed with the idea that the Austrians had undermined the mountain on which they stood, and that they were about to be blown into the air! Five battalions, yielding to the panick resulting from this imaginary danger, instantly abandoned their position, notwithstanding the entreaties and representations of general Stettenhofen who commanded them, and threw themselves in great disorder into the village of Cuesmes. The commander in chief, who happened to be stationed there with the van, immediately dispatched other troops to take possession of Berthaumont, and was

obliged to defer the pursuit of the enemy, and the capture of Mons, until the next day.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

1792.

IN the mean time the body of light troops belonging to the left wing, which had been detached towards Gelin and Notre-Dame, on purpose to hang upon and annoy the enemy, experienced but little success; partly because the retreat was conducted in a masterly manner on the part of the Austrians, and partly because they were not properly supported by general d'Harville, who was too late in occupying Mount Palizel and Nimy.

THUS ended the battle of Gemappe, during which both the victors and the vanquished displayed the most exemplary courage, and fought with a degree of obstinacy seldom recorded in modern times. The Imperialists, particularly the Hungarian grenadiers, exhibited the most determined valour, and there was not a single battalion in the whole French army that did not engage with the enemy, the greater part of the cavalry and infantry fighting hand to hand, with sabres and screwed bayonets. The Austrians defended their entrenchments with great resolution; their cannon, under the direction of general Beaulieu, took aim with uncommon precision, and swept away whole ranks of such of the battalions as halted to fire; but those who charged rapidly with bent heads and out-stretched bayonets, lost few men, and rendered the victory decisive*. On this

* The defensive position assumed by the duke of Saxe Teschen, at Gemappe, was assuredly a strong one, and he maintained it with uncommon obstinacy; but it was objected to by Beaulieu, an excellent general of artillery, and another plan was actually suggested by Clairfayt, an officer of acknowledged talents: the alliance however of the governour-general with an Austrian archduchess, rendered all opposition ineffectual.

I have been assured by a nobleman who fought at the head of the Hungarian grenadiers, that the superiour fire of the French artillery contributed greatly to the victory, which was undoubtedly completed by the charge with fixed bayonets, first suggested by lieutenant-general Egalité (the present duke of Orleans) and Beurnonville, in consequence of the eagerness displayed by the troops to advance.

BOOK II. occasion too, the French artillery distinguished itself in such
 CHAP. IV. a manner as to display its wonted superiority, and the officers,
 1792. privates, and horses, suffered considerably, as they advanced with-
 in musquet shot of the entrenchments.

THE duke of Saxe Teschen lost nearly four thousand men, and thirteen pieces of cannon, seven of which, of a large calibre, were left in the redoubts; but this was trivial in comparison with the unfortunate consequences that ensued, for the Belgians from that moment considered themselves emancipated from the yoke of the house of Austria, while desertion and dismay pervaded her armies. Dumouriez acknowledges the loss of no more than two thousand of his troops in killed and wounded; yet, considering the resistance on one hand, and the wish to extenuate the destruction that ensued on the other, it may be fairly asserted that as many at least of his own army perished on that memorable day as fell on the part of the enemy. His advantages however were numerous, and, in the opinion of military men, afforded ample compensation for the sacrifice. General Berneron obtained Ath,
 [Nov. 8.] and general Labourdonnaye took possession of Tournay two days after the battle; the *commandant* of Dunkirk with one thousand eight hundred infantry marched to Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, all of which immediately opened their gates to him, and the whole of Flanders was subdued without firing a single musquet.

C H A P. V.

The French proceed in their victorious Career, and take Possession of Mons, Bruffels, Liege, Antwerp, and Namur—Skirmishes at Anderlecht and Cumplich—Dumouriez becomes suspected.

IN the course of the evening after the battle of Gemappe, Dumouriez made preparations to pursue the enemy, and attack Mons, which he had in vain summoned to surrender. The commanding officer, conscious that the safety of the retreating army depended on his retaining possession of that place, returned a haughty answer, and seemed determined to stand a siege. Having thus gained time, he found means to evacuate the city during the night, and marched with equal celerity and success to rejoin the Austrians. Accordingly, on the succeeding morning, Dumouriez entered Mons, amidst the shouts of the inhabitants who received the French as deliverers, and immediately transmitted an account of his victory to the convention *.

BOOK II.
CHAP. V.
1792.

[Nov. 7.]

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*Thursday, November 8, 1792.*

A Letter was read from General Dumouriez, dated “French head-quarters at Mons, November 7.” (*At the word Mons loud and general applause ensued.*)

DUMOURIEZ in this dispatch informed the convention, that after fighting with the Imperialists during five successive days, the army of the republic had conquered, and Mons was the fruit of their victory. Forty thousand Frenchmen had attacked twenty-eight thousand Austrians, entrenched on all sides, defended by forty redoubts, twenty pieces of heavy artillery, and a great number of cannon of a smaller calibre, besides howitzers. As to the number of the killed and wounded on this occasion, he could not give an exact account; but he supposes there might have been *three hundred of the former and six hundred of the latter.*

Fifteen

BOOK II. BUT the commander in chief was as yet unable to advance
 CHAP. V. and take advantage of his late success, in consequence of being
 1792. entirely destitute of money and provisions. However, as he
 possessed a mind fertile in resources, he contrived to borrow
 considerable sums, and even to obtain a variety of necessaries
 for his army, by means of the contractor d'Espagnac: certain

Fifteen hundred of the enemy were either taken prisoners or had deserted, and about four thousand were killed and wounded.

The French took nine pieces of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition; and he had dispatched general Berneron with eight thousand men on one side, and general Dampierre with as many on another, to seize on Ath, which contained several large magazines..

The Austrian army had retired in the greatest disorder towards Brussels and Brune-le-Comte.

The following Extract is transcribed from the General's Letter.

" Exactly at noon the whole infantry instantaneously formed in columns, and advanced with the utmost rapidity, and in the highest spirits, towards the entrenchments of the enemy. There was not one column the head of which was behind another.

" The lower tier of redoubts was instantly forced, and successfully carried; but, the obstacles soon multiplying, our *centre became endangered*, and I was some time before I perceived the enemy's cavalry preparing to enter the plain, with a manifest intention of flanking our columns. I immediately dispatched to that quarter lieutenant-general Egalité, who by his cool valour succeeded in instantly rallying the columns, which he led against the second tier of redoubts. I lost no time in supporting this attack, by ordering the third regiment of chasseurs and the sixth of hussars, which had very opportunely reached the scene of action, to check as well as to charge the enemy's cavalry. I proceeded at the same time to the right, where I discovered that after the most complete success on the part of Beurnonville in the attack of the redoubts, which had been forced and carried, some degree of disorder had manifested itself in his cavalry, whilst the general himself was busied at the head of his infantry. This cavalry I instantly rallied, and made a lively charge on the enemy's horse, which by this time had reached our right flank. At that critical juncture a detached body of the enemy attempted to force the first battalion of Paris, which received them with the utmost bravery, and killed several men with a single discharge of musquetry. Whilst we were thus engaged to the right, our left had carried the village of Gemappe, and

opulent Belgians also agreed to supply bread and forage for two months. He moreover procured a *forced loan* from the clergy, consisting of one year of their revenues, which he faithfully promised should be afterwards guaranteed by the nation, and repaid by the French.

BOOK II.
CHAP. V.
1792.

DUMOURIEZ nevertheless conducted himself with great policy towards the inhabitants of the Low-countries. Finding that general Labourdonnaye had seized on the publick money in several of the cities of Flanders, he ordered copies of his own proclamation, promising protection and indemnity, to be posted up in all the towns where contributions had been exacted, restored their property to the citizens, and replaced that officer by means of lieutenant-general Miranda, who had just returned from Paris.

No sooner did the archduchefs of Austria receive intelligence of Flight and

our centre had obtained entire possession of the second tier of redoubts. It now became necessary to come once more to an action on the heights; this however was less lively, and of a shorter duration, the Austrians being altogether panick-struck at the obstinate and constantly increasing valour of our troops. At two o'clock they retired in the utmost disorder, our army now occupying the enemy's ground, covered with the dead bodies of both parties.

“DUMOURIEZ.”

Larue, aide-de-camp to general Dumouriez, mentioned to the convention the bravery of Baptiste, *valet-de-chambre* to the general, who rallied five squadrons and three battalions, and was the first to mount the entrenchments, sword in hand. It was added, that on being asked by the commander in chief, “what reward he would have?” he replied, “The honour of wearing the national uniform.”

Baptiste himself having now appeared at the bar, was received with great applause; and after being embraced by the president, was informed, “that he should be furnished with a complete uniform at the expence of the republick, and employed, with the rank of captain, in the army under general Dumouriez.”

C. Egalité (the late duke of Orleans) now ascended the tribune, and requested to inform the convention of what the modesty of Dumouriez had withheld, namely, “that the general, after rallying his right wing, marched himself at the head of the troops, who carried all the redoubts in succession, by means of the bayonet.”

BOOK II. the battle of Gemappe, than her royal highness prepared to abdicate the government of the Low-countries. Accordingly, on the approach of the French army towards the place of her residence, the court left Brussels, and retired to Ruremonde. That princess eagerly seized on this unfortunate occasion, when concessions could be no longer considered as a boon, to annul a former declaration hostile to the acknowledged liberties of the Belgians; and accordingly, in two separate dispatches to the states of Brabant, the ancient forms were restored, and a promise given "immutably to maintain a constitution so dear to the people." This measure, which but a few months before might have secured the allegiance of the natives, was now too late in point of application, as it evidently appeared to be extorted by a feeble policy in the moment of terror, flight, and trepidation. The consequences were accordingly such as might have been expected, and her highness, considering herself no longer safe in any part of the Low-countries, soon after deemed it prudent to cross the Rhine, and await more prosperous days in the heart of Germany.

CHAP. V.

1792.

declarations
of the arch-
duchess
Mary.

The French
enter Brus-
sels.

THE French being now masters of and encamped on the heights of Anderlecht, the general dispatched colonel Westermann with a trumpet to summon Brussels. Marshal Bender, on this, immediately evacuated that city, and Dumouriez entered it amidst the acclamations of the people; and, what was perhaps still more pleasing, between a double row of Austrian deserters, who lined the streets on each side, and amounted to more than four thousand*.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—November 14, 1792.

Copy of a Dispatch from General Dumouriez.

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

"YESTERDAY I presented myself before Brussels; the Austrians employed a considerable force against me, by means of which they disputed the heights of

THE French commander spent five whole days in this place, and thus afforded time to the enemy to recover from their fatigues and recruit their spirits. The delay was however rendered in some measure necessary, there being no more than fourteen thousand *livres* in the military chest for the pay of fifty thousand men. Obligated to act the part of a financier as well as a general, Dumouriez found means to borrow eighty thousand *florins* from the treasury of the capital, and even obtained a loan of three hundred thousand *livres* without interest from a private banker. All the property appertaining to the emigrants was at the same time confiscated by the French.

BOOK II.
CHAP. V.
1792.

HAVING marched through Louvain and encamped on the Pillenberg, intelligence was received that the enemy occupied the heights of Cumplich, in front of Tirlemont. Being determined to attack them in this position, the commander in chief dispatched general d'Harville to turn their left, after which he himself advanced against the Austrians with his van-guard. The engagement, which was long and bloody, terminated at length in favour of the French, who however were suffered to reap but little advantage from it; for, although the army of the duke of Saxe Tefchen was now reduced to about fifteen thousand men, yet equal judgment and intrepidity were displayed upon this occasion, and he retreated step by step, like a lion, still fighting and presenting a formidable front to the enemy.

[Nov. 20.]
Action at
Cumplich.

IN the mean time a strong party was formed against Du-

Anderlecht. Desirous to spare the blood of my fellow-citizens, I lay all night under arms, and was received this morning in Brussels as the deliverer of the Brabant nation.

“The minister of war will give you further particulars; but what I can assure you is, that it may be now said of the French army, *vires acquirit eundo*. The Austrian government has retired to Ruremonde.

“DUMOURIEZ.”

BOOK II. mouriez at Paris. The talents of this general were confessed by
 CHAP. V. all, but he was at the same time supposed to possess a genius
 1792. prone to intrigue, a mind not proof against the allurements of
 wealth, and an ambition that knew no bounds. Pache, the new
 minister at war, refused to give his assent to any of the contracts
 into which he had entered; and Cambon, then at the head of the
 finances, had insisted, without effect, that the *assignats* should be
 received in Belgium at the same rate as money.

Dumouriez
 is suspected
 by the jaco-
 bins.

THE girondists, although they doubted the fidelity of the
 commander in chief, being anxious for the triumph of the re-
 publican arms, were desirous to afford him no just ground of
 complaint; but the jacobins, who were now paramount in the
 convention, pursued a more machiavelian policy; and as they
 dreaded the treason of the general more than the success of the
 enemy, they appear to have recurred to measures expressly cal-
 culated to retard his victorious progress.

ACCORDINGLY, on the very day after the skirmish at
 Cumplich, Garat, minister of justice, transmitted a decree in
 consequence of which the commander in chief was obliged to
 arrest Malus, Petijeau, and d'Espagnac, who presided over the
 supplies of his army; and Marat already predicted, "that Du-
 mouriez would desert like la Fayette." Intelligence was received
 at the same time that the national treasury had refused to honour
 a bill of three hundred thousand livres for the pay of the army.

AFTER being detained four days longer by these obstacles, the
 commander in chief at length left Tirlemont, and encamped at St.
 [Nov. 26.] Tron. Next day he found the rear-guard of the enemy drawn
 up before Liege, with redoubts on which heavy cannon were
 mounted near the village of Varoux, while the main body was
 posted on the other side of the Meuse, on the heights of the
 Chartreuse. The engagement continued during the whole day
 between the French van, the artillery of which did not display its
 usual energy, and the enemy's rear-guard under general Staray,

who received a severe wound during the action; he nevertheless found means, after sustaining the glory of the Austrian arms, to cross the river in the course of the evening without experiencing any considerable loss. The Imperialists on this retired to Hervé, and Dumouriez having entered Liege, and posted Stengel in front of it, on the heights of Robertmont, dispatched a body of light troops to Spa, Stablo, and Malmedy, to harass the enemy's flank.

BOOK II.

CHAP. V.

1792.

The French obtain possession of Liege,

IN the mean time, the siege of the citadel of Antwerp was confided to general Miranda, who had been entrusted with the direction of the northern army. The city had already been taken possession of by the French*; but as this fortress was supposed capable of an obstinate resistance, the commander in chief resorted to extraordinary means in order to subdue it. He had accordingly prepared a flotilla of five armed vessels†, under the command of captain Moulton, an American officer in the service of France, with which he prepared to ascend the Scheldt, a river unaccustomed for ages to waft ships of burden along its deep and majestic stream.

THE states-general of Holland, in consequence of the application of the Imperial minister, had not only refused a passage, but even requested the prince of Orange, as admiral-general, to order the commander of the Dutch guardship, stationed at the

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—November 21.

A LETTER from general Labourdonnaye announced, that his advanced guard, commanded by general Lamarlière, entered the city of Antwerp on the 18th; that the magistrates delivered up the keys, and received the French with the same sentiments of fraternity which they expressed towards them.

† This little squadron consisted of—

1. The Ariel, mounting twenty-four guns;
2. A brig, carrying fourteen; and
3. Three gun-boats, provided with twenty-four pounders.

BOOK II. mouth, to inform the French commander, "that by virtue of
 CHAP. V. treaties no ship of war could enter." This, however, did not
 1792. prevent the armament from bearing the three-coloured flag
 under the walls of the citadel of Antwerp, the siege of which was
 Antwerp, conducted with such ability and success that it surrendered in a
 [Nov. 26.] few days.

THE French now proceeded in their career of success. The
 Louvain, and city of Louvain opened its gates; in the course of a few days
 Namur. more the castle of Namur also yielded to a detachment of troops
 [Dec. 2.] under general Valence; while a proclamation was issued at
 Brussels in the name of the "sovereign people," declaring, "in
 the face of heaven and of earth, that all the bonds which formerly
 united them to the house of Austria were then broken;" they at the same time proclaimed, "that they would no longer
 acknowledge any other sovereignty over the Belgick Netherlands
 than that of the nation, which had now recovered its primitive,
 imprescriptible, and unalienable rights."

THUS Dumouriez in some measure realised all his boastings; for, within the space of one month after opening the campaign, notwithstanding the sturdy opposition on the part of the enemy, and the no less formidable obstacles relative to the supply of money, clothes, ammunition, and provisions, he now found himself completely master of all the Low-countries, and the whole of the territory belonging to Liege, with the exception of the duchy of Luxembourg and the little town of Hervé.

C H A P. VI.

The People of Liege receive the French as their Deliverers—Ambitious Projects of Dumouriez—He marches against and defeats the Austrians—Places his army in Winter-quarters ; after which he repairs to Paris—Critical Situation of Custine.

THE French had now obtained complete possession of the principality of Liege, the inhabitants of which were favourable to their cause, and rejoiced exceedingly at being rescued from the dominion of an imperious ecclesiastick. They had been long at variance with the clergy, and the remains of two fortified castles on the banks of the Meuse point out the means formerly resorted to, on purpose to insure their allegiance. The impolitick conduct of the present prince-bishop had renewed the disputes of a former age ; but, being unprovided with an army, or even a garrison, his highness was at length obliged to have recourse to flight. No sooner, however, had he reached a place of safety, than he preferred a formal complaint against his subjects, whose unanimous insurrection* under Fabry, the mayor of the city, serves to demonstrate far better than any series of facts, however well authenticated, that they had been treated with injustice. The chamber of Wetzlaer being applied to, immediately condemned this notorious infraction of established usages, and published a rescript, by which the directors of the circle were enjoined to force the rebels to return to their

BOOK II.
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1792.

* August 18, 1789.

BOOK II. obedience. Frederick-William II. being charged with the
 CHAP. VI. execution of a sentence the validity of which could not be
 1792. disputed, complied with reluctance; he even took care to inter-
 pose certain modifications in behalf of the insurgents; and when
 his troops at length entered the principality, they appeared to
 have been sent thither rather for the protection than the castiga-
 tion of the inhabitants.

BUT a sudden change took place in the politicks of the court
 of Berlin: and the cause of the people of Liege being abandoned
 by the king of Prussia, in consequence of the treaty of Reichen-
 bach, prince Ferdinand of Rohan, who had been elected regent,
 was obliged to abdicate; the bishop was reinstated in his do-
 minions, and the decrees of the Imperial chamber enforced.

THE citizens, shocked rather than subdued by the desertion
 of their pretended protectors, still languished for liberty and
 vengeance; they rejoiced aloud at the recent successes of
 France, and on the advance of her armies towards their capital
 hoped that a favourable opportunity had at length arrived, not
 only of shaking off the yoke of the prince-bishop, but also of
 annulling the jurisdiction of the empire.

Plans and
 embarrass-
 ments of
 Dumouriez.

SUCH were the people whom Dumouriez now wished to re-
 gulate according to his fancy, and whose government he hoped
 to model so as to correspond with his own views. As a
 powerful party was formed against him in Paris, he was desirous
 to oppose its efforts by means of resources obtained solely by
 himself; to carry on the war without the assistance of the
 metropolis; and then, with a victorious army, either restore the
 imprisoned king, or set up a new dynasty in the family of
 Orleans, as best suited his views. In conformity to these designs,
 he was extremely desirous that the inhabitants of Liege should
 declare themselves an independent nation, because, relying on
 their warlike disposition, he hoped within the space of a few days
 to be furnished with a large body of infantry; while they, at the

same time, levied a formidable militia for their own internal defence. He expected that the Belgians would be induced to follow their example, and that he should thus have the entire disposal of all the military forces and pecuniary resources of both states. After driving the Austrians beyond the Rhine, it was his intention to dissolve the convention, to proclaim the first constitution, and, like another Monk, restore the monarchy, utterly regardless of the consent of the people, the violation of principles, and the breach of oaths*.

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BUT the ruling party at Paris had already divined his plans, and prevented their execution. He himself also appears at this period to have been placed in a disagreeable situation: for as France was not actually at war with the empire, he was unable to pursue the enemy without crossing the duchy of Juliers; neither could he render his winter-quarters secure unless he placed a garrison in its capital.

NOR was he less embarrassed in respect to Holland. He found it impossible to advance, or even to retain the navigation of the Maese, without being in possession of Maestricht, where more than two thousand emigrants had taken refuge, and recruited publicly for the army of the exiled princes.

THE French commander in chief was extremely desirous to obtain this fortress by violence or fraud: he therefore proposed that it should either be seized by force of arms, or that an ancient claim in behalf of the people of Liege on one of its quarters should be renewed, and a body of troops belonging to that nation permitted to advance against it, while the French appeared to act merely in the character of auxiliaries. It was with this view that he transmitted orders to general Miranda, who had advanced to Ruremonde, to send for his heavy artillery to Tongres, where he was to establish his head-quarters; and in

* La Vie du Général Dumouriez, t. III.

BOOK II. the mean time he was instructed to extend his cantonments
 CHAP. VI. along the left bank of the Maese, so as to be able to invest the
 1792. fortrefs. After having commenced the siege with 30,000 men, he himself proposed to march at the head of an equal number of troops, in order first to drive the Imperialists from Aix-la-Chapelle, and then chase them beyond the Rhine.

BUT Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, in conformity to the decided opinion of the executive council, refused to sanction so wanton an aggression; and Brissot and the girondists, who still possessed considerable influence in the convention, although not in the capital, deemed it highly imprudent to arm Holland and her allies against the republick.

DUMOURIEZ, therefore, after dispatching general Lamarlière to levy contributions in the duchy of Cleves belonging to the king Prussia, determined to march immediately against the Austrians, as he was forced to abandon the other part of his plan. But his army, still encamped behind Liege, was deprived of every comfort. Some of the battalions were entirely destitute of shoes and stockings; whole regiments were infected with the itch; neither straw nor wood could be obtained; and Ronfin the commissary-general, who was at variance with the commander in chief, only supplied the army with provisions from day to day. In the midst of these multiplied difficulties the soldiers deserted in bands; and, as forage could not be procured, the artillery and cavalry suffered greatly, 6000 horses having actually perished in the course of two months.

AT length, the general having borrowed, or rather exacted, the sum of one hundred and fourteen thousand livres from the seven collegiate churches of Liege, determined to set out in quest of the enemy, now posted in divisions communicating with each other at Aix-la-Chapelle, Hervé, and Henry-Chapelle. Having dispatched colonels Trecheville and de Hack to act against their left flank, he ordered general Stengel to advance in

front. The Imperialists, after maintaining their position for some time with their accustomed valour, retired with the loss of about three hundred men, and general Clairfayt immediately occupied a new and formidable position behind the Herfste. The French had only to accomplish a march of ten leagues in order to dislodge him, but bread and forage were absolutely wanting to enable them to conclude the campaign by so brilliant an enterprise *.

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WHILE the victorious armies of the republick extended their fame and their conquests, and threatened the humiliation of all their enemies, the convention began to experience the degrading influence of Robespierre and Marat. Pro-consular power was voted to commissioners avaricious and venal †, plunder became organised into a system, the ecclesiastical property in Belgium was sequestered, and the trial and execution of the king decided upon.

To add to the calamities of France, at this moment a period was about to be put to her successes in Germany. Custine, partly in consequence of not being properly supported by Kellermann, and partly by his own imprudence, was forced to evacuate Francfort; while the Prussians, who might have been annihilated during their retreat from France, after exhibiting the most distinguished marks of discipline and perseverance, now occupied that city, as well as Coblenz and Treves. The French general, so lately victorious on the banks of the Rhine and the Maine, was obliged to supplicate succour and assistance. To retrieve his recent misfortunes, he proposed to penetrate into Franconia, at the head of forty thousand troops, and Beurnonville was expressly entrusted with the army of the Moselle on purpose to assist him; but Valence was not permitted to attack

* See Life of Dumouriez, v. III. p. 416.

† Decree of Dec. 15, 1792.

BOOK II. Treves and Coblentz in conformity to his request, nor would
CHAP. VI.

1792.

Dumouriez march against and besiege Luxembourg with a view of producing a diversion in his favour, although the executive council had issued its commands for that purpose. Money, provisions, magazines, and even arms and ammunition, were all wanting at this moment, and the grossest mismanagement now prevailed in the war department, and throughout all the various branches of publick administration.

UNDER pretext of consulting the ministers relative to the approaching campaign, Dumouriez repaired to Paris about this period; but his real motive, according to his own account, was to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. To effect this, he pretends to have secretly introduced a considerable body of troops into the capital, and to have employed general Thouvenot, and an adjutant of the name of Poutrel, to direct their movements. But the Parisians were at this moment outrageous against their late king, and the influence of the jacobins now preponderated in the convention. The national guards were taught to consider Louis XVI. as a perjured and perfidious prince; and the commander in chief himself confesses *, that even the troops of the line had become indifferent to his fate.

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. III. p. 428.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

The Execution of Louis XVI. either the Cause or the Pretext of a new War—Of the Situation of Holland and England anterior to that Epoch.

A LEAGUE of foreign princes, not content with the repeated plunder and dismemberment of Poland, and still aiming at the utter subversion of that state, had endeavoured to extend their gigantick projects to France, and fondly hoped to overturn a constitution which, by limiting the despotism of an absolute monarch, exhibited but too seductive an example to the nations subjected to their own yoke. The destruction of the Bastille accordingly seemed to be the signal for hostilities to one part of Europe; while the melancholy catastrophe of Louis XVI. appeared to produce a new combination of states, some free and some enslaved, and not only rendered the contest more general, but also more ferocious. The blood that streamed from the trunk of the decollated monarch seemed to be transfused into the banners of such of the surrounding nations as either wished with a romantick generosity to avenge his fall, or with a perfidious policy to take advantage of the anarchy likely to accompany it. From that moment the conflict assumed a wider range and a more savage aspect; as if not content with one element, the ocean

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.
1792.

BOOK III. began to redden with carnage, and the death of a single king
CHAP. I. upon a publick scaffold, an event which had been contem-
1792. plated towards the middle of the seventeenth century by Europe
with apparent indifference, either afforded a cause or a pretext
at the latter end of the eighteenth for the sacrifice of near a
million of mankind!

THE contest with France until then was confined to the courts of Berlin and Vienna, which had been forced to withdraw their armies, and were now threatened with a severe retaliation; while the king of Sardinia, who acted the part of a feeble ally and an impotent enemy, beheld the three-coloured flag advancing towards the walls of his capital. But at this eventful epoch in the history of the war, fresh schemes of subjugation were formed, new alliances entered into, and ancient enmities forgotten.

SPAIN, no longer cherishing her jealousy of one of the great maritime powers, and actuated by a generous indignation rather than an enlightened policy, immediately began to arm. The court of Naples prepared to follow the example of its ally, and support the cause of kings, at the same time that it avenged a family quarrel. The resumption of Avignon, and the refusal of the customary tribute extorted by superstition from ignorance, afforded grounds for resentment on the part of the Holy See; but the degraded state of religion, the persecution of its ministers, the overthrow of its altars, and the murder of an anointed monarch, presented far more popular pretexts to a pontiff who, in compliance with the maxims of his predecessors, sedulously endeavoured to identify the cause of the church with that of the Divinity.

PORTUGAL, scarcely possessing a will of its own, was ready to follow in the train of a protector; but Sweden and Denmark, tenacious of the blessings of peace, could neither be seduced nor terrified into hostilities. The empress of Russia, too wise to dream of distant conquests on the banks of the Seine, confined her

repentment against France to the dismissal of an ambassador *; while she at the same time manifested her singular hatred at injustice and innovation by marching her numerous armies to the borders of the Vistula, and seizing on the territories of a republic, rendered incapable of resistance by the licentiousness of its grandees, and the slavery of its peasants.

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Two other states, more opulent in consequence of being more commercial, and at once more happy and more respectable because more free, demand particular mention.

HOLLAND, which had so long profited by the follies and the prejudices of other nations, was doomed to be involved, and that too without her own consent, in a contest fatal to her independence. In order to conceive a just idea of a measure even then considered as equivocal, it is now only necessary to compare her former with her present situation.

WARS are generally unprofitable to states purely commercial; but they become eminently dangerous when the love of wealth has extinguished the love of glory, and the citizen, constantly in search of the gain derived from traffick, confides his arms to the hands of a mercenary whom he pays for protecting him. A recurrence to the genius of the people, the nature of the government, the history of the recent discontents, and the critical situation of the first magistrate, fully demonstrated the benefits to be derived from a sage neutrality; but the indiscreet zeal of a public functionary, and an ancient ally, precipitated the states-general into an abyss of calamities.

ORIGINALLY a race of humble fishermen, the Dutch, inspired by the voice of liberty, contended with and actually overcame

* During the summer of 1792, her imperial majesty was pleased to intimate to the sieur Genet, 'that he must quit her capital in eight days, and the states of Russia as soon after as possible.' This extraordinary mode of dismissing an ambassador was soon after imitated by the British cabinet.

BOOK III. the power of the Spanish monarchy, although supported by veteran armies and succoured by the thunders of the vatican, which
 CHAP. I.
 1792.

had not then ceased to be formidable. After triumphing over kings, popes, and superstition, finding their own country too narrow for their wants, they reaped a rich harvest in the neighbouring seas, acquired extensive dominions in the East, and disputed the empire of the ocean, for two centuries, with the greatest and most opulent kingdoms of Europe. The princes of the House of Orange, who had assisted in their liberation, derived not only glory but the most solid benefits from their patriotism, for they enjoyed all the advantages without sharing in any of the inconveniences attached to royalty: they became captains-general and commanders in chief both by sea and land; they formed alliances with the most illustrious families; and at length the head of one of them * was adorned with the crown of the first free state in the universe.

BUT, if brave and gallant, they were also ambitious: they aspired to the sole direction of the affairs of the United States; and, not content with this, they claimed a right by birth to regulate the administration of an independent nation, thus assuming a superiority that seemed to set the laws at defiance. Although great, they were not however uniformly successful, for they were sometimes stripped of their power and reduced to the rank of simple citizens: at one memorable epoch, the republican genius of De Witt triumphed, and the stadtholdership was abolished.

BUT the talents and energy of William III. not only restored but augmented the power of his family, and from that time it assumed prerogatives which became dangerous and even insupportable in the hands of his less energetick successors.

To possess all the pretensions without inheriting all the talents of his family, was less the crime than the misfortune of William V. ;

* William III.

and it would be unbecoming perhaps in the native of a country which ranks his ancestor among the greatest of her kings, too freely to censure a magistrate whose uniform attachment to her interests has proved the ruin of his house.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.
1792.

THE political conduct of the prince of Orange during the American war excited the rage of the Dutch patriots ; while certain claims, urged soon after by his highness, served to embitter their resentment*.

COMMOTIONS having ensued, many of the cities abolished the privileges formerly conferred upon his ancestors ; on this the stadtholder resorted to force, and employed troops against two of the refractory towns†. But the states of Holland, offended at his conduct, menaced to deprive him of all his privileges ; and a petty civil war having taken place, the Dutch proved victorious over their first magistrate.

A PRETENDED insult offered to his sister soon after called down the vengeance of Frederick-William II., who immediately assembled an army in Westphalia, while England armed in the same cause, and France, then governed by the cardinal de Brienne, betrayed by a perfidious timidity the nation which she had solemnly promised to support. The duke of Brunswick, who was entrusted with the subjugation of Holland, perceiving the Dutch to be abandoned by their allies, advanced without hesitation : several of the frontier towns were surrendered ; Utrecht capitulated, Amsterdam itself, the last refuge of the states of Holland, was forced to yield ; and in the space of twenty days, twenty thousand Prussians overcame that republic which had so gal-

* These consisted, 1st, Of the privilege to influence the election of deputies to the states-general and the magistrates of the cities, by means of circular letters : and 2dly, Of the sole right to pass through a certain gate called *la Porte Stat-boudèrienne*, to the hall of the states. It is no less surprising than true, that a pertinacious adherence to these frivolous but perhaps dangerous privileges on the part of the first magistrate, at length produced his exile and overthrow !

† Hattem and Elburg.

BOOK III. lantly and fuccessfully contended with Philip II. for its liberties,
 CHAP. I. and Louis XIV. for its independence.

1792.

BUT this victory was not used with discretion, and Holland appeared to be rather over-run than subdued. The patriots, indignant at the treatment they now received, thirsted in their turn after vengeance. Some left a country where they could no longer reside in safety; while others remained there, notwithstanding the oppressions exercised against them, in hopes of a change.

AT length the revolution which had occurred in a neighbouring country inspired confidence and obtained for them the promise of support and assistance. The refugees found an asylum in Belgium, where they formed themselves into regiments and were taught the use of arms. In consequence of their vicinity, they had been enabled to keep up a regular intercourse with their countrymen, and became acquainted with every event favourable to their cause. The increase of the internal imposts, the decay of trade, the alleged misapplication of the publick money, the countenance given to the French emigrants, and, above all, the real or supposed usurpations on the part of the first magistrate, had greatly increased the number of the discontented; and there were not a few who preferred even a foreign yoke, which they considered as but transitory, to the continued horrors of domestic subjugation.

THE war of opinions had already commenced in Britain, and some machiavelian politicians now began to augur the necessity of a war of another kind. A divine *, alike respectable for his talents and his integrity, having preached a sermon asserting the justice of the English revolution at the latter end of the seventeenth century, and anticipating much happiness from that which had so recently occurred in France, some persons were pleased to take umbrage at his opinions; but it was reserved for an eloquent

* Dr. Price.

statesman*, who was supposed to have devoted the whole of his life to the cause of liberty, to attempt a refutation. The elegant work in which he endeavoured with considerable success to gild and varnish the obsolete doctrines of a Filmer, a Brady, and a Sacheverel, lost him many friends; but, on the other hand, it gained him the hearts of all his former enemies, and not only procured the prospect and even the promise of a peerage, but rescued himself and family from the thralldom of a ruined fortune.

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THE rewards prematurely announced for tenets such as these, and that too during the reign of a family whose elevation from the electoral to the regal dignity originated solely in the just claim of the nation to alter, reform, and change its government, occasioned much surprise and provoked many able replies. As the current of popular opinion did not then flow exactly in the same direction with the favour of the court, a pamphlet entitled “The Rights of Man,” in which sentiments of an opposite kind were maintained with peculiar asperity of animadversion, was read and circulated in such a manner as to alarm the administration. Editions were multiplied in every possible form and size; it was alike seen in the hands of the noble and the plebeian, and became at length translated into the various languages of Europe. So great and so general was the effect, that it seemed to operate like an electric shock, and actually produced a species of political earthquake, the vibrations of which affected more or less every mind in the kingdom.

THE cabinet council, eager to consider this daring reply as the signal of alarm, soon after issued a proclamation against “wicked and seditious libels;” prosecutions were commenced with a zeal hitherto unknown since the extinction of the Star-chamber, and the press became at length subject to restraints that but ill accorded with our accustomed notions respecting liberty.

* Right hon. Edmund Burke.

BOOK III. It was thus reserved for the singular fortune of an unlettered
 CHAP. I. man *, after contributing by one publication † to the emanci-
 1792. pation of the Trans-Atlantick continent, to terrify and almost to
 subdue the first state in Europe by another !

THE inhabitants of Great Britain, whose aversion from the French had chiefly originated in the degrading nature of their government, rejoiced to behold a neighbouring nation rescuing itself from the bondage of ages, and asserting its rights to a free constitution. Many political clubs and societies were eager to felicitate the first assembly on its labours : some of them actually transmitted shoes for the troops about to contend in the cause of freedom, and even contributed money to furnish them with arms against those who wished either to intimidate or to enslave them. Of the addresses which accompanied these presents, a few were unobjectionable ; but several were couched in language calculated to give offence to moderate men of all parties, and abounded with such inflammatory allusions in respect to the British government that they incurred the severest censure and reprehension.

ENGLAND was at this period recovering fast from the wounds inflicted by the American war. The genius of the country had been suffered to develop itself in the elegance, variety, and cheapness of its manufactures. Every market in the world was supplied with her commodities ; the cities of Europe, Asia, and America, glittered with her productions ; the seraglios of Constantinople, the barbarian majesty of Fez and Tangiers, as well as the more refined luxury displayed in the harams of the East, and even the pagodas of China and Japan, were embellished by her artisans. Every strait, every bay, and every sea, was visited by our ships ; and there was scarcely a portion of the habitable globe that might not be considered as contributing at the same time to

* Mr. Paine.

† Common Sense.

the opulence of our adventurous merchants, and the necessities of
our numerous poor.

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NEVER was the idea of a war less popular than at the epoch now alluded to. A generous sentiment of forbearance pervaded the whole nation, and many men of the greatest weight, talents, and consequence in the kingdom, were decidedly adverse to hostilities. Among the friends of peace in one house of parliament appeared a Bedford, doomed to perish before his talents were fully unfolded; a Lauderdale, distinguished by the depth and extent of his knowledge; a Stanhope, celebrated for his philosophical attainments, and already obnoxious to those in power from the pertinacity of his principles; a Lansdowne, who had occupied the highest situations in the state, and was grown hoary in the contemplation of publick affairs. In another was seen a Grey, just bursting into manhood, and yet already celebrated for his various acquirements; a Sheridan, equally delighting by the keenness of his wit, and convincing by the strength of his arguments; a Fox, by a rare union of virtues and of talents, exhibiting the philanthropist, the statesman, and the orator, in the same person.

ON the other hand, a minister, justly celebrated for his know-
ledge of finance, and at the same time capable of displaying the
most distinguished eloquence, at this critical period presided over
the councils of the nation. Such was the restless activity of his
mind, that every court of Europe had been by turns the theatre
of his diplomatick exploits; and Spain and Russia already felt
that he was desirous of acquiring a new species of glory. The
virtues and abilities of his father had originally engendered a
partiality in his favour, and the ingenuous modesty of his early
youth rendered him at one time peculiarly dear to every English-
man. The injustice, the venality, and the corruption displayed
in the course of the American war, were the themes by means
of which he allured the nation and attained the highest offices of
the state: for he had acted the part of a tribune of the people

The ministry,
and

BOOK III. before he was deemed fit to become the minister of a king.

CHAP. I.

1792.

Eagerly seizing on every occasion to descant on the degeneracy of the constitution, Pitt appeared even then for a time zealous to restore it to its original purity: these were doubtless the genuine sentiments of a heart as yet uncorrupted by power; but unhappily for his country, if not for himself, the son of the earl of Chatham, while yet a boy, had discovered an insatiable ambition, which prompting him to spurn at the idea of ascending by the usual gradations of office, taught him at the same time to aspire to, and even to attain, the summit of command at a single bound.

THIS youthful statesman had now in some measure lost the confidence of the great body of the nation, by the abandonment of the principles on which his reputation was at first founded; and those who pretended to have studied his character, prognosticated long before the present period, that all his seductive schemes for the reform of parliament, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the diminution of the publick burdens, would be offered up as a sacrifice on the altar of power.

THE cabinet, in which the towering genius of the premier over-shadowed the influence of his colleagues, was in part filled, at this critical period, with those very men who had formerly failed in the attempt to enforce the claims of Great Britain to tax her unrepresented colonies, and were supposed to have incurred no small share of odium by countenancing the most disastrous war that this country had ever witnessed.

the alarmists. THESE soon received a considerable accession and support from the ranks of opposition. Fitzwilliam took the enemies of his former faith to his bosom, with all the zeal of a new convert, but soon found himself stung to the heart by the perfidious embrace. Windham, aiming perhaps to conduct that war for which he had been so strenuous an advocate, was desirous to exhibit the same talents against the republican

French, that he had before displayed in behalf of the insurgent Americans; while Burke, himself an host, prepared to exhaust the powers of a mind gifted with every science, and of a tongue that still fascinated every hearer, against a nation which he bitterly reproached with having at the same time contumeliously overturned the throne of its kings, and the altars of its God.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1792.

C H A P. II.

The ruling Party in France adverse to a War with the English—Chauvelin and Talleyrand sent over on Purpose to keep up a good Understanding between the two Nations—The King of Great Britain refuses his Mediation—Disputes relative to the Opening of the Scheldt, and the new System of Fraternisation—Political Clubs and Societies—First Mission of Maret—Proceedings of the English Cabinet on receiving Intelligence of the Execution of Louis XVI.—Second Mission of Maret—Declaration of War—Both Governments culpable.

BOOK III. FROM the commencement of the French revolution, many of
 CHAP. II. the popular leaders had been eager for a war with the house of
 1792-3. Austria; but it was manifestly contrary to the interests, as well
 as to the wishes of all descriptions of persons, the royalists only
 excepted, to enter into a contest with England. The ruling
 party appears, on the contrary, to have been particularly eager
 to conciliate the esteem of a country, which at this period not
 only possessed the command of the ocean, but had attained an
 unexampled degree of freedom and prosperity, in consequence
 of an event similar in principle to that which had so recently oc-
 curred in their own.

Disposition of
 the French in
 respect to
 England.

IT was with this view, that M. Chauvelin had been nominated minister-plenipotentiary to the court of London, and M. Talleyrand associated with him in that important embassy. The former began his political career, by exposing the motives and maintaining the justice of the war in which France was forced to engage for the support of her independence. He also demanded

and obtained, that such of the articles of the late treaty of navigation and commerce as applied to the present circumstances should be enforced. But a few days previously to a compliance with this request, a proclamation made its appearance; in which, after noticing the attempts recurred to with a view of fowing sedition among the people of England, it was intimated "that a correspondence had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts." On this, the French minister, perceiving the effect likely to be produced by a declaration which had been officially communicated to both houses of parliament, determined to obviate the accusation, and disavow the fact in the name of the king and the legislative body. We find the same ambassadour soon after soliciting without effect the mediation of Great Britain, and imploring his majesty "to employ his good offices with his allies, to dissuade them from granting, either directly or indirectly, any assistance to the enemies of France, and to inspire them with respect for her independence."

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1792-3.

BUT no sooner did official intelligence arrive of the assault of the Tuilleries, and the imprisonment of the king, than earl Gower was immediately recalled from Paris; and that nobleman took care to intimate before his departure, that any violence committed against the royal family, would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout Europe. This conduct tended but little to soothe a nation excited, by a variety of causes at this period, to a degree of morbid irritation: nor was the threat held out against the perpetrators of any outrage of this kind, calculated to produce the desired effect; more especially as, in consequence of a special application on the part of the British minister at the Hague, a similar resolution was adopted by the states-general: the prevailing party in France were thus dared to execute a deed which, however odious it might be deemed, had been committed in England, about a century and a half before, with impunity.

Return of the
English am-
bassadour.

BOOK III. IN the mean time the executive council, notwithstanding the
 CHAP. II. English ambassadour had been recalled, delegated new powers to
 1792-3. M. Chauvelin ; the secretary of state, however, not only refused
 to acknowledge him in any diplomattick capacity, but even
 returned his letters.

Conduct of
 the French
 government.

THE disputes between the governments of the two countries were not entirely confined to punctilios. The convention, exasperated to desperation by the conduct of most of the neighbouring courts, had recurred to a measure utterly unjustifiable in its own nature, and tending in its consequences to produce a general insurrection throughout Europe. This was the famous decree of fraternity, ordered to be published in all languages ; by which assistance was offered in the name of the French people to every nation desirous to recover its freedom, while the generals at the head of the armies were empowered to protect such foreign citizens as had suffered or might suffer in the cause of liberty*.

ANOTHER subject of complaint, but in which England was far less interested than her allies, originated in the measures lately adopted for the free navigation of the Scheldt † ; an event likely to affect the prosperity of Holland, a country which, notwithstanding the petty rivalry of trade, and the uncordial operations of a narrow commercial jealousy, it was manifestly her interest to protect.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.

DECREE of fraternity, sitting of the 19th of November, 1792.—“ The National Convention declares in the name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty ; and it charges the executive power to send the necessary orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend those citizens who have suffered or may suffer in the cause of liberty.” On the motion of Serjeant, it was resolved “ that this decree be translated into and printed in all languages.”

† Decree of the executive council of France for the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse, November 16, 1792.

A PERSON * enjoying the confidence of the French minister for foreign affairs, laboured to explain these transactions in a satisfactory manner, during two successive interviews with a leading member † of the English cabinet : and Chauvelin, waving the ceremony of his recognition, asserted, that the decree of fraternity which had given so much umbrage, was not applicable to Great Britain ; but, on the contrary, “ that France ought and would respect not only the independence of England, but also of such of her allies as she was not at war with ; and he had been charged,” he said, “ formally to declare—that there was no intention to attack Holland, so long as that power should confine itself within the bounds of an exact neutrality.”

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1792-3.

THE English ministry, however, would not accept of any interpretation or explanation of the conduct of the French government, and began already to adopt measures respecting foreigners that gave fresh cause of uneasiness, and produced new complaints on the part of Chauvelin, who stated that the alien bill was subversive of one of the articles of the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded in 1786 ‡. A proclamation was also issued about the same time, prohibiting the exportation of grain and flour ; ships freighted with these commodities for France were stopped ; and although foreign wheat was afterwards accepted, yet vessels laden with corn of this description, and bound thither, were actually detained.

Conduct of
the English
government.

[Dec. 7.]

At length the French ambassadour having with some difficulty obtained an audience of lord Grenville, communicated a paper from the minister for foreign affairs in the name of the executive council. After stating the sincere desire of peace that existed on the part of the French nation, and observing that Spain, a power of the first order, and nearly related to Louis XVI. had exhibited

The French
minister re-
monstrates
and

* M. Maret, at present secretary of state under the French consuls.

† Mr. Pitt.

‡ Article IV.

BOOK III. more respect to Burgoing, than was evinced towards Chau-
 CHAP. II. velin, Le Brun proceeds to animadvert on the differences sub-
 1792-3. sisting between the two states. In respect to the decree of the
 19th of November, he maintained that it was not intended to
 countenance the "seditious of all nations," but that it applied
 merely "to the single case, in which the *general will* of a
 people, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call in the
 French nation to its assistance and fraternity;" and he added,
 explains. "that sedition can never be construed into the *general will*.
 These two ideas," continues he, "mutually repel each other,
 since a sedition is not and cannot be any other than the move-
 ment of a small number against the nation at large; and this
 movement would cease to be seditious, provided all the members
 of a society should at once rise, either to correct their govern-
 ment, or change its form wholly, or for any other object. The
 Dutch assuredly were not seditious, when they formed the
 generous resolution of shaking off the yoke of Spain; and when
 the general will of that nation called for the assistance of France,
 it was not reputed a crime in Henry IV. or in Elizabeth of Eng-
 land, to have listened to them."

IN respect to the free navigation of the Scheldt, he observes,
 "that this question is absolutely indifferent to England; that it
 is of little consequence to Holland; but that it is extremely im-
 portant to the Belgians." "The emperour, to secure the possession
 of the Low-countries," says he, "sacrificed without scruple the
 most inviolable of rights. Master of those fine provinces, he
 governed them, as Europe has seen, with the rod of absolute
 despotism; respected only such of their privileges as it was
 his interest to preserve, and either destroyed or perpetually
 struggled to destroy the rest. France enters into a war with the
 house of Austria, expels it from the Low-countries, and calls
 back to freedom those very people whom the court of Vienna had
 devoted to slavery; their chains are broken; they re-enter into

all the rights which Austria had taken away from them. How can those which they possessed with respect to the Scheldt be excepted, particularly when that right is only of importance to those who are deprived of it?" "If hostile preparations," adds he, "are continued in the English ports; if we are still obliged to hear haughty language—after having exhausted every means to preserve peace, we will prepare for war, with a sense of the justice of our cause, and of our sincere efforts to avoid this extremity: we will fight the English, whom we esteem, with regret; but we will fight them without fear*."

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1793.

AFTER an ineffectual negociation, spun out to an unusual length, the English cabinet, through the medium of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, at length notified as the price of peace, that France "should renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement;" or, in other words, relinquish all her conquests, and "confine herself within her own territory †;" these stipulations are considered as the "dispositions," which "could alone contribute to the maintenance of peace and good understanding ‡."

SUCH was the critical state of affairs between the ruling parties in two neighbouring nations, when the catastrophe of Louis XVI., which had been for some time anticipated, rendered all attempts at conciliation abortive. On receiving intelligence of this event, lord Grenville immediately notified to the French ambassadour, that his publick functions, which were before suspended, being now entirely terminated, his majesty had thought fit to command

Effect produced by the execution of the king.

* Translation of a paper delivered by M. Chauvelin to lord Grenville, Jan. 13, 1793.

† Letter from lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, dated December 31, 1792.

‡ Letter from the same to the same, dated January 18, 1793.

BOOK III. that he should retire from the kingdom within the space eight
 CHAP. II. days *. The order of council for that purpose was soon after com-
 1793. municated to both houses of parliament; and it was expressly
 stated, that this extraordinary exertion of the royal prerogative
 had been resorted to "in consequence of the late atrocious act
 perpetrated at Paris."

Preparations
for war.

A NUMBER of sinister prognosticks already foretold the ap-
 proaching storm. The sudden convocation of parliament; the
 embodying of the militia, and the march of the regular troops,
 all announced that great changes were expected. But one cir-
 cumstance, apparently calculated to infuse terror and excite alarm,
 produced no small degree of surprise. This was the fortification
 of the old and ruinous building called the Tower; the outworks
 of which were attempted to be strengthened by means of casks
 filled with earth, as if some internal commotion had been
 dreaded, and an assault on the part of the populace hourly
 expected.

Critical situa-
tion of the
French.

IN the mean time the national convention and executive coun-
 cil were seriously alarmed at the hostile disposition manifested by
 the English cabinet. A naval war was greatly to be dreaded,
 more especially at a period when the nobles, who seem to have
 been exclusively consecrated to the sea-service, had emigrated in

* *Copy of his Majesty the King of Great Britain's Order in Council, of the 24th January, 1793, afterwards published in the London Gazette.*

"At the Court at the Queen's-house, the 24th of January, 1793.

"The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"His majesty in council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that mon-
 sieur Chauvelin, who was received by his majesty, on the 2d day of May, 1792, as
 minister-plenipotentiary accredited by his late most christian majesty, do depart
 this realm, on or before the 1st day of February next; and that the right ho-
 nourable lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs,
 do make known this his majesty's order to the said Monsieur Chauvelin.

(Signed)

"W. FAWKENER."

immense numbers from their native country. The forlorn state of the colonies too, was a continual subject of grief, and even of despair, as the possessions of the republick on the continent of Asia were exposed to an easy conquest by land, while the sugar islands, in case of a war, must inevitably fall a prey to superiour fleets. Nor was it forgotten, that the immense wealth of that nation would enable her to continue the contest with many obvious advantages, both in the East and West Indies; while her subsidies might unite the discordant interests of rival powers, and enable the armies of the European sovereigns to persevere also in the conflict.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1793.

ACTUATED by these considerations, it was accordingly determined to make great sacrifices to ensure peace; and a person who had been employed before on a confidential mission, was once more sent to London with proposals for an immediate accommodation. These are said to have embraced every subject in dispute between the two nations, and to have even included the evacuation of Savoy and Belgium; but, unhappily for the cause of humanity, Maret experienced the fate of Chauvelin, and was forced to leave England without disclosing the particulars of his mission *.

Propositions
to avert war.

ON this it was deemed necessary to vindicate the dignity of the new republick by force of arms. Brissot, in the name of

Measures
adopted on
the part of

* Notwithstanding the pertinacity of the English ministry, it has been asserted that lord Auckland, then ambassador in Holland, evinced a desire to treat with the French government; and that too, through the mediation of Dumouriez, who about this period assumed the title of "The general of the *Sans Culottes*." That officer, who possessed a great versatility of talents, and deemed himself equally favoured by Mars and Minerva, aspired about this period to appear in the character of plenipotentiary to England, to regulate the terms of a solid and lasting peace; but the abrupt dismissal of Chauvelin put an end to his career as a negociator.—See *Tableau Hist. & Polit.* t. III. and also a copy of a letter from Dumouriez to Miranda, inserted in "A Collection of State Papers," vol. I. p. 246.

BOOK III. three united committees *, had already presented a report to the
 CHAP. II. national convention †, in which it was stated, that if satisfaction
 1793. were not obtained, the most rigorous measures ought to be
 the conven- adopted, to repel the aggression of the British ministry; and
 tion. he thought proper on this occasion to address the following
 inflammatory apostrophe to the English nation: "The war
 which your cabinet meditates against us, is an impious fratricidal war, which we cannot think of without horror. To live in peace with you is only our wish; we will respect your rights and those of your allies; respect our principles.—

"If you entertain any doubts concerning our conduct, we are prepared to dispel them: but if you are weak enough to obey the perfidious dictates of your ministry; if you will lend your assistance in the battles they prepare; then we declare with grief, that we can only contemplate in you cruel enemies, the brethren of those satellites of Austria whose destruction we have already sworn."

No sooner had the French minister been ordered to leave the territories of Great Britain, and all attempts for further negotiation spurned at, than the same deputy presented a second report, in which he not only urged the necessity of an immediate declaration of war against England and Holland, but attempted to arouse the martial spirit of his countrymen by an appeal to their patriotism: "Let every citizen," says he, "be ready to march like a Roman soldier, not only with his arms, but his provisions for a given time: thus you will frustrate the calculations of your enemies, respecting the deficiency of your magazines. Let Frenchmen compose but one great army; let all France become one camp! Let us prepare for ruins and

* The two committees for naval and diplomatick affairs, and that for general defence.

† January 12, 1793.

misfortunes, and accustom ourselves to live without those comforts which we might have once deemed necessary. The moment is approaching, when it will be a crime for a citizen to possess two coats, while one single brother remains unclothed.”

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1793.

BRISOT at the same time presented the plan of a decree, in which were detailed the motives for the commencement of hostilities: these consisted of the withdrawing of the English ambassadour from Paris; the discontinuance of all official correspondence with the French minister at London; the refusal to acknowledge the provisional executive council instituted by the legislative assembly, as well as the national convention and the republick; the embargo laid on corn intended to be exported to France; the prohibition of *assignats*; the alien bill; the protection and pecuniary succours afforded to the emigrants; and, lastly, the order for the ambassadour of France to quit the dominions of Great Britain within the space of eight days.

Decree of war
against Great
Britain and
Holland.

THE complaints against Holland were solely confined to the prince of Orange, who was said to have treated the agents of France with contempt; to have welcomed the emigrants; to have maltreated the patriots; to have liberated the forgers of *assignats*; to have ordered a Dutch squadron to join the English, by whom he was influenced; to have opened a loan to support the expences of the war; and to have obstructed the exportation of provisions to France, while he favoured the supply of the Prussian and Austrian magazines. Considering these grievances as tantamount to acts of hostility, and equivalent to a formal declaration for that purpose, the national convention immediately decreed, that the French republick was at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.

[Feb. 1.]
[Feb. 11.]

EXACTLY ten days after this, a manifesto against France was drawn up on the part of Great Britain, and signed at the Queen's-house, reciting, that “divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place there, in derogation of his majesty's crown and the just rights

Counter-de-
claration on
the part of
England.

BOOK III. of his people," and that "several unjust seizures had been made of
 CHAP. II. the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects," followed afterwards
 1793. "by an open declaration of war against his majesty and his ally the
 republick of the United Provinces." The king of Great Britain,
 therefore, being determined to adopt such measures as are necessary
 for "vindicating the honour of his crown, and procuring repara-
 tion and satisfaction to his injured subjects," was pleased to order
 that "general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and
 subjects of France."

THUS a new and disastrous conflict took place, from the guilt
 and odium of which, the ruling parties in both nations have
 anxiously endeavoured to vindicate themselves. Certain it is,
 however, that this is the first war undertaken by Great Britain,
 since the epoch of the revolution, that admits of doubt, either
 in respect to the precise cause, or the immediate object; and we
 are even at this day reduced to the necessity of guessing rather
 than detailing its motives on our part.

Ostenfible
 causes of the
 war:

1. Relative
 to the Scheldt;

THE shutting up of the Scheldt, however obnoxious such a
 measure may seem, had been repeatedly guaranteed by all the
 great maritime states of Europe, and by England and France in
 particular. That the new republick had violated this guarantee,
 not only by an express decree of the executive council, but also
 by an armed squadron fitted out for this very purpose, is noto-
 rious; but the question still remains to be decided, whether this
 infraction afforded a just cause for war? In the first place, it is
 contrary to the laws of nations, to deprive the inhabitants of any
 country of the benefits arising from the navigation of a river,
 intended by nature to supply their wants: in the next, the
 sovereignty of Belgium no longer appertained to the house of
 Austria, and consequently the consent of one of the principal
 contracting parties was thus rendered unavailing.

BUT, supposing this treaty to have been strictly binding, Holland,
 in whose favour the restriction had been originally obtained, appears

to have waved her claims to its enforcement, and to have been greatly alarmed at the idea of a contest, which might in the event, and actually did, involve both her commerce and her independence in one common ruin.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1793.

THE next great object in dispute was the decree, implicating neutral as well as hostile powers, and which was but too well calculated to give alarm to every government in Europe, because it officiously held out a pretext for interference in domestick quarrels, and afforded hopes of encouragement and protection to the disaffected of all nations. Attempts were indeed made to qualify this declaration, by limiting the assistance promised to such general insurrections as had occurred in Holland at one period, and in England at another; but it is greatly to be lamented, that the national convention did not either wholly rescind this obnoxious decree, or at least limit its operation to enemies alone. It was equally unfortunate, on the other hand, that the English ministry, by withdrawing an acknowledged diplomattick agent from Paris, and by first refusing to recognise, and then sending away, an ambassadour duly authorised by the executive council, should not only have exhibited a marked dissatisfaction to the new form of government, adopted by an independent nation, but also cut off all regular means of direct communication.

2. the decree of fraternity;

3. the recall of the English; and

4. the expulsion of the French ambassadour.

Two other causes, and these too of an occult nature, remain to be stated. The first of these originated in the spirit of the times, eminently prone to reform; and it was hoped, perhaps, that a foreign war might avert domestick contentions, while the dangers incident to a great national struggle, would induce the numerous and powerful body of stockholders, as well as the great mass of proprietors of land, to view theoretical schemes of perfection with a suspicious eye.

Secret causes:
1. a wish to counteract the spirit of reform; and

THE second originated in a jealousy of the increasing strength and resources of France. A policy originating in Italy during the middle ages, and which seems at length to have become part

2. the dread lest the power of France should preponderate.

BOOK III. of the publick law of Europe, gave rise to a system since designated
 CHAP. II. by the name of the balance of power, which, by preventing the
 1793. encroachments of one particular state, contributes to ensure the stability of all. Unhappily several opportunities had been neglected, when England might have interposed with equal dignity and effect. The first of these was the epoch of the combination of certain great powers; the second, the hostile march of their armies against France; the third, when, instead of a spirited interference, a cold denial of mediation was returned to the request of Louis XVI.

Neither government wholly excusable.

POSTERITY, either entirely devoid of, or at least less agitated by, the passions of the present day, will be better able than ourselves to appreciate the conduct of those who at this period presided in the councils of the two rival nations. But even now it will appear, perhaps, to candid and dispassionate men, utterly unconnected with and disclaiming the spirit of party, that both were to blame: the convention, by its obstinate adherence to the offensive decree of fraternity, as well as by its ill-timed agitation of the question relative to the opening of the Scheldt; and the English ministry, by a precipitate declaration of war, in consequence of the contumelious expulsion of the diplomattick agent of France, an act of unusual rigour, which, while it embittered existing enmities, at the same time precluded the possibility of compromise.

England the first to declare war.

BUT without presuming to decide definitively on either the policy or the justice of the contest, or even to determine how far real or pretended injuries authorised a recurrence to hostilities; it is obvious that the rupture actually took place on the part of the British government, by "recalling" its own ambassadour, and "sending home" the minister of France; events, either of which had been allowed by the treaty of commerce and navigation, to be decisive of a state of warfare*.

* *Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between his Britannick Majesty and the Most Christian King, signed at Versailles, the 26th of September, 1786.*

"His Britannick majesty and his most christian majesty, being equally animated

It was doubtless supposed that France, already weakened by the struggle, would be crushed and overwhelmed by the additional weight of England; but no allowance was made in this calculation for the numbers, wealth, and warlike disposition of the people, the strength of individual genius, and the energy of national character, constantly elicited by intestine conflicts. Many deemed the conflict dubious, but there were not wanting a few even at that period, who, with a prophetick spirit, already foresaw the current of events, and boldly anticipated the result: what was but hypothesis then, hath since become history.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1793.

Prognostications relative to the consequences of the war.

with the desire not only of consolidating the good harmony which actually subsists between them, but also, &c.

“ Art. I. It is agreed and concluded between the most serene and most potent king of Great Britain, and the most serene and most potent the most christian king, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories subject to their majesties in Europe, &c.

“ Art. II. For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said majesties, and to the end that this good correspondence may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance; it is concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! (*which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers*) the subjects of each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, *the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals or to the state.* At the same time it is to be understood, that this favour is not to be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws.”

C H A P. III.

Invasion of Holland by Dumouriez—Capture of Breda, Klundert, Gertruydenberg—Gallant Defence of Williamstadt—Arrival of a Body of Guards under the Duke of York—Progress of the Austrians—The French raise the Siege of Maëstricht, and retreat on all Sides.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.
1793.

French ma-
nifesto.

AS England appeared invulnerable, the members of the executive council were anxious to carry the French arms into the heart of Holland, on purpose to expel the stadtholder, and annihilate the influence of Great Britain. The various preparations for this purpose were made with such celerity by Dumouriez, that in the course of a few days he was ready to commence hostilities. Previously to this, the French general addressed a declaration to the inhabitants, in which he endeavoured, with his usual art, to separate the interests of the republick from those of the stadtholder: "I enter your country," says he, "surrounded by the generous martyrs of the revolution of 1787; their perseverance and their sacrifices merit both your confidence and union. I enter your country at the head of sixty thousand free and victorious Frenchmen; sixty thousand more are prepared to defend Belgium; and they also will be ready to follow me should I meet with any resistance.

"WE are not the aggressors; for a long time past the Orange faction hath waged a perfidious and underhand war against us. It is in the Hague that those conspiracies in opposition to your liberties originated; and at the Hague will we look for the authors of your evils.

“PEOPLE of Batavia !” exclaims he towards the conclusion, BOOK III.
 “place confidence in a man whose name is not unknown to you ; CHAP. III.
 who never failed to perform that which he promised, and who 1793.
 leads to combat those very freemen before whom the Prussians,
 the satellites of your tyrant, have once before fled, and will again
 fly. The Belgians already consider us as their deliverers, and I
 hope you will soon call us yours also.”

THE troops now collected for the conquest of Holland, were The French
 composed of no more than twenty-one battalions, two of which army takes
 only were of the line, and of these one had never been in action. the field,
 [Feb. 17.]
 As the regiments were incomplete, the whole amounted to but
 thirteen thousand seven hundred men ; many of the soldiers were
 boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age, while no more than
 eight battalions possessed field-pieces. The cavalry did not ex-
 ceed a thousand.

As a party was ready to declare in favour of the French on their
 entrance into the Dutch territories, and success in a great measure
 depended on the celerity of their movements, Dumouriez had not
 time either to discipline, or organise his troops ; but they were
 full of ardour and replete with confidence. Being well acquainted
 with the disposition of his countrymen, he candidly unfolded to
 them all the difficulties they were to expect, in consequence of
 the rigour of the climate, the number of fortified places to be
 taken, and the canals and arms of the sea to be crossed : but, on
 the other hand, he was not backward in inflaming their minds
 with the hope of glory, and solacing their imaginations by the
 expectation of the beneficial events that must inevitably attend
 their conquests.

EVERY thing being at length ready, general Berneron was
 ordered to advance with the van-guard, and dispatch lieutenant-
 colonel Daendels, a Dutch patriot in the service of France, to
 Mordyck, on purpose to detain all the boats in that neighbour-
 hood, as well as to throw a bridge over the Merk, with a view to

BOOK III. keep up the communication. But as these instructions were not
 CHAP. III. executed in time, the Dutch embraced this opportunity of carry-
 1793. ing all the small vessels to the other side, under the protection of
 three armed shallops stationed near Dort.

and advances
 against Breda.

ON receiving this intelligence, Berneron and Daendels were immediately enjoined to advance, while general D'Arçon with the right wing formed the blockade of Breda, and colonel Le Clerc with the left invested Bergen-op-zoom and Steenberg. On this the governours of the two last places immediately abandoned all their out-posts; and the fort of Blaw-Sluys, near Steenberg, being taken, the garrison of the latter was summoned; while that of Bergen-op-zoom hazarded a few sallies, which were only productive of deserters, who immediately entered into the battalions formed by their countrymen.

IN conformity to his original plan, the commander in chief now moved forward between the two wings with the rear division of the army, to Sevenbergen, and gave orders to besiege Klundert and Williamstadt immediately; while Daendels, by advancing to Nordschantz, was to cut off all intercourse between them.

DURING the period that a *flotilla* was preparing under his directions to carry his troops across the Mordyck, he ordered general D'Arçon to attack Breda. This place, which had always been considered as strong, besides being provided with two hundred pieces of cannon, possessed an excellent palisade, and was protected by means of an inundation. The garrison consisted of two thousand two hundred infantry, and a regiment of dragoons; but the count de Ryland, the governour, was totally ignorant of military affairs, while the inhabitants were strongly attached to the patriotick party.

As Dumouriez had determined not to attempt a regular siege, D'Arçon, without opening trenches as usual, after erecting two batteriès of four mortars and four howitzers, immediately sum-

moned the town. After the bombardment had continued three days, during which period the fire of the enemy was kept up with great briskness, it was found that sixty bombs only remained, and that the siege must inevitably be raised as soon as these were expended. In this dilemma colonel Philip Devaux, one of the *aides-de-camp*, entered the place with a flag of truce, and announced that general Dumouriez was expected to arrive immediately with the whole of his army, after which the garrison must not hope for quarter. The governor was so terrified with this threat, that scarcely taking time to consult his officers, he instantly capitulated, and was allowed all the honours of war. Thus, with a detachment of only three thousand eight hundred men, one of the strongest towns in Holland was taken in the course of a few days: two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, three hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, five thousand muskets, and five vessels, fell to the lot of the victors*.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.
1793.

NOR did the success of the French arms stop here, for Klundert surrendered two days afterwards. This little fortress is built after a regular plan, and surrounded with inundations. Berneron erected a battery of four cannon and several small mortars behind the dike of the canal, within one hundred and fifty fathoms of the walls; in consequence of which the roofs of all the houses were destroyed. The *commandant*, who was a German lieutenant-colonel, defended the place with great bravery, notwithstanding the garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty soldiers; but after keeping up a smart fire during several days, on perceiving that he could no longer shelter his men, he determined to nail up his cannon, and retire, with such of the troops

Surrender of
Breda,
[March 2.]

and of
Klundert,
[March 4.]

* The French soldiers carried their temerity so far during the siege as to dance the *Carmagnol* on the *glacis*, opening to that part of the fortifications which was not inundated: on this thirty dragoons of the regiment of Byland sallied forth, killed some of the dancers, and returned with six prisoners, after losing several men and horses.

BOOK III. as remained alive, to Williamstadt. While attempting to exe-
 CHAP. III. cute this enterprize, he was intercepted by a detachment of Ba-
 1793. tavians, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Hartmann, whom he
 killed with his own hand; but he himself soon after experienced
 a similar fate *. Fifty-three pieces of cannon, a few mortars, a
 large quantity of bombs, bullets, and powder, were found in the
 place; and while the French became animated by such easy con-
 quests, consternation and dismay spread throughout Holland.

and Gertruy-
denberg.

BERNERON now received orders to lay siege to Williamstadt,
 while D'Arçon advanced against Gertruydenberg. The latter
 was immediately attacked by means of a few cannon and some
 mortars, brought from Breda, and after a few shot had been fired,
 colonel de Vaux entered with a flag of truce, and prevailed on
 the governour to capitulate and accept the honours of war in
 return for the surrender of the place †. By this new acquisition
 the French acquired one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two
 hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, two thousand five
 hundred new musquets, and, what was still more essential, they
 at the same time obtained a good harbour, and more than thirty
 vessels of different sizes for the transport of their troops.

The siege and
obstinate de-
fence of Wil-
liamstadt.

THE siege of Williamstadt however was not so prosperous as
 had been expected. This place, rendered strong both by nature
 and art, could only be attacked in one part, which exhibits but
 a small front to the assailant, while supplies of both men and
 provisions might be thrown in at any time. In addition to these
 advantages, the garrison was encouraged by the presence of its

* On searching the corpse, the keys of Klundert were found in the pocket of the
 brave governour; and the body was afterwards conveyed thither, to be interred with
 military honours.

† Major-general Bedaux, the governour, was eighty years of age; and appears to
 have been greatly alarmed at the bombardment. He was afterwards tried and ac-
 quitted.

gallant gouverneur*; the assistance of some British gun-boats, and the landing of a body of guards under the command of the second son of the king of England. Dumouriez, who imagined that the works had been erected at too great a distance, sent thither Dubois de Crancé and Marefcot, who traced out a battery within two hundred yards of the walls; but the Dutch made a successful sally, and these two engineers were both killed on the spot.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

1793.

The Duke of
York arrives
at Helvoet-
fluyts.
[March 1.]

NOTWITHSTANDING the courage displayed by the besieged, and the arrival of unsolicited assistance from an ally, the French were still able to attempt a passage from Mordyck, where Dumouriez had prepared a flotilla, and contend for the possession of Holland. They already occupied the fortresses of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, in which strong garrisons might be placed for the purpose of securing their rear, while a body of troops under general de Flers could continue the blockade of Steenberg and Bergen-op-zoom at pleasure. The commander in chief accordingly proposed to embark his van guard at Roowaert, and send his right division from Gertruydenberg, where he had found a great number of vessels admirably adapted for his purpose; and as the distance to Dort was not great, he hoped to effect it by fortifying an intermediate isle with cannon of large dimensions, on purpose to keep off the armed vessels belonging to the enemy.

THE necessary preparations being made, it was determined to attempt the passage during the night; but an event occurred in the mean time that saved Holland from the miseries of invasion, gave a short respite to the Orange party, entirely changed the nature of the war, and at length forced the French to retire within their own territories.

* The baron de Boetzelaer, who was made a lieutenant-general during the siege, and afterwards received a present of a valuable sword for himself, and a portion for each of his daughters, from the states of Holland.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.1793.
Siege of
Maastricht.
[Feb. 20.]

THE army which had so lately chased the Austrians from the Low-countries, and appeared to be destined to prevent their return, was not only dispirited by the absence of its leader, but rendered incapable of active operations in consequence of the disputes that prevailed among the generals. Miranda, in pursuance to orders, had laid siege to Maastricht, and commenced a terrible bombardment, which set fire to that city in several different parts. The defence however was far more vigorous than had been expected; for a body of French emigrants, who expected but little mercy in case their countrymen should triumph, had thrown themselves into the place, under the command of M. d'Autichamp *, and displayed equal skill and bravery in the course of the siege. General Champmorin had also failed in his attempt to obtain possession of Venloo; for, although he had taken the forts of Stevenswert and St. Michel on the Meuse, he had been anticipated in his design by the Prussians, who immediately occupied the place.

WHILE the generals Valence, Stengel, and Dampierre, remained in their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, the prince de Cobourg, an officer who had distinguished himself during the war against the Turks, arrived at Cologne, and assumed the command of the Austrian forces. Having learned that disunion prevailed among the leaders,

* The marquis d'Autichamp had obtained the rank of *maréchal-de-camp* under the ancient government, and was repeatedly accused of disaffection subsequently to the revolution. Being denounced in 1790, for having entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the city of Lyons to the French princes, he found it necessary to repair to the army of the prince of Condé, with which he served in the capacity of lieutenant-general. He also acted, during the campaign of 1792, with the troops headed by the brothers of Louis XVI. and was entrusted with the command of the *gendarmerie à cheval*, a very fine body of horse. He afterwards entered Maastricht with many of his countrymen, and it has been often asserted that the Dutch were indebted to him for the preservation of that important frontier city.

and discontent among the troops, he immediately collected his army, and determined to commence his military career by some brilliant exploit.

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CHAP. III.
1793.

GENERAL CLAIRFAYT accordingly passed the Roer during the night, and not only repulsed the French army both on the side of Duren and Juliers, but compelled it to retreat beyond Aldenhoven, with the loss of two thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. In the mean time the Austrian commander in chief penetrated through Aldenhoven, without experiencing any obstruction whatever, and five days after obtained a decisive victory over the enemy, whom he chased before him.

Defeat of the
French,
[April 28.]

THE French who remained in cantonments, and had not as yet any central position assigned where they might assemble, immediately fell back on Liege, without fighting. General Leveneur, who presided over the attack of Maestricht, on the side of Wyck, deemed himself fortunate in being able to carry away his cannon and cross the Meuse, while general Miranda was under the necessity of entirely relinquishing the siege. Lieutenant-general Lanoue was also obliged to retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle, after being beaten at Aldenhoven; and general Valence with some difficulty saved a column of twenty-seven battalions, by a vigorous charge of cavalry, in the plain of Tongres.

THE Imperialists having thus relieved Maestricht, crossed the Meuse and entered Liege, where they seized all the magazines belonging to the French, and got possession of the clothing for the troops; the Prussians at the same time obliged general Champmorin to evacuate Stevenswert and fort St. Michel, and fall back on Dieft; in consequence of which, the course of the Lower Meuse was subject to their control, and had they persevered and penetrated either by Antwerp or Bois-le-Duc, the retreat of the army in Holland would have been entirely cut off, or at least

who raise the
siege of Maef-
tricht.

BOOK III. rendered equivocal. In short, the defeat of the republican
 CHAP. III. troops in the Low-countries was so complete, that, excepting
 1793. the battering artillery, nothing was saved; desertion instantly
 succeeded, and more than ten thousand men retired amidst the
 general confusion.

Dumouriez
 returns to
 Belgium.

[April 9.]

Retreat from
 Holland.

THE commissioners of the convention, alarmed at the desperate
 situation of the wreck of the army now assembled in the camp of
 Louvain, immediately hastened to Paris, and, in consequence of
 their representations, Dumouriez, whose enterprising spirit had led
 him to expect the speedy conquest of Holland, was awakened from
 his dream of glory, by the unwelcome tidings of a fugitive army,
 and a victorious foe. After a short struggle, he however obeyed
 the orders of the council, and set out next morning for Flanders,
 leaving the troops under the command of general de Flers, with
 directions to attempt the passage from Gertruydenberg, and in case
 of success to wait at Dort, where he was to receive further in-
 structions. But the arrival of the English forces in Holland, the
 check received by the grand army, and the sudden departure of Du-
 mouriez, with whom the ill-fated scheme of conquest had originated,
 rendered the invaders dispirited. De Flers, instead of effecting a
 descent, found it necessary, in consequence of the approach of the
 Prussians, to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions of in-
 fantry, and two hundred horse, while colonel Tilly garrisoned
 Gertruydenberg, with three battalions and five hundred cavalry.
 The rest of the army was conducted to Antwerp, under the
 command of colonels de Vaux and Thouvenot, who evacuated
 the batteries of Mordyck without loss, destroyed the fortifications
 of Klundert, and prevented the troops, now greatly dispirited,
 from flying in disorder.

Reflections.

THUS terminated the expedition against Holland, the idea of
 which was conceived, and the plan carried into execution, within
 the space of a few days. The success of this irruption was at first far
 greater than it deserved; for the French were actually destitute of

cannon and ammunition, and had it not been for the unexpected surrender of Breda and Gertruydenberg, Dumouriez must have retired before in disgrace. This general was undoubtedly misled by the brilliant example of the duke of Brunswick, who had over-run and subjugated the same country in the space of a few weeks; but the Prussians on that occasion were not under the necessity of either obtaining or creating a *flotilla* for the passage of their troops; neither had they any hostile troops in their rear, nor did they experience any considerable resistance from the fortified towns. In fine, the case was entirely different, and the French commander, by the mismanagement of this expedition, lost all the glory he had acquired in Champagne, placed the covering army in a situation where it was liable to be beaten, and not only produced his own disgrace which soon after occurred, but entailed a variety of calamities upon his country.

BOOK III.
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1793.

IN the mean time the progress of the French arms in Germany in a great measure ceased to be either brilliant or prosperous. Custine had been unable to prevent the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblenz, whither the king of Prussia also directed his march, and not only occupied the two banks of the Lahn, but appeared desirous to force the general to abandon Francfort, and shut himself up within the walls of Mentz. Being apprised of their motions, and determined to act as long as possible on the offensive, he immediately marched against the enemy, and, notwithstanding previous information had been obtained of his design, such was the spirited nature of the attack, that they were obliged to relinquish all their positions.

Army of Custine.

THESE temporary successes, joined to his critical situation, at length induced the government to listen to the representations of Custine, and afford him succour; Biron accordingly received instructions to send a body of troops to his assistance. On this, although a senior officer, he immediately determined to put both himself and troops under his command. But before a junction could be

BOOK III. effected, the former was obliged to withdraw to Mentz in the face
 CHAP. III. of a superiour army, collected from all quarters by the king of
 1793. Prussia ; to add to his misfortunes, the inhabitants of Francfort
 Francfort re- opened one of their gates to the enemy, on the very night pre-
 taken by the ceding the arrival of succour, and part of the garrison was put
 Prussians and to the sword, with a degree of barbarity hitherto without ex-
 Hessians. ample in the course of the war.

WHILE the blockade of Mentz was conducted in a languid manner during the winter by the Prussians, the French appear to have remained on the defensive ; but they again took the field early in the spring, and endeavoured to make up by celerity their deficiency in respect to numbers. Custine accordingly made an irruption into the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, and suddenly took possession of his residence of Calberg ; their serene highnesses escaping with great difficulty. But the tide of war now set in in a contrary direction, and the three-coloured flag, which had so lately flaunted in triumph along the Rhine and Maine, was doomed in its turn to experience humiliation. Konigstein, with its garrison of four hundred and forty men, surrendered to the Prussians ; Worms was evacuated ; and part of the magazines at Bingen, Kreutznach, and Nierstein, seized.

NOR was this all, for the states of the empire had at length declared war against France ; and the diet of Ratisbon, in consequence of the menaces of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, had ordained “ a junction of arms,” and voted the necessary contingents.

C H A P. IV.

Conduct of Dumouriez on his Return to Belgium—Battle of Nerwinden—Secret Treaty with the Austrians—Retreat of the French Army—Arrest of the Deputies—Dumouriez, being abandoned by his Troops, takes Refuge within the Austrian lines.

ON his return to Antwerp, Dumouriez found the inhabitants of that city reduced to a state of despondency; for the late unexpected flight, desertion, and disorder of the French troops, seemed to render the restoration of the Belgick provinces to the house of Austria inevitable. Nor did the situation of his own army appear encouraging, as the heavy artillery was already on its return to France, and all the tents and baggage had been lost during his absence.

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HAVING issued orders to arrest the deserters, and collect the fugitives, he repaired immediately to the head-quarters at Louvain, convoked and reproached the soldiery with the disorders committed by them, their want of confidence in their generals, the relaxation of discipline, and the precipitation and disorder of their recent retreat. The troops being affected with these accusations, which were but too well founded, professed to be ashamed of their conduct, and appeared eager to march against the enemy. Advantage was accordingly taken of this disposition, to make various changes in the organisation of, and to introduce a new system of subordination into, the army, which was still formidable in point of numbers, and amounted even at this period to forty thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred cavalry. General Valence was appointed to the command of the

BOOK III. right, the duke of Chartres of the centre, and general Miranda
 CHAP. IV. of the left. Under these served the generals Dampierre, Champ-
 1793. morin, and Neuilly; the reserve was commanded by general Chancel, and the advanced guard by general La Marche.

HAVING retaken Tirlemont from the Austrians, who recrossed the Gette, and occupied the heights of Neerlanden, Nerwinden, Middlewinden, and Oberwinden, the French commander in chief advanced once more against them, and seized on Gotzenhoven, which he maintained during an engagement of eight hours between the two advanced guards, supported by the main body of each of the hostile armies.

DUMOURIEZ, inflamed with this slight success, determined to give battle to the enemy, partly on purpose to stop their further progress, and partly to prevent them from being strengthened by the reinforcements now marching to their assistance. He was also desirous to be the assailant upon this occasion, as he would not only derive all the advantages usually accompanying this measure, but gratify the inclination of his troops; the French being ever more desirous to attack than to defend.

HE accordingly spent a whole day in reconnoitring the position
 [March 17.] of the Imperialists, posting his troops in order of battle, and
 Battle of preparing his plan of operations. The army, divided into eight
 Nerwinden. columns, was at length put in motion between seven and eight
 [March 18.] o'clock next morning, and crossed the river without any obstacle. General La Marche with the first column immediately entered the plain of Landen, and, not finding the enemy there, joined the second, which attacked the village of Oberwinden, and the tomb of Middlewinden, about ten o'clock, with such vigour that they were both carried; but the Austrians afterwards retook the latter, the importance of which became now apparent; the possession was accordingly disputed during the whole of the day. The third column, under general Neuilly, about the same time drove the Imperialists from a village where

they had taken post, but in consequence of a mistake it was abandoned immediately. The Austrians on this resumed their former position, whence they were chased a second time by the fourth and fifth columns under the command of the duke of Chartres; general Desforêts, however, having been wounded in the head with a musket shot, the village encumbered with infantry, and the troops thrown into confusion, it was once more relinquished on the approach of the enemy, who threatened to carry it by assault.

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IN the mean time, while the republican troops were in disorder, the Austrians, relying on the superiority of their cavalry, descended into the plain between Nerwinden and Middlewinden, and made a furious charge on the French horse. General Valence, who fought with great valour at their head, was wounded and obliged to retire to Tirlemont; notwithstanding this, the Imperialists were at length forced to withdraw. Nearly at the same period another body of cavalry attacked the infantry of the fourth column on the left of Nerwinden with great gallantry; but general Thouvenot, who was posted there, received them with coolness, and rendered their charge destructive to themselves alone; for, on perceiving their approach, he opened his ranks to allow them to pass, and made such a critical discharge of grape and case shot from his artillery, in addition to a close fire of musketry from the regiment of Deux-Ponts, that nearly the whole of this detachment was destroyed.

THE fate of the action, both in the centre and on the right, now appeared to be decisively in favour of the French, and these two divisions passed the night in the field of battle, on purpose to resume the engagement and complete the victory at the break of day*.

* "Les Imperiaux ont avoué qu'ils étaient prêts à faire leur retraite, & que leurs équipages avaient déjà eu ordre de se retirer sur Tongres." Mémoires du Gén. Dumouriez, tom. II. p. 106.

BOOK III. BUT, while success smiled on this portion of the army, a far
CHAP. IV. different fate was reserved for the left wing. The sixth and

1793.

seventh columns, which had attacked the enemy with great success, were already in possession of Orfmaël, when a panick terror appears to have seized on some of the battalions, in consequence of which great confusion immediately ensued *. General Clairfayt took advantage of and augmented the disorder, by a brisk charge of cavalry, which completed the rout of the two columns, occasioned the slaughter of a great number of men, and rendered the officers incapable of restoring order : Guiscard, a *maréchal-de-camp*, attached to the artillery, was killed upon this occasion ; and generals Rualt and Iller, with several *aides-de-camp*, and other persons belonging to the staff, were among the wounded.

ON this, general Miranda gave orders to retreat, and withdrew to a position behind Tirlemont, without being harassed by the Austrians, who were as yet unacquainted with the extent of their good fortune ; general Champmorin also retired from Leaw, crossed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and resumed his position at Oplinter.

DUMOURIEZ, who had superintended the movements of his right and centre in person, being greatly alarmed at not hearing from his left flank, entered Tirlemont, where he found general Miranda, and gave him orders to assemble his division during the night, on purpose to occupy the heights of Wommersem, as well as the great road, and the bridges of Orfmaël and Neerhelpen, with

* Dumouriez positively asserts, that the volunteers on this occasion abandoned the troops of the line ; and it is not altogether improbable, for as their conduct was not founded on personal attachment, they were less zealous to obtain success. So critical indeed was the situation of the real republicans at this period, that either a defeat or victory was almost equally inauspicious : in case of the former, they knew that the Belgians must be abandoned and sacrificed ; and if the latter should occur, they suspected that Dumouriez intended to march to Paris and alter the form of the government.

a view of insuring the passage of the Gette, as well as the retreat of the right and centre, which would otherwise engage with the enemy's army subject to the disadvantage of a river in their rear.

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SUCH was the battle of Nerwinden, which dissolved the visionary schemes of Dumouriez, and decided the fate of the campaign. In this action the French, according to the confession of their own general, sacrificed about three thousand men either killed or taken, and more than a thousand wounded, besides many cannon; while the loss of the Imperialists, which fell principally on their cavalry, did not exceed fourteen hundred. Both armies displayed great courage and perseverance upon this occasion; and had not Dumouriez lost the confidence of all the volunteers, and most of the superiour officers, who dreaded lest they should be betrayed, victory, perhaps, would have once more declared in his favour.

THE French army was enabled to withdraw to the heights behind Tirlemont in good order, in consequence of the able and intrepid conduct of all the generals, particularly Dampierre, who acquired great celebrity on this occasion; but the disaffection of the national guards soon rendered a further retreat necessary. Nor were they mistaken in respect to their suspicions, for their commander alike unmindful of his engagements and his oaths, and anxious alone to escape the punishment that awaited his disobedience, had entered into a conspiracy for the evacuation of Belgium, and the subversion of the French government. Under pretence of treating about the wounded and prisoners, he dispatched an officer belonging to his staff*, with the necessary instructions, to the head-quarters of the prince de Cobourg, where he had a conference with colonel Mack, with whom a suspension of arms was agreed upon. On the

Dumouriez is forced to retreat first to Campitch, next to Boutersem, and then to Louvain.

Treachery of Dumouriez.

* Colonel Montjoye.

BOOK III. evening of the succeeding day, the latter repaired to Louvain,
 CHAP. IV. and certain articles, without being reduced to writing, were
 1793. acceded to verbally*.

DUMOURIEZ, in conformity to this treaty, now gave orders for abandoning the Netherlands; and after his army had marched through Brussels, an interview took place between him and the adjutant-general of the Austrian army, in the course of which he announced his intentions of marching to Paris and dissolving the convention. On this it was agreed, that the Imperialists should either remain passive, or act the part of auxiliaries as occasion might require; but it was expressly stipulated on the other hand, that Condé should be delivered up to them until the conclusion of peace, and the regulation of indemnities: the duke de Chartres, generals Valence, Thouvenot, and colonel Montjoye, were present upon this occasion, and assisted at the deliberations.

SOME sinister events, however, occurred soon after, which tended not a little to embarrass the conduct and defeat the new projects of Dumouriez. He had no sooner arrived at the camp ofournay, than he learned that the division under general Neuilly, on its reaching Mons, instead of assuming a position in conformity to his orders on the heights of Nimy, had disbanded and fled to Condé and Valenciennes, and that the cavalry alone remained at its station. This unexpected defection, while it rendered the situation of the main body of the army precarious, by uncovering its left flank, in case the convention should be annulled, at the same time filled the two neighbouring fortresses with dis-

* "1. THAT the Imperialists should make no more general attacks, and that the French commander in chief should not on his side endeavour to give battle.

"2. That, in conformity to this tacit convention, the French should retire to Brussels, by easy marches, and in good order, without being harassed.

"3. That the same parties should meet again after the evacuation of that city, on purpose to agree as to future contingencies."

contented soldiery, and rendered their surrender far more difficult than before.

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ON that very day he received a visit from Proly, Desjardins, and Pereira, three deputies from the jacobin society of Paris; who, after founding his intentions, immediately denounced him to the legislature as an enemy to his country. A dispatch arrived at the same time from seven commissioners of the convention, who had assembled at Lille, requiring his presence in that city, on purpose to answer the accusations against him. But the wily general, who knew that in case of compliance he would have been arrested and punished for his perfidy, took care to decline this invitation. However, as he had not as yet openly quarrelled with them, his reply was guarded; but at the same time it was easy to perceive that he had determined to act with vigour and firmness. He accordingly stated in his answer to their demand, "that being in sight of the enemy, and his presence constantly necessary for the preservation of an army which he was now busied in reforming, it became impossible for him to be present at the enquiry; but that if the deputies would repair to his camp, he would answer any questions with his accustomed frankness." He added, "that so soon as he had secured his retreat within the French territories, he would have more time to attend to matters that concerned himself personally; but that he was fully determined never to enter Lille unless it should be at the head of his troops, and on purpose to punish the cowards who, after having abandoned their colours, dared to calumniate the gallant defenders of their country."

[March 29.]
Negociations
between Du-
mouriez and
the deputies.

SOON after this, Antwerp surrendered to a body of two thousand men under colonel Mylius, and Dumouriez not only abandoned his position at Tournay, but conducted the army of the north to the camp of Bruille, which he connected by means of three bridges of communication with that of Maulde. He at the same time dispatched general Miaczinsky with four thousand

BOOK III. men to occupy Orchies, while the artillery removed to St. Amand
 CHAP. IV. where the head-quarters were established.

1793.

THUS, after a short and impotent struggle, the armies of France abandoned the people of Liege to the vengeance of an exasperated ecclesiastick, while the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant were once more resigned to the dominion of their ancient sovereign ; and as a great portion of both nations had evinced an eager desire to be received within the pale of a new republick, alarm and distrust necessarily ensued, and confiscation and punishment were expected to follow.

Dumouriez
 attempts to
 seduce his
 army.

IN the mean time the French commander began to disclose his intentions to his army. The violent proceedings of the jacobins, and the frequent instances of cruelty and injustice on the part of the convention, had rendered them odious to a large portion of the regular troops ; it was easy therefore to inflame their resentments against both of these, particularly the former, and attribute all the disasters that had occurred to them alone. The re-establishment of a monarchical form of government, and the restoration of the former constitution, became popular subjects in the camp ; while the presence of a young and gallant prince, who served with the rank of lieutenant-general, contributed not a little to revive the devotion of the French soldiery to one branch at least of the family of the Bourbons. The old troops were attached to this notion, and also to the person of their general, who had often displayed undoubted proofs of valour and abilities in their presence ; the cavalry, which had always leaned towards the ancient government, embraced these ideas with ardour ; and even the artillery, hitherto constantly attached to republican forms, proclaimed aloud that it was determined to defend the commander in chief against the machinations of all his enemies. Several regiments began to talk openly of marching to Paris, on purpose to punish the anarchists to whom they attributed all their recent disgraces ; and when they were told that Dumouriez would be

summoned to the capital, it was their usual reply "that they would conduct him thither and share his fate."

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1793.

SOME of the general and staff officers also appeared to waver in their allegiance. They beheld themselves attacked daily by name in the newspapers devoted to the jacobins; they were already accused of treason by some of the members of that celebrated society, and contemplated with suspicion even by the convention itself. They had also seen many gallant chiefs, after overcoming the enemies of their country, arrested and executed on vague surmises; they knew that an odious court, denominated the *revolutionary tribunal*, presided over the lives and fortunes of all the citizens, and condemned those dragged before it without proofs, and almost without a hearing.

To increase the number of those devoted to his person, Dumouriez transmitted orders to general de Flers and colonel Tilly, by means of the Austrian adjutant-general Mack, to surrender Breda and Gertruydenberg, and return with the five or six thousand men entrusted to their command; this was accordingly performed, and they were permitted to march to his camp with their arms and baggage. But, on the other hand, while the greater part of his army detested the ruling tyranny, the idea of a secret treaty with the enemy, and an open conspiracy to overturn the republican government, in support of which they had so often hazarded their lives, was contemplated with horror. The late conduct of Dumouriez had occasioned suspicion; the frequent and secret conferences with the Austrian officers, engendered ideas highly unfavourable to the honour of the general; and not a few believed that they and their country were about to be sacrificed to the treachery of a military adventurer, whose proceedings were solely regulated by interest and ambition. The national battalions, which formed a majority of the soldiery, were averse from change; and many of the principal officers, particularly Dampierre, who had so lately acquired the admiration of the troops,

BOOK III. were decidedly hostile to the measures of their leader, of whose
 CHAP. IV. treason they were no longer ignorant. A number of members
 1793. from the patriotick societies were also dispersed in the camp, and
 Conduct of the republicans. a secret communication was kept up with Paris, and the neighbouring garrisons. Three commissioners * from the convention, stationed at Valenciennes, already treated the commander in chief as a rebel, and prohibited money and supplies being sent to his army; they not only cut off all intercourse with the garrison lest it should be debauched, but they even published a manifesto against Dumouriez, which they caused to be distributed among the troops under his command, as well as in the neighbouring fortresses. The influence of money was also resorted to, and the *assignats*, originally destined to overthrow the enemies of the republick, were now employed to secure the allegiance of its troops.

ALL the cities on this frontier were agitated by the two different factions. In Condé considerable commotions already prevailed, and the troops quartered there were divided in their opinions; but general Neuilly, who commanded them, was firmly attached to Dumouriez, and ready if a proper opportunity presented itself to declare in his favour.

IN the mean time the commander in chief resorted to a stratagem, in order to inflame the passions of his troops. Six volunteers having desired their general "to repair to the bar of the convention, in obedience to orders, else they and many of their companions had sworn to imitate Brutus, and poinard him on the spot;" the different regiments were immediately assembled by his partisans, and in the course of the same day he received various addresses from both officers and soldiers, expressing their abhorrence of assassination; some even evinced a desire to change the government, and re-establish the law and constitution of 1789. The

Schemes of
Dumouriez.

* Lequinio, Cochon, and Bellegarde.

moment the general received these petitions, which he affected to consider as the unanimous wish of the army, he openly endeavoured to obtain possession of the three neighbouring garrisons. Miaczinski was accordingly ordered to repair to Lille with a large body of troops, on purpose to seize the deputies from the convention, together with all the principal members of the jacobin club; but this foreigner was taken prisoner in the midst of that very city which he intended to betray, and being sent to Paris, lost his head soon after. As Valenciennes was entrusted to the care of Ferrand, whom he had raised to the rank of general, Dumouriez hoped to prove more fortunate in his designs upon that place; but L'Ecuyer, the provost of his army, whom he had dispatched thither, on entering the fortress immediately proclaimed his treachery. Condé now appeared to be his last resource; but the deputies on mission had already dispersed manifestoes, jacobins, and assignats, among the garrison, and Neuilly the governor found it utterly impossible to fulfil his secret engagements with the rebel general.

THESE sinister events, however, did not deter him from arresting the secretary at war*, and four commissioners † from the convention, who had repaired to his camp on purpose to notify his suspension. Having sent these under a guard to general Clairfayt, he composed a manifesto in the course of that very night, in which he gave an account of the occurrences of the preceding day; but the murmurs of the volunteers, on his appearance next morning, already predicted the approaching catastrophe. Soon after this he was repeatedly fired at by three battalions, who attempted at the same time to surround him, and death or captivity appeared inevitable; but he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, within the Austrian lines. Undaunted even

BOOK III.
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1793.

[April 2.]
Arrest of the
deputies.

* General Beurnonville.

† Camus, La Marque, Bancal, and Quinette.

BOOK III. by this circumstance, he drew up two manifestoes in concert with
 CHAP. IV. the prince de Cobourg, in which the latter stated, "that he in-
 1793. tended to act merely as an auxiliary, and that it was not the

Flight of the
 French ge-
 neral.

intention of his Imperial majesty to make any conquests whatever, but merely to co-operate in restoring peace and order in France." Next morning, at break of day, Dumouriez, accompanied by a guard of fifty Austrian dragoons, repaired once more to his own camp, and endeavoured to regain the confidence of his army; but it was now too late, for the artillery had retreated to Valenciennes, and several regiments of infantry were already on their march for the neighbouring fortresses. On this he attempted to secure the military chest; but failing in that also, he deemed himself fortunate in being able to escape with a few of his friends to Tournay*.

LUCKILY for the convention, the Austrian commanders neglected this critical opportunity of marching against the camps of Maulde and Bruille, while confusion and dismay prevailed there. Instead of meditating an attack, they were occupied at head-quarters with arranging and organising the fugitives, and making preparations for the blockade of Condé, which was to have been summoned in the name of Dumouriez.

* The officers who accompanied Dumouriez in his flight, were the duke de Chartres, general and colonel Thouvenot, colonel Montjoye, lieutenant-colonel Barrois, &c. General Valence, who as well as himself entertained an idea of placing a new dynasty on the throne, had been sent by him to attend the congress of the ministers of foreign powers assembled at Antwerp; but generals Vouillé and Marraffé, major-general Neuilly, de Baunes, Second, Dumas, Ruault, Berneron, with colonel Arnaudin, and a small body of infantry and cavalry, joined him soon after in the Austrian territories. But as the prince de Cobourg thought proper to annul the proclamation, in which he had disavowed the intention of making conquests, all these officers deemed themselves bound in honour to quit the dominions of the house of Austria; and most of the soldiers returned to France.

C H A P. V.

*Views of the Allies—Dampierre is appointed to succeed Dumouriez—
Skirmishes at Famars, Quievrain, and St. Amand—The French
are obliged to retreat—Surrender of Condé, Valenciennes and
Mentz.*

ALTHOUGH the defection of Dumouriez was not attended BOOK III.
with all the advantages to the allies which might have been CHAP. V.
expected, yet it contributed not a little to change the nature of the 1793.
war, by rendering hostilities purely defensive on the part of France.
It was accordingly resolved, in a congress composed of the re-
presentatives of the combined powers*, to commence active
operations against the common enemy. The allied kings deemed
themselves at this period on the eve of realising all their projects.
Frederick-William II. was certain to find in unhappy Poland a Separate
views of
Austria and
Prussia.
compensation for the expences of a war, into which he had
entered, not only without any immediate necessity, but in direct
opposition to all the received maxims of policy; and on the
other hand, a vast field was opened for the ambition of the

* The congress met about the beginning of April, 1793, at Antwerp, and was composed of his serene highness the prince of Orange and his two sons, his royal highness the duke of York, their excellencies lord Auckland as ambassador from England, Vander-Spiegel from Holland, the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys, the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, the counts Metternich, Starenberg, Mercy d'Argenteau, and the generals Knobeldorff and Keller. It was in consequence of the representations of this assembly that the commander in chief of the Austrian army was induced to revoke his first manifesto, issued at the request of Dumouriez, and disclaiming the idea of conquest.

BOOK III.
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1793.

Landau summoned to surrender.

youthful emperour. While French Flanders appeared to be an easy conquest on the one side, Alsace presented the most alluring bait on the other, and but little doubt was entertained of its speedy re-annexation to the head of the German empire. Wurmser, a native of that province, and now a general in the service of Austria, accordingly endeavoured to obtain possession of Landau. With this view, he addressed a letter to the commander, in which, after stating that "Dumouriez had put himself and troops under the protection of the Imperial army, and proclaimed Louis XVII. king of France," he intimated that his sovereign was "ready to lend his kind assistance to a nation hitherto led astray by madmen." He entreated general Gillot "to follow the example of a numerous body of troops who repented of their errors," and to put into his hands a "fortress which could not escape from the armies about to surround it." But neither the threats nor allurements held out on one hand, nor even the example of the commander in chief on the other, could induce the governor to surrender that important garrison; while the court of Vienna, by openly throwing off the mask that had so long concealed its projects, clearly indicated that its public professions and secret intentions were at variance.

IN the mean time the army of the north, betrayed by its chief, whom it had at length abandoned, was now reduced to a state of anarchy. The convention, on receiving the first intelligence of this event, declared itself permanent, and expected to hear that all the troops of the line, and a great portion of the national guards, had joined the standard of revolt; but the commissioners* immediately transmitted the agreeable intelligence that the camps of Maulde and Bruille still remained faithful to the republic, and that the fugitives consisted only of Dumouriez, a few officers, and a troop of horse.

* Carnot and Le Sage.

EFFECTIVE measures were now taken to collect the battalions that had retreated, to bring the artillery again into the field, and to inspire the soldiery with confidence. A new chief was however wanting; but one immediately presented himself in the person of general Dampierre, whose courage was unbounded, and who had eminently distinguished himself by his military talents on many important occasions. In addition to this, he had long since denounced Dumouriez as a traitor, and possessed the confidence of all the patriots both in the legislature and the army. Care however was taken at the same time to pass two decrees, by one of which the severest punishment was enacted against those commanders who entered into any secret negotiations with the enemy; while by the other, which would have come with a better grace at an earlier period, the obnoxious law of fraternity was rescinded.

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1793.

A new general appointed to the army of the north.

As time alone could remedy the disorders that prevailed among the troops, it was found necessary to collect them in a camp under the protection of Valenciennes, and even to neglect many points of defence, calculated to obstruct the progress of the enemy, who were at length preparing to take advantage of the late events. The prince de Cobourg finding his army greatly strengthened by the accession of a body of Prussians, as well as by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of English and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of York, immediately declared that the armistice was at an end. He accordingly advanced against Maulde, now rendered defenceless in consequence of the retreat, desertion, and dismay, that had so recently intervened. Having secured this strong camp, he formed the blockade of Condé, and prepared to invest another of the principal fortresses in that neighbourhood. [April 7.]

DAMPIERRE, well acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, who are always dispirited after misfortunes, determined not to hazard a battle; he therefore remained on the defensive at Famars, where his out-posts were soon after assailed by the

BOOK III. Austrians. The Imperialists, upon this occasion, seemed desirous
 CHAP. V. to multiply the means of attack, and accordingly advanced
 1793. against ten different points at the same time, but the French
 Skirmishes commander at length found means to repulse them. This slight
 at Famars, [April 15.] success contributed not a little to reanimate the courage of the
 troops, and invigorate the councils of the assembly, to which
 Dampierre intimated in his dispatches, "that the army would
 soon recover that superiority it had lost in consequence of the
 treachery of those by whom it was commanded." A short time
 after this, the French in their turn determined to attack the allies
 encamped at Quievrain, with an intention of preventing the siege
 of Valenciennes, and raising the blockade of Condé. They
 accordingly marched against the advanced posts of the left wing,
 as well as those of the centre, but were repulsed every-where,
 and suffered considerable loss, both of men and cannon.

and
 Quievrain.
 [May 1.]

NOTWITHSTANDING this check, it was resolved to make a
 still more serious assault on the positions assumed by the com-
 bined forces; and considerable bodies of troops sallied forth from
 Lille and the neighbouring garrisons for the purpose, while the
 [May 8.] main body of the army advanced from the camp of Famars. The
 action, which commenced about seven o'clock in the morning,
 was directed chiefly against the posts occupied by general Clairfayt
 as well as those possessed by the Prussians, and continued with
 nearly unabating ardour, both at the abbey of Vicogne, and in the
 village of Raismes, until eight o'clock in the evening; even then,
 although the French were baffled and defeated in that quarter, they
 assumed a position in the neighbouring woods, kept the prince de
 Cobourg in check, and cannonaded the Prussian camp at St.
 Amand. On this the duke of York, who had arrived early in
 the morning at the camp of Maulde, with the brigade of English
 guards and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, determined to
 march to their assistance. The Coldstream arrived at a critical
 moment, when the French were advancing towards the great

road, and already commanded it, in some degree, by the fire of their cannon ; but the battalion guns having succeeded in checking the battery opposed to this corps, it moved forward into the wood and made a charge with fixed bayonets ; in the course of its progress, however, another battery opened, and a retreat to the former position became necessary ; notwithstanding this, the British troops, commanded by major-general Lake, contributed not a little by their gallantry to the success of the day.

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1793.

IN the course of this action Dampierre received a mortal wound, in consequence of his thigh being carried away by a cannon shot. While bleeding to death, and conscious of his fate, he conducted himself with heroick fortitude ; and in his end did not belie the reputation he had acquired during his life. He was buried amidst the tears of the soldiers, the lamentations of the officers, and the regret of the convention, which conferred upon his ashes the honour of the Pantheon*.

Death of
the French
general.

* DAMPIERRE.

THIS general was originally bred in the French guards ; he then became second major of a regiment of infantry, and at length a general in the army of the republic. He served under Dumouriez during the incursion into the Austrian Netherlands, and distinguished himself greatly on two memorable occasions : the first was at the battle of Gemappe, where he displayed uncommon courage ; and the second during the retreat after the action of Nerwinden, on which occasion he exhibited a fine specimen of the military art. He was less fortunate however at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the month of February, 1793, when he was forced by the Austrians to evacuate that place ; but this circumstance, perhaps, is solely to be attributed to the total deficiency of arrangement on the part of the commander in chief.

Here follows the translation of a letter from the commissioners to the national convention, notifying his death :

“ The whole army regret in him a brave soldier, an able general, and a sincere friend to the republic. The confidence which he inspired into the troops by his noble proclamation at the time when the treachery of Dumouriez was discovered ; his military career, always glorious and unfulfilled ; and, above all, his

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1793.

[May 9.]

THE moment the general in chief was wounded, the command devolved on Lamarche in right of seniority; and this officer appears to have followed the plan of his predecessor; for although the French had been so recently beaten, yet they still continued to menace and harass the allies. On the morning after the action they were still in fight, and even began to erect batteries along the front of the Austrian and Prussian lines, commanded by the generals Clairfayt and Knobledorff. On this it was determined to carry their works by assault; and the duke of York, who was about to return to Tournay with his troops, once more occupied the positions at Maulde and St. Amand, to enable as many of the combined forces as possible to take the field. Next morning at break of day the two generals accordingly advanced at the head of their respective columns, and carried the batteries, which were not defended with any great degree of obstinacy, as the enemy had withdrawn their cannon during the night.

The French
are driven
from the
camp at
Famars.

[May 3.]

PREPARATIONS were now made by the prince de Cobourg to attack the camp of Famars, and the whole of the French line, from Orchies to Maubeuge. As the number of the fortresses in that neighbourhood rendered a formidable opposition inevitable, means were taken to render their support of little avail. The count Colloredo was therefore stationed so as to keep Valenciennes in check, while general Otto masked Quesnoy; and the prince of Wirtemberg, at the head of a body of Austrians, continued the blockade of Condé, and rendered a sally in that quarter ineffectual. Early in the morning three bodies of troops destined for the attack were assembled. The first column, commanded by the duke of York, consisting of

death; ought to be recalled to the remembrance of those who may endeavour to tarnish the splendour of his justly-acquired reputation.

“To-morrow we shall accompany all the good citizens to moisten with our tears the laurels and cypresses destined to cover his grave.”

sixteen battalions of English, Hanoverian, and Austrian infantry, with a detachment of cavalry, and a train of heavy artillery, was to cross the Ronelle, near Orties, with intent to turn the right flank of the enemy, while the second, commanded by general Ferraris, after carrying the works thrown up on the right bank of that river, was to co-operate with the forces under his royal highness. After a cannonade on both sides, two divisions of hussars passed the Ronelle without opposition at the village of Merthe; and on a body of infantry being ordered to advance on purpose to take the batteries in flank, the enemy retreated to the heights behind the village of Famars.

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1793.

As soon as general Ferraris had taken the entrenchments by assault, the duke of York surveyed the new position assumed by the enemy, but finding it imprudent to commence an attack on their front, preparations were made to turn their flanks during the night.

IN the mean time general Clairfayt, who had so recently distinguished himself at the battle of Nerwinden, attacked the heights of Anzain, at the head of a strong column of Imperialists. It was here that most resistance was experienced on the part of the enemy, who defended themselves with an uncommon degree of obstinacy; but the Austrians at length proved victorious, and thus obtained a post, which not only overlooked the citadel of Valenciennes, but enabled the prince de Cobourg to complete the investment of that fortress, the camp of Famars being now occupied by the English and Hanoverians.

THUS ended one of the most bloody engagements that had hitherto been fought in the course of the war. It is evident that, upon this occasion, the combined forces, by acquiring the possession of the entrenched camp and the heights of Anzain, obtained the chief objects they had in view. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the French did not intend upon this occasion to fight a pitched battle; for in that case they would have

BOOK III. defended the passage of the Ronelle instead of abandoning the
 CHAP. V. fords ; but it would have been unwise in the present state of affairs
 1793. to have shut themselves up between two rivers, and staked the fortune of the empire on a decisive engagement. The redoubt behind the village of Famars was, however, maintained until night, when the enemy evacuated it, and after throwing a body of troops into Valenciennes, effected their retreat across the Scheldt. The Imperialists, Hanoverians, and English, particularly the brigade under major-general Abercromby, conducted themselves with distinguished bravery upon this occasion ; the killed and wounded on the part of the British did not exceed thirty-two ; and on the whole the allies did not lose more than seven hundred men. On the other hand, nine pieces of cannon, eight baggage waggons, upwards of three hundred prisoners, and a great number of horses, were taken by them ; the amount of the slain, which must have been considerable on the part of the French, was carefully concealed.

Condé and
 Valenciennes
 invested.

THIS victory enabled the combined forces to undertake the siege of Valenciennes, and press Condé still closer than before ; while general Lamarche, finding himself incapable of directing the operations of the army of the north, and apprehensive, perhaps, of fresh defeats, was desirous of resigning the command. As he was entirely destitute of military talents, and did not possess the confidence of the nation, Custine was recalled from the army of the Moselle and nominated to succeed him. But notwithstanding he had at one period displayed considerable talents in Germany, that general now found himself incapable of acquiring glory by means of troops dispirited by successive defeats, and opposed to a numerous and victorious foe. He was therefore obliged to abandon the fortresses in his vicinity to their fate ; and as the enemy was provided with a formidable train of heavy artillery, their progress was rapid, and the speedy surrender of the neighbouring garrisons inevitable. Condé, after

a blockade of three months by the Imperial forces, was accordingly taken possession of by the prince of Wirtemberg; and the garrison, which had been greatly reduced by famine and disease, made prisoners of war.

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1793.

Condé surrenders.

THE eyes of all Europe were fixed in the mean time upon Valenciennes, the capture of which, at this critical moment, appeared decisive of the fate of France. The duke of York, to whom the conduct of the siege had been entrusted, summoned the commandant in the name of the "emperor;" an event which produced no little surprise, as it appeared to alter the nature of the contest, and exhibit the idea of a war of partition. [July 10.]

SOME difference is said to have occurred upon this occasion relative to the mode of conducting the military operations, and an English engineer* of acknowledged abilities is reported to have proposed that the body of the place should be attacked at once. But the opinion of Feld-Zeugmeister Ferraris, who had distinguished himself at the capture of the camp of Famars, and possessed the confidence of the Austrian general, prevailed; and the fortifications, erected under the direction of the great Vauban, were approached according to the established forms. This decision, although it at length ensured the capture of the place, tended not a little to procrastinate the siege; and no less than forty-one days had elapsed after opening the trenches before the attack became serious. At length, notwithstanding some vigorous sallies on the part of the enemy, the covered way, the horn-work, and the advanced *fleche*, were carried and taken possession of during the night. Three separate attacks, by nine hundred men each, commanded by major-general Abercromby, under the superintendence of lieutenant-general Erbach, took place upon this occasion; and after a lodgment had been effected, the necessary measures [July 25.]

* Colonel Moncrieff.

BOOK III. were adopted for battering the counter-guard between the horn-
 CHAP. V. work and the body of the place *.

1793.

NEXT day his royal highness summoned both the commander and the municipality, declaring at the same time that their answer would irrevocably decide the fate of the city, and that no capitulation would be afterwards granted. General Ferrand the governour, and Landu president of the sections, having demanded a truce of twenty-four hours, a negociation took place, and Valenciennes surrendered to the emperour, the garrison being allowed the honours of war.

The Austrians
 obtain pos-
 session of Va-
 lenciennes.

[July 28.]

IN the course of a few days more, the French army, after a sharp engagement, was obliged to abandon the strong position behind the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp, on which Cambray † was immediately summoned; and, to complete the misfortunes of

* In the dispatch transmitted to England upon this occasion, and immediately inserted in the London Gazette Extraordinary of August, 1793, his royal highness the duke of York was pleased to express himself highly satisfied with "the gallantry and good conduct of major-general Abercromby, colonel Leigh, and lieutenant-colonel Doyle." In a second dispatch, announcing the surrender of the place, it is also stated that "batteries were allotted at different times to be worked by the royal artillery; and every commendation is due to major Congreve, and to the officers and men of that corps, who have upon this occasion fully supported the reputation they have so long enjoyed."

"Though colonel Moncrieff was not charged with the direction of the siege, the greatest advantages," it is added, "have been derived from his professional knowledge, activity, and zeal, particularly in taking and keeping possession of the horn-work."

It may not be unnecessary to remark here, that colonel Fromm acted as chief engineer, and that the artillery was commanded by general Unterberger, both officers in the Imperial service.

By the lists delivered, the garrison appears to have consisted originally of nine thousand seven hundred and eleven men, including officers, but not above seven thousand five hundred marched out.

† NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*August 16.*

It was announced that Cambray had been invested and summoned to surrender on the 8th by the Imperial general de Boros, but that the commandant had returned the following reply: "I have received your letter, general, and have no other answer to return, than that I know not how to surrender, but I know how to fight."

"DECLAY."

France, nearly about the same time Mentz was forced to capitulate. The king of Prussia, after seizing on Costheim, and foiling an army under general Houchard, which had marched to the succour of the garrison, took such effectual measures for the reduction of this important city, that both it and Cassel were delivered up to him. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and also to carry away their arms and baggage; it was specified, however, "that they should not serve during the space of a year against the armies of the allied powers;" but as this stipulation did not extend to the insurgent departments, these troops were immediately employed against the Vendéans.

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1793.

Surrender of
Mentz.
[July 22.]

THE loss of Mentz was immediately announced to the convention by Barrere; who, in his report on that occasion, attributed the misfortune solely to the treachery and intrigues of Custine, and obtained a decree that proved fatal to that general. Merlin, who had acted as one of the commissioners during the siege, after praising the gallantry of the soldiers, stated the scarcity of provisions to have been such "that a pound of horse-flesh had been sold at two, and a dead cat at six livres." He added, "that one thousand nine hundred men were sick in the two hospitals, that five thousand had fallen in the defence of the place, which could not possibly hold out three days longer; and that although the capitulation was infamous, it was the tenth that had been proposed, and the first accepted."

BUT the misfortunes of France did not end here, for the execution of Louis XVI., and the prospect of a speedy subjugation, had induced a number of powers to declare against her; and England was now preparing not only to sweep her commerce from the face of the ocean, but also to seize on those distant settlements which had hitherto given energy to her trade, and supplied the means of prosperity to her empire.

C H A P. VI.

A new League is formed against France—Conduct of the British Cabinet—Naval Campaign in the Channel—Capture of Tobago, Miquelon, St. Pierre, and Part of St. Domingo in the West, and Chandernagore, Carical, and Pondicherry, in the East Indies—Lord Hood is sent to the Mediterranean with a formidable Fleet.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

1793.

WHILE France was assailed by powerful enemies on her frontiers, and exposed at the same time to all the horrors of anarchy and civil war within her own bosom, a new league of kings menaced not only the dismemberment of her territories, but even the annihilation of her independence.

Interested
policy of
Russia.

THE empress Catharine had preceded all the other potentates of Europe in her threats of vengeance. This very princess, who, after bereaving king Stanislaus Augustus of his dominions, kept him as a state prisoner in her capital, and had been publicly and repeatedly accused of violating all the duties of a wife and a subject, was shocked at the unnatural and rebellious conduct of a nation which had presumed not only to seize on the Bastille, but to limit the power of an absolute monarch. She therefore recalled her minister, and determined to suspend all correspondence with France “until his most christian majesty should be re-established in those rights and prerogatives assigned to him by human and divine laws.”

[Feb. 8.]

ON the execution of Louis XVI. her imperial majesty addressed an edict to her senate, in which, after intimating that “seven hundred monsters” had laid “their parricidal hands on the life of the Lord’s anointed, their lawful master,” she was pleased to

suspend all commercial intercourse with France, and permitted such only of the natives of that country to remain within her dominions as would abjure by oath "the principles of impiety and sedition introduced by the usurpers of the government and legitimate authorities." The empress soon after entered into a convention with Great Britain, and transmitted a note to the court of Sweden, in which she intimated a wish "to check and cut off the navigation of the French rebels, and protect the coasts of the Baltick from their privateers and robbers." But although the edicts of this great princess resembled Homilies, and in truly edifying language exhibited the horrors of murder, rebellion, and plunder, she prudently forbore to take any active part in the contest, and reserved the valour of her armies, and the abilities of her generals, for the final conquest and partition of Poland.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. VI.
 1793.

THE court of Naples always exhibited the most decided opposition to the various changes that had taken place in France; and although it had formally acknowledged the republick on the appearance of a naval armament under admiral Latouche-Treville *, yet no sooner did his squadron disappear than the former system was resumed. The decollation of the unhappy monarch of course widened the breach, and the proffered assistance and protection of England at length converted an equivocal neutrality into a state of war. A convention was accordingly entered into between his Britannick and Sicilian majesties; and the former not only agreed to protect the dominions of the other by means of a respectable fleet in the Mediterranean, but also to grant a subsidy, in order to infuse vigour into the proceedings of his ally.

Conduct of
 the court of
 Naples,

[July 12.]

TRUE policy pointed out a rigorous and dignified system of moderation on the part of Spain; but count d'Aranda no longer

* December 15, 1792.

BOOK III. presided over her cabinet. The duke d'Alcudia, a major in the
 CHAP. VI. Walloon guards, and a favourite of fortune, had become the suc-
 1793. cessor of the president of Castile, and France by a declaration of
 [March 7.] hostilities only anticipated the intentions of the court of Madrid.

and
 Lisbon.

A FAMILY connection with Spain, and a strict commercial
 intercourse with Great Britain, rather than any injuries either
 dreaded or received, contributed to render Portugal a party in the
 [April 27.] war. The court of Lisbon made use of but little ceremony on this
 occasion, the police having signified to d'Arnault, the minister
 of France, that he must quit the capital within the space of three
 days. Several Frenchmen, attached to the government of their
 country, and stigmatized with the charge of jacobinism, were at
 the same time sent on board a neutral vessel.

Conduct of
 the British
 Cabinet.

[March 29.] WHILE Britain was preparing to maintain her naval supe-
 riority in both hemispheres, measures were adopted to arouse all
 Europe against the French, and thus ward off the dangers of an
 invasion from her own shores. The first convention entered into
 was with Prussia, in which it was mutually agreed that the high
 contracting powers were to assist and succour each other in the
 course of "the just and necessary war in which they are engaged
 against France." It was also stipulated, that they should shut up
 their ports against the ships of that nation, and not lay down
 their arms, but by common consent, without a restitution of all
 conquests made upon either of their said majesties, or such of
 their allies to whom they might deem proper to extend this
 guarantee.

THE landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had been stigmatized for
 selling the services of his subjects during the contest with Ame-
 rica, now entered into a stipendiary treaty with the king of
 England; in consequence of which, he agreed to keep a body
 of eight thousand infantry and cavalry, which by an addi-
 tional article was afterwards augmented to twelve thousand, at
 the disposal of the king of Great Britain, during the space of

three successive years. His serene highness, with punctilious attachment to his pecuniary interests, exacted on this occasion a subsidy of two hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns per annum, and stipulated with all the minuteness of commercial calculation, for the remuneration to be received on account of the loss of stores, artillery, and men. Engagements of a similar kind were afterwards entered into with the margrave of Baden, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the duke of Brunswick, and the elector of Hanover.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1793.

A SUBSIDIARY treaty was also concluded with the court of Turin. By this it was stipulated on the part of his Sardinian majesty, that he was to keep on foot during the course of the war “an army of fifty thousand men, to be employed for the defence of his dominions, as well as to act against the common enemy:” and, on the other hand, it was agreed on the part of his Britannick majesty, to furnish during the same period the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, three months being always paid in advance; to keep up a formidable naval force in the Mediterranean; and not to conclude a peace with the enemy “without comprehending in it the entire restitution to his Sardinian majesty of all the parts of his dominions which belonged to him at the commencement of the war, and of which the enemy has obtained possession, or of which it may hereafter obtain possession during the course of hostilities.”

SPAIN, forgetting the disputes relative to Nootka Sound, entered into a mutual guarantee with Great Britain, of their respective dominions, and not only agreed to shut up her ports against France, but even to trench on the acknowledged law of nations; for it was expressly stipulated, “that, the present war being generally interesting to every civilised state,” their majesties were to unite all their efforts “in order to prevent those powers which do not take part in the said war, from affording, in consequence of their neutrality, any protection, direct or indirect, on the seas, or in the ports of France, to the commerce and property of the French.”

BOOK III. By another convention, acceded to by Frederick-William II. in
 CHAP. VI. his camp before Mentz, their Britannick and Prussian majesties
 1793. promised not to lay down their arms but by mutual consent, and
 [Aug. 30.] at the same time guaranteed their respective dominions to each
 other. A similar agreement was also entered into with the em-
 perour at the same time.

WHILE the English cabinet was thus at infinite pains, by
 means of subsidiary treaties and multiplied negotiations, to raise
 up new enemies against France, the navy, destined to inflict the
 most deadly wounds on the prosperity of an ancient rival, was
 not neglected. No less than three different armaments were
 fitted out in the course of a single summer; and the West Indies,
 the Mediterranean, and the narrow seas, witnessed the triumph
 [July 14.] of the British flag. The channel fleet, consisting of fifteen
 ships of the line, having left Spithead under lord Howe, intel-
 ligence was soon after received that seventeen men-of-war belong-
 ing to the enemy were stationed off Belleisle. On the arrival of
 the former in that latitude, twenty-one sail were descried from
 the mast-head; but the distance was too great to enable the best
 glasses to convey any idea of their respective rates; and the
 tempestuous weather prevented the admiral from adopting such
 measures as might have brought on an engagement.

Operations of
 the channel
 fleet.

TOWARDS the end of October the English fleet, now aug-
 mented to twenty-four ships of the line, gave chase to a
 squadron of observation, consisting of six large men-of-war, two
 frigates, and a brig; it was found impossible, however, to bring
 them to action, as they dispersed and escaped during the night.
 But although the campaign in the Channel proved unsatisfactory,
 several captures were made by means of single ships. Captain
 Edward Pellew, in *La Nymphe*, fell in, during the month of June,
 with the national ship of war the *Cleopatra*, carrying forty guns
 and 320 men, and took possession of her, after an action of
 fifty five minutes. Captain Saumarez of the *Crescent*, towards
 the latter end of October, after a close fight of two hours and

tên minutes, and without a single man being either killed or wounded, forced the frigate La Reunion to surrender; she mounted thirty-six guns, and was provided with 320 men, 120 of whom were killed and wounded on this occasion. BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1793.

ON the other hand, an action, dubious as to the result, was fought on the American station. This took place between the *Ambuscade*, a French frigate, mounting thirty-six guns and carrying 400 seamen, and captain Courtney in the *Boston*, provided with thirty-two guns, and 204 men. Both vessels suffered considerably, and the English captain was killed in the course of the fight, which was not suspended until the crews of both ships had been thinned by mutual slaughter, and utterly disabled from continuing the contest.

IN the mean time the English arms were triumphant both in the East and West Indies. Major-general Cuyler, with the assistance of vice-admiral sir John Laforey, was enabled to proceed with a small body of men against the island of Tobago. Having effected a landing in Great Courland bay, and marched against the fort, Monteil the *commandant* was summoned to surrender, but refused. On this the English general finding that his numbers were unequal to the operations of a siege, determined to carry the place by assault in the course of that very night. The troops, who were enjoined to trust entirely to the bayonet, accordingly advanced to attack the north-west side, and, notwithstanding one of the guides ran away, and the column was separated in mounting the hill, yet the flank companies entered the works, upon which the troops forming the garrison yielded, and were admitted prisoners of war*.

* Major-general Cuyler, in his dispatch, which was brought home by captain Maitland, acting deputy adjutant-general, makes mention of the services of lieutenant-colonel Myers of the 15th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Lloyd of the royal artillery, and majors Baillie and Gordon.

BOOK III. SOON after this, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon,
CHAP. VI. near the coast of Newfoundland, surrendered at discretion to brig-

1793.

St. Pierre
and Mique-
lon.

[May 14.]

Unsuccessful
attempt on
Martinico.

gadier-general Ogilvie; but an attack made by major-general Bruce, on the island of Martinico, proved less fortunate. The colonists being divided among themselves, the royalists had sent a deputation, in the name of a committee, inviting the commander in chief of his majesty forces in the West Indies to proceed to their assistance, stating, at the same time, that they were already in possession of some important posts. A detachment of British troops, to the amount of eleven thousand men, was accordingly landed, and being joined by a body of the malecontents, the whole prepared to advance in two columns against a couple of batteries that defended the town of St. Pierre; but an alarm having taken place among the allies, and their commanding officer being wounded, the expedition was relinquished, and the troops re-embarked.

[June 16.]

ALTHOUGH the British troops did not then succeed in their attempt on the rich settlement of Martinico, possession was soon after obtained of a portion of the still more important colony of St. Domingo.

Disputes in
St. Domingo

THIS colony is not only the first settlement in the West-Indian archipelago, but, in point of importance, may be perhaps considered as superiour to the whole of the European colonies in that portion of America*. An intercourse between the white freeman and the black female, had produced a numerous race,

* Mr. Bryan Edwards, in his "Historical Survey," p. 1, states the number of enslaved negroes, in 1789, at 480,000; free people of colour at 24,000. These, together with the white inhabitants, constituted a total of 534,831. Colonel Charmilly, who possessed better means of information on this subject, estimates the population previously to the civil war at 600,000 of all colours, exclusive of the Spanish portion of the island, which contains about 60,000, reckoning the whites at 2000, the negroes at 30,000, and the remainder, including twelve or fourteen different mixtures, from "the mungrel to the marebou," at 28,000.

varying, in point of colour, from the dingy samboe to the pale mestize, whose complexion, without the bloom, possessed nearly all the fairness of the male ancestor. But while nature approximated these two distinct races, prejudice and oppressive laws kept them apart. The men of colour, many of whom had been educated in the universities of France, and possessed considerable plantations, were removed in point of consequence but a single degree from slaves; and those who in Europe had been treated with respect, found on their return to their native shores, that they could not exercise any publick office, practise any respectable profession, or enjoy either civil or political rights.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1793.

THE French revolution, productive of so many important changes, seemed destined to meliorate their fate; and by a decree of the national assembly *, it was accordingly declared, "that all the people of colour born of free parents became citizens, and were eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies." This measure, which was dictated by the feelings of men unacquainted with the rooted prejudices of the creoles, who seem to estimate merit by the tint of complexion, produced a civil war; in the course of which the negroes and mulattoes appear to have at first entered into an alliance for their mutual security. To heal these divisions, three persons were sent out to St. Domingo with the title of civil commissioners †, but they lost the confidence of the white inhabitants, by having proclaimed a general amnesty on their arrival, in favour of the men of colour and the revolted slaves. Three others, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were appointed to succeed them. These immediately dissolved the colonial assembly, sent home Blanchilande the governor, nominated by the king, and called in the negroes to their assistance against the planters. In the course of this contest, the most terrible enormities were perpetrated on all sides. Ogé and

* May 15, 1791.

† Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger.

BOOK III. Chavane, two men of colour, were put to death amidst the most
 CHAP. VI. cruel torments; Mauduit, the *commandant* at Port-au-Prince, was
 1793. murdered by his own soldiers; the town of Cape François was destroyed, and a multitude of the inhabitants massacred.

IN this unhappy situation of affairs, a number of different parties were formed among the white colonists, all of which appear to have been determined rather to renounce their mother country than the prejudices so long and so carefully fostered by them. Some contemplating the internal resources of the island, and, dazzled with the recent success of the British colonies in America, were desirous of establishing an independent state; others wished for the protection of England; and not a few were eager to profess a temporary allegiance to Spain, and surrender St. Domingo to the court of Madrid *, as a deposit for the French princes.

BUT those who were attached to Great Britain finally prevailed, for the governor of Jamaica having received instructions to attempt an invasion, measures were at length taken for that purpose, and a French nobleman †, well acquainted with the colony,

* The Spanish party in the French portion of the island was numerous. It consisted of the count de Fontanges, now a lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, many officers, and several opulent planters. These dispatched the baron de Montalembert, who afterwards carried arms in behalf of England, and several other gentlemen, to negotiate this important affair; but they were anticipated by the governor of Jamaica. Major James O'Ferral also, who commanded the regiment of Dillon at Cape Nicholas Mole, wished to relinquish that post to his catholic majesty; and colonel Deneux, then a captain of artillery, entering into his views, captain O'Neill, Charles the Greffier, and a serjeant of the Irish regiment above mentioned, were sent to Montechristo, to treat of the surrender; but, on learning the intention of general Williamson, they immediately entered into his views.

† Colonel de Charmilly, who may be considered as the head of the English party, so early as 1791 and 1792, solicited assistance from the English ministry in person; in 1793, he was sent to Jamaica, and a capitulation was drawn up and signed by general Williamson on one part, and in the name of the inhabitants of St. Domingo on the other, before the expedition sailed from that island. It was by his means that the Grand Anse surrendered, and it was entirely owing to him that the expedition was originally undertaken.

This gentleman afterwards obtained the rank of colonel of horse. Captain Denew of the

accompanied the expedition. All the necessary preparations having been made, commodore Ford sailed from Port Royal with the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a small detachment of artillery, commanded by lieutenant-colonel White-
locke. These having landed at Jeremie, the two forts immediately hoisted English colours, and saluted with twenty-one guns.

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CHAP. VI.
1793.
[Oct. 20.]

AFTER leaving some troops, and remaining only a few hours there, the squadron sailed for the Mole, and some persons were sent on shore to treat about the surrender. Major O'Ferral, who commanded the garrison, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three men of the regiment of Dillon, and M. Deneux the *commandant* of the place, immediately agreed to the terms proposed. Twenty-two deputies were accordingly sent on board the Europa; the forts at Presque-île and Orleans fired a royal salute, and the troops exclaimed *Vive le Roi!* Thus an important position of the island of St. Domingo was delivered up to five hundred and sixty British troops; and the English cross, assuming the place of the three-coloured flag, not only waved along a coast of fifty leagues in extent, but was displayed from the bastions of the Gibraltar of the Antilles.

The English obtain possession of Grand Anse, and Cape Nicolas Mole.
[Oct. 22.]

IN the East Indies, the arms of England were uniformly successful. A company of merchant-adventurers, incited by the thirst of wealth, coasted along the southern extremity of Africa, and with some difficulty obtained leave to establish a little factory on the shores of Asia. Combining policy with trade, and war with a spirit of gain, by taking part in the disputes between contending princes, and engrafting European skill

Immense power of the East-India Company.

artillery became a colonel of militia; and the count Montalembert procured the command of a legion. The second battalion of Dillon was taken into the service of Great Britain; and Carles, the *greffier militaire*, who had repaired to Jamaica with proposals for surrendering the Mole, and who had been originally a soldier in the regiment of *Royal Comtois*, was appointed major of that place.

BOOK III. on Indian cunning, it at length became formidable. One of its
 CHAP VI. servants, embued with the spirit of the institution, in which he had
 1793. acted a subordinate part, from a clerk became a general, and by
 a memorable victory over Surajah Dowla, converted tributaries
 into sovereigns. Since the memorable battle of Plassey, the
 factors of the company have presided over settlements equally
 populous and extensive as the greatest kingdoms in our quarter
 of the globe, with all the pomp and parade of eastern mag-
 nificence; all the neighbouring rajahs and nabobs now acknow-
 ledge their dominion, and from the dark recesses of a counting-
 house in Leadenhall-street, orders are issued to regulate the de-
 stiny of nations, and raise or depose sultans. Never was this
 company more powerful than at the period of which we now
 treat; its army was in excellent condition, and none of the mi-
 litary establishments of the other European powers were able to
 cope with it, either in point of numbers, or of discipline.

All the
 French forts
 and factories
 surrender to
 the English.

IN consequence of the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Baldwin,
 the British consul in Egypt, advice of the war with France arrived
 in India with a degree of celerity hitherto unexampled. On
 receiving this important intelligence, Chandernagore, Carical,
 Yanam, and all the small factories appertaining to that power, were
 instantly laid hold of, and many of their ships seized. Preparations
 were also made to obtain possession of the important fortrefs of Pon-
 dicherry; and admiral Cornwallis blockaded the place by sea, while
 colonel Floyd appeared before it on the land side with a detach-
 ment of troops. Colonel Braithwaite, who formerly acted as go-
 vernour, and had become acquainted with all the approaches, was
 entrusted with the direction of the siege. After transmitting a sum-
 mons to colonel Prosper de Chermont, a plan of attack upon the
 north face of the fort was determined upon. A battery of eight
 twelve-pounders and two eight-inch mortars was accordingly erect-
 ed within eight hundred yards of the place, and another of four-
 teen twenty-four pounders was completed in a short time; on the

opening of which, the fire of the enemy became irregular and confused; gun after gun was withdrawn, and their embrasures filled with sand bags, while an incessant fire of shot and shells was kept up by the English. In the afternoon of that day, flags of truce were exhibited on all the salient angles of the fort, and in the course of the next Pondicherry surrendered. This place might have held out some time longer, had not the ships stationed in the road prevented the entrance of a frigate with supplies from the isle of France, and had not disputes of a serious nature existed between the governour and the garrison.

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[Aug. 28.]

BUT the operations of England were not confined to the factories of Asia, and the islands of America, for a fleet had been fitted out and sailed a little before this period, under the command of lord Hood, for the protection of her allies in the south of Europe. This armament was also destined for a time to produce the most fatal effects on the prosperity of France, by seizing on her chief arsenal in the Mediterranean, countenancing the rebellion of her maritime departments in that quarter, and adding all the horrors of civil to the miseries of foreign war.

C H A P. VII.

Disputes between the Girondists and the Jacobins—Insurrection of the Departments—Lyons and Marseilles declare against the Convention—Their Subjugation.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.

1793.

WHILE the three-coloured flag floated triumphant on the banks of the Rhine and the Maine, in Belgium, and on the confines of Italy, the moderate party, known by the appellation of *Girondists*, also triumphed. But no sooner did fortune prepare a series of reverses for the French armies, than the faction which had overturned the throne, and put the king to death, began to assume a most sanguinary and ferocious aspect.

A VARIETY of causes contributed, at this period, to acquire a sinistrous preponderance for the more violent party; and the internal troubles, as well as external events, all conspired to render the jacobins finally victorious. The conquests of Cobourg, and of Frederick-William II.; the loss of the Low-countries; the war with England; and the defeat of Custine; but, above all, the recent treachery of Dumouriez; weakened the credit of the *Gironde*, and increased the real or pretended suspicions of its enemies.

A TERRIBLE contest at length took place, and Danton, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, and Robespierre, were destined to overcome Roland, Brissot, Vergniaud, and Genfonné. The latter still retained a majority in the convention, the departments were attached, the executive council was devoted to it; but the former, by means of terroure and of calumny, had gained over all the clubs, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Paris. It was in vain that the Brissotins, menaced in turn by the po-

pulace of the suburbs and spectators in the galleries, wished to transfer the legislative body to Bourges, and surround it with a departmental guard. These projects, by proving abortive, redoubled the rage of their opponents, and inspired them with the idea of achieving a new revolution. This was soon after carried into execution. The alarm-bell was accordingly rung at three o'clock in the morning; the barriers were shut; and the commotion every-where visible throughout the capital, denoted an approaching crisis. Henriot, the commander of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it. Surrounded without by an outrageous multitude, and assailed within by the party of the mountain, many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. At length, after the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of *sans-culottes*; a decree of accusation against twenty-two legislators; and a diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be dispatched to the south, on purpose to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of publick contributions, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs. Their enmity, however, was chiefly directed against the principal members of the Gironde, whom they termed the accomplices of Dumouriez and the coalesced powers; they attributed to them the intention of dividing the nation into federate republics; and, with an incongruity of malice that would have appeared contemptible at any other period, they at the same time denounced them as having entered into a plot to place the duke of Orleans on the throne. But notwithstanding the entreaties and even the threats of fac-

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BOOK III.
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1793.

[June 2.]

tious committees, supported by the municipality, the administrators of the department, the populace of the suburbs, the seditious vociferations of the spectators, and the tumultuous cries of the mountain, the convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators. This, however, was the last effort; for two days afterwards the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies *, but proscribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight.

THE vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on the immutable basis of virtue. The triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained indeed all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible and the most odious despotism; and although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, yet they contrived to suspend all its benefits until the return of peace.

The departments arm
against the
jacobins.

IN the mean time several of the departments took the alarm, and determined to avenge the outrages committed against their deputies. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned

* Briffot,	} Deputies from the Girondins.	Duprat,	Boileau,	Biratteau,
Vergniaud,		Sillery,	Antiboul,	Rabaut St. Etienne,
Genfonné,		Fauchet,	Vigee,	Lanjuinais,
Ducos,		La Source,	Gorfas,	Grangueneve,
Lacaze,		Beauvais,	Petion,	Le Sage,
Duperret,		Duchastel,	Salles,	Louvet,
Carra,		Mainvielle,	Cambon,	Ducos,
Gardien,		Guadet,	Barbaroux,	Lanthenas, and
Valazé,		Le Hardy,	Buzot,	Dussaulx.

Ducos, Dussaulx, and Lanthenas, were afterwards excepted from this decree, which involved all the members of the committee of twelve, but Fonfrede and St. Martin.

members were restored to their functions. This body at the same time received notice, that no sooner had an account of their late proceedings reached Bourdeaux, than cries of indignation resounded from every quarter; and the president of the administration of Isle and Vilaine transmitted a letter, in the name of the constituted authorities, to announce their resolution "to send an armed force to Paris, on purpose to rescue the legislature from the state of oppression in which it languished, under the dominion of a handful of anarchists." The departments of Calvados, the Rhone, and the Loire, also publicly avowed their determination to disown the convention; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons; Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the mountain for a moment appeared desperate.

SEVERAL of the proscribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them. Considered as the martyrs of liberty, they were every-where received with the most lively transports of joy; and a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon. Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partisans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of no less than seventy-two departments.

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1793.

BOOK III. BUT this plan, alike destitute of uniformity and foresight, ex-
 CHAP. VII. posed the cause of liberty to new dangers; and while it added to,
 1793. and even seemed to countenance, the ferocity of the jacobins, distracted and nearly proved fatal to the republick. After the passions of the people were permitted to subside, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause, and a civil war soon began to appear odious to all, and peculiarly impolitick at such a critical period.

BUT notwithstanding many of the departments declined to declare openly, yet commissioners from the Gironde, Isle and Vilaine, and Finisterre, assembled, and resolved to march to Paris with their fellow-citizens, to restore the proscribed members, ensure the liberty of the convention, and obtain the punishment of the guilty.

[June 26.] NO sooner did the indignant provinces begin to think of avenging the common cause, than a number of the devoted deputies assembled together, for the purpose of directing their movements. Buzot and Gorsas, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux and Petion, who escaped from arrest, were already at Caen, and headed the insurrection of the west. Louvet, who had distinguished himself by the energy of his writings and his speeches, flying from Paris, rejoined his friends, and found that eight coalesced departments had already nominated their commissioners; that Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as the leader, while De Puifaye was appointed by him to act as adjutant-general. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Bretons and Normans alone. But the general insisted on organising his army, and pointed out the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase

the number of their partisans, by the junction of the troops expected from the south, and thus render success inevitable. He accordingly contented himself with dispersing proclamations; and on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that “he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of sixty thousand men.”

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IN the mean time the new constitution, drawn up by the victorious party of the *mountain*, was generally accepted throughout France, and even adopted by the primary assemblies of the insurgent departments. The jacobins displayed equal vigour and address on this critical occasion. Not content with decrees that placed the treasure, and the armed force of the nation, at their disposal, they sent their commissioners and secret agents to every city, and almost every village, in the republick, and procured addresses of felicitation from all the popular societies.

AT length the proscribed deputies began to suspect that Wimpffen and De Puisaye were not only royalists, but secretly attached to the interests of a neighbouring nation, by means of which they wished to place one of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. The former of these at last disclosed his mind freely, and proposed a junction with the army of La Vendee. He represented to the committee, that in the present situation of affairs this union could not be imputed to treason, but to the force of circumstances: he added, that republicks, both ancient and modern, had flourished with kings at their head; and that France might safely follow their example. It was true the convention had abolished royalty; but this law was not yet formally sanctioned by the people, and could only be contemplated as an event produced by the pressure of the occasion. He insisted on the benefits to be derived from a coalition with the insurgents; and concluded by promising the assistance of England, with which he kept up a secret communication and correspondence. But the

Conduct of
general
Wimpffen.

BOOK III. girondists, who were sincerely attached to a republican form of
 CHAP. VII. government, refused to accede to any plan in opposition to their
 1793. avowed principles; and, notwithstanding his former exploits against
 the emigrants, they from this moment clearly perceived that the
 commander whom they had selected to support the cause of the
 commonwealth, was devoted to the cause of the monarchy.

Skirmish at
 Vernon.

ON being pressed to advance directly to Paris without waiting
 for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length
 marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops.
 The jacobins, who had assembled some forces in that town,
 immediately sallied forth and received them with a discharge of
 artillery. On this, either actuated by treason, or struck with a
 sudden panick, the whole of the insurgents betook themselves to
 flight, except a single battalion of four hundred men from
 Finisterre; which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good
 order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length rallied.

AFTER this they were all re-conducted to Caen, which
 the general now proposed to fortify, that they might there
 wait for the quotas of troops promised by the neighbouring de-
 partments. But the exiled deputies, disgusted with his conduct,
 and seeing no prospect of success, refused their assent. The armed
 citizens, actuated by the same motives, marched towards their
 respective districts: Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed them-
 selves; the forlorn representatives betook themselves to flight;
 some perished by the guillotine; others by fatigue and famine;
 while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of
 cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

Insurrections
 at Lyons, and

LYONS, one of the largest and most flourishing cities in
 France, nearly about the same time became the theatre of a civil
 war. The principal inhabitants, consisting chiefly of men who
 had obtained wealth by trade and manufactures, desirous of either
 enjoying or increasing their fortunes in tranquillity, were but
 little solicitous about the triumph of liberty. Many of the

ancient nobles had taken refuge ; a multitude of the emigrants also found shelter there, while a disaffected priesthood contributed not a little to influence the current of political sentiments. The execution of Louis XVI., which stirred up so many foreign enemies against the republick, tended not a little to add to the bitterness of domestick feuds ; the ferocity of the jacobin clubs in the south, the revolutionary taxes laid on the rich, and, above all, the crimes and the menaces of certain violent demagogues, who arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of patriots, contributed to produce an insurrection.

LAUPEL a constitutional priest, and Chalier the mayor, while they gained over the populace by promises and by largesses, appear to have treated the more opulent inhabitants with cruelty. Arbitrary arrests and imprisonments took place daily, and fines were levied and confiscations enforced with a degree of severity hitherto unknown ; the vaults under the town-house were full of prisoners, and plunder, captivity, and perhaps death, seemed to be the fate reserved for a large portion of the inhabitants. Their fears also were multiplied and increased by the disaffected, who pretended that the jacobins only waited for the arrival of some battalions detached by Kellermann, from the army of the Alps, to shut the gates, and cut off all the malecontents by means of the guillotine.

IMPRESSED with these notions, the sections took advantage of [May 29.] a late decree of the convention, and having met under pretence of adopting the necessary measures to ensure the publick tranquillity, seized on the arsenal, and committed all the excesses usually accompanying insurrections ; while the municipality, which was devoted to the convention, took refuge in the town-house, and waited for succour from the army of Italy. But in the course of that very night, the head-quarters of the jacobins were carried, and after a short process before an incompetent tribunal, the mayor was first deposed and then put to death.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.

1793.

IN the mean time the citizens received intelligence, that the girondists had been either arrested or proscribed by the convention, and that the departments of the Rhone, the Gironde, and Calvados, were determined to recur to arms, in order to avenge the crimes committed against the integrity of the national representation. Although the leaders of the departmental insurrection were attached to republican forms, and the Lyonesse were desirous of a monarchy, the latter determined to make a common cause with them, and actually invited the deputies to assemble and form a congress within their walls. The latter accordingly sent two members thither, but these no sooner perceived that the inhabitants wished for the restoration of the Bourbons, than they declined all further connection.

Marseilles.

[June 9.]

MARSEILLES, which was now also in commotion, promised assistance to Lyons, and determined to march a body of troops thither. A committee, consisting of two commissioners from each section, had been appointed in the former city, and all Provence followed the impulsion. At length this insurrection began to assume a most serious aspect, for the central committee in concert with the administrators of the department, the district and the municipal officers, published a manifesto, in which they openly declared war against oppression, but they exhibited at the same time the most unequivocal attachment to a republican form of government, and the representative system. Commissioners from several of the neighbouring departments had also repaired thither, to concert measures for the common safety; and it had been resolved, that a congress should be held at Bourges to regulate the general interests, while two representatives and a battalion from every district should assemble there.

No sooner was the convention informed of these events, than general Cartaux was detached at the head of fifteen hundred men from the army of Italy, at the critical period when two battalions belonging to Marseilles and Aix, destined to form a junction with

the inhabitants of Lyons, had taken possession of Avignon. On hearing of his march, that place was immediately abandoned, the Durance placed between the insurgents and the enemy, and as the combined squadron was now cruising in the Mediterranean, it began to be whispered in the central committee, that it would be prudent to treat with the English and Spanish admirals.

BOOK III
CHAP. VII.
1793.

AT all events, it appeared necessary to augment the number of battalions, and entrust the command to an officer of experience. Rouffelet, who had been elected general of the insurgents, sensible of his own incapacity, displayed a rare instance of moderation, by returning to the ranks and serving as a simple volunteer. Villeneuve-Tourette, formerly a colonel in the regiment of Artois, was on this invested with the command, and being joined by a body of troops from Toulon, he marched out in order to give battle. But Cartaux had by this time augmented his detachment, and notwithstanding some advantages at first gained by the insurgents, they were at length forced to retreat. This defeat, [August 10.] which took place at Cadenet, on the right bank of the Durance, became as fatal to the coalition of the south, as that at Vernon had proved to the insurrection in the north; and the convention being now triumphant in the field, the great cities were left to their own resources, and bereft of those benefits which they would have derived from union.

MARSEILLES, menaced at the same time by famine on one side, and by the army of the republicans on the other, was reduced to the greatest extremities. Nevertheless, at the very moment the citizens sent a deputation to the English admiral in the Mediterranean, to solicit leave for the importation of corn, they permitted provisions and supplies of all kinds to be transmitted to the army of Italy. Measures were however taken to defend the neighbouring posts; and Villeneuve accordingly oc-

BOOK III. cupied the heights of Gavote, Sabregoule, Septeme, and Ro-
CHAP. VII. quevaire, with his little army.

1793.

BUT the Marseillaise were not united among themselves; many of the sections declared publicly their wish to accept of the new constitution, which had been formed with astonishing celerity by the jacobins, and the contention was carried to such lengths [Aug. 23.] that a skirmish actually took place, during which the blood that flowed along the streets already presented a prelude to the horrors about to ensue. In the mean time the army of Cartaux, under the direction of the deputies Albite and Poultier, attacked and carried the heights of Sabregoule and Septeme; on which Villeneuve, with about five hundred of his troops, the municipal officers, and a number of the citizens, thought fit to take refuge [Aug. 25.] in Toulon from the horrors that took place on the surrender of their native city.

Siege of
Lyons.

THE citizens of Lyons were now forced to depend upon their own strength alone. They had at first endeavoured to escape from the rage of the storm which they could not resist, and accordingly accepted the new constitution without any restriction; but the deputies sent to notify this event to the convention were received with marked displeasure, and only evaded imprisonment by an immediate flight. Dubois Crancé, one of the national commissioners at Maçon, instead of attending to their supplications, sent them notice, "that the blood of the patriots shed by them demanded vengeance, and that they must lay down their arms and deliver up their new magistrates before they could hope for mercy." These terms were instantly rejected by the inhabitants, and the necessary preparations made for an obstinate defence. The position of the city, however, rendered it incapable of sustaining a regular siege, it being entirely open, and by far too extensive to be easily protected. In addition to this, it was destitute of cannon, for general Kellermann had, a little before this, obtained all the ordnance in the arsenal, under pretence of

supplying the wants of the army of Italy. The townsmen too, although numerous, were undisciplined; most of them consisted of fathers of families, who trembled at the same time for the safety of their property as well as for the fate of their wives and children; and although an immense number appeared under arms, yet not above ten thousand could be depended on. In addition to this, the partisans of the jacobins still remaining within the walls, were resolute and determined, and the populace was entirely devoted to their cause.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.
1793.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these disadvantages, knowing that their sole hope depended on a successful resistance, the Lyonese determined to rely on their own intrepidity. Precy, formerly a colonel in the constitutional guards of Louis XVI., was elected general by acclamation; Chennelette superintended the reparation of the fortifications; and Smidt cast the artillery. Such was the general enthusiasm, that while the youth flew to arms, women and old men worked at the redoubts, and encouraged the warriors by their presence and example.

THE army destined for the attack consisted of nearly ten thousand troops of the line, three thousand cavalry, and a number of battalions of national guards levied in the neighbouring departments. To these were attached a corps of five hundred artillery-men, and one hundred and twenty battering guns, besides mortars*.

It was at first intended by the deputies to have attempted the city by assault; but the prudence of the French general prevented him from conforming to so desperate a resolution; the usual means were accordingly resorted to, and in addition to the trenches and the cannon, still more dangerous engines were found in the adhesion of the poorer classes of inhabitants, who

[Aug. 8.]

* Relation du Siege de Lyons, 8vo.

BOOK III. not only conveyed intelligence into the camp of the besiegers,
 CHAP. VII. but even directed their operations by means of signals.

1793.

FINDING the negotiations of the representatives ineffectual, the general had recourse at length to his artillery, and such a tremendous shower of bombs and red-hot balls was poured in, that this unfortunate city was set on fire in no less than forty-two places in the course of a single night. But the Lyonese were less terrified by the sight of sixty thousand men, now assembled under their walls, than at the prospect of famine with which they were menaced. Two columns of armed citizens having sallied forth to collect corn, and one of these being attacked in a defile, the whole body, five only excepted, was cut off, and Servan their leader, who happened to be wounded, was taken and shot. The insurgents, however, still continued to make a vigorous resistance, and Dubois Crancé, who had accused the hero of Valmi of cowardice, was recalled to give an account of his own conduct. The besiegers in their turn now obtained some advantages, for Precy retook the grand redoubt and posts of St. Louis and Broteaux, which had been surrendered by treachery. Although the enemy's batteries were extended to within two hundred yards of the bridge of St. Clair, and an infernal machine employed against the latter, yet it was gallantly and successfully defended by Morand, the architect by whom it had been erected.

[Aug. 24.]

[Sept. 29.]

At length, however, the horrors of famine being superadded to those of war, they who had so long displayed the most heroick courage were at length obliged, after a siege of fifty-four days, to yield to an enemy against which valour is useless and unavailing.

THE new deputies, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, Maignet, and Chateaneuf-Randon, having refused to grant any terms until the leaders of the insurrection had been delivered up, the

chiefs, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those who considered themselves as proscribed by the jacobins, to the amount of about two thousand, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few waggons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed this little army of fugitives, in the midst of which was to be seen a great number of females, determined not to abandon their husbands, and who, with their children in their arms, resolved to share their fate. Scarcely, however, had they entered the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, when they found themselves surrounded by nearly fifty thousand men; and although they exhibited prodigies of valour upon this occasion, yet all resistance became vain on account of the disparity of numbers. The greater part perished with arms in their hands; about five hundred men and women, chiefly covered with wounds, experienced a worse fate by falling alive into the hands of their enemies, for they were transferred from dungeon to dungeon, and ended their days by different kinds of punishment; about sixty only escaped and found an asylum among the neighbouring peasants.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.
1793.

[October 9.]

NOR was the fate of a great number of the inhabitants, who trusted to the mercy of the conquerors, more tolerable. One fourth of the buildings had been already destroyed by the besiegers. The still more ferocious commissioners, not content with this, ordered the demolition of all the principal edifices; measures were actually taken to transport a large portion of the population to another place, and a decree enjoined that the miserable remnant of this ancient city, hitherto so famous throughout all Europe on account of its rich manufactures, was no longer to be recognised by its former name*. In addition to this, orders were given to erect a column with an appropriate inscription, on purpose to

* Commune-Affranchie was the new appellation given to Lyons.

BOOK III. perpetuate the resistance and disgrace of Lyons, as well as the
 CHAP. VII. vengeance of its enemies *.

1793.

Cruelties ex-
 ercised on the
 Lyonese.

BUT the rage of the victors was not confined to the destruction of houses and temples. The sufferings of the miserable inhabitants have never been surpassed ; and if we are to search for a parallel in history, we must recur to the times of Attila and the merciless invaders who laid Europe waste during the barbarous ages. The deputy Freron, on entering this devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced " that terrour was the order of the day." But he was surpassed in cruelty and ferocity by Collot d'Herbois. His pro-consulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed. A chosen band of Parisian jacobins and a column of the revolutionary army marched into Lyons as the precursors of his fury. The process of the axe was deemed too slow for his insatiable vengeance ; sometimes the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were employed as more conformable to the celerity of his vengeance ; but at length grape-shot and artillery were resorted to, and the principal square, the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, was strewed with the dying and the dead, and became deluged with the blood of his victims.

* " LYON FIT LA GUERRE A' LA REPUBLIQUE :

" LYON N'EST PLUS."

" LYONS MADE WAR UPON THE REPUBLIC :

" LYONS IS NO MORE."

C H A P. VIII.

The allied Courts agree to divide their Forces—Melancholy State of France—Energy of the Jacobins—Houchard is appointed to the Command of the northern Army—The Duke of York makes an Attempt on Dunkirk, in which he is foiled—Action at Maastricht—Capture of Quesnoy.

WHILE the republick was thus a prey to intestine disorders, BOOK III.
the capture of Valenciennes, and the forced retreat of the wreck CHAP. VIII.
of the French army from under the protection of Cambray, 1793.
seemed once more to present a fair opportunity to the combined forces of marching to the capital, and deciding the fate of the empire. Certain it is, that so long as such an imposing mass remained together nothing could withstand its efforts; and that it was only by its division that it could be overcome. But the allied courts appear at this moment to have been dazzled with their success, and to have entertained separate views of aggrandisement, which but ill accorded with those principles on which they had professed to act. Two of the chief fortresses in the French Netherlands were already in possession of the emperor; and it was now determined by the English cabinet to re-annex part of maritime Flanders to the crown of Great Britain. Accordingly, while the Austrians undertook the siege of Quesnoy, with a view to increase their acquisitions in that quarter, the duke of York, at the head of the English troops, and a body of Dutch and Hanoverians, advanced and occupied a camp in the neighbourhood of Menin.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1793.

State of
France.

NEVER was any country reduced to such a desperate situation as France at this critical moment. A multitude of the most courageous friends of liberty were imprisoned, and a large portion of the convention either arrested, put to death, or proscribed. Forty thousand royalists in the west triumphed over the ignorant generals and undisciplined armies exposed to their rage. In the north, the Austrians, after subduing Belgium, menaced the capital; in the south, Lyons and Marseilles were scarcely subdued; and Toulon was known to be already in possession of a British admiral. In every quarter the enemies of the republic were victorious. The king of Prussia, after driving the French from Franckfort and Cöthien, had obtained Mentz. A large army was preparing to force the lines of Weissembourg. The empire had declared war against France. Landau was blockaded; Strasburgh menaced; the territories bordering on the Pyrenées were overrun by the Spaniards; the colonies in the East and West Indies were either already conquered or threatened with immediate subjection by the English, while the French flag was no longer seen in the Channel, the Atlantick, or the Mediterranean.

Conduct of
the ruling
party.

BUT the energy of the jacobins was admirably calculated to contend with, and even to overcome, obstacles that at any other period, and perhaps to any other men, would have appeared insurmountable. The industry, the wealth, and even the lives of near thirty millions of inhabitants were placed by various decrees at their disposal. Recurring to terrour as the most powerful engine, they employed a revolutionary tribunal, a revolutionary army, and stationary as well as ambulatory guillotines, to repress and punish all those who opposed their authority. Bastilles, under a new name, contained the citizens liable to suspicion; and a multitude of spies, informers, and executioners, carried fear into every house, and into every bosom. No one was either exempt from dread or from punishment. An obnoxious deputy suffered as

a federalist; the noble was accused of emigration; the lawyer perished as a traitor, the banker as a counter-revolutionist, the merchant as a forestaller. Safety was to be found no-where but in the armies; and immense multitudes repaired thither for protection.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1793.

As all the rich were become objects of suspicion, their treasure was confiscated at pleasure, and employed sometimes in behalf of the commonwealth, but not unfrequently squandered away according to the caprice of interested individuals. Crimes of all kinds were encouraged. Pity and humanity were devoted to infamy, and not unfrequently to the scaffold; it was dangerous to indulge the cry of nature; the father durst not assist his exiled son; the child could not contribute to the support of his imprisoned father with impunity; civick crowns were voted to spies deserving of punishment, and France appeared to have erected altars to ingratitude and injustice, at the very moment she was preparing to repress and annihilate her foes.

BUT even amidst the sanguinary excesses of the triumphant party it is impossible not to admire the energetick measures adopted against the foreign enemy. In consequence of a report from the committee of publick safety, all Frenchmen were declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country until its enemies should be chased from the territories of the republick. [August 8.] “The young men shall march to the combat; the married ones shall forge arms and transport the provisions; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals; the children shall make lint to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the publick squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republick, and inspire hatred against kings.”

To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to

BOOK III. be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraor-
 CHAP. VIII. dinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated
 1793. and expended in immense quantities, but their value was maintained for some time at a rate nearly equivalent to that of gold; and when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. The doctrine of requisition was at length resorted to, and all the necessities of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances, were seized upon in the name of the republick, and for the support of its troops, while the great cities were crowded with manufactures of saltpetre, the towns converted into founderies, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals to supply the elements of destruction.

Immense military force of France.

AT the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *in mass* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the committee of publick safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain around the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males from eighteen to forty years of age were put in permanent requisition, and a draft of three hundred thousand made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and new model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes, reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenées, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenées, from the department of the Upper Pyrenées to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coasts of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and, lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

No sooner did the French learn that the combined forces intended to separate, than they determined once more to re-sume offensive operations, and overcome that military colossus in its disjointed state, which they had been unable to contend with entire. Advantage was taken of the inactivity of the Prussians after the conquest of Mentz, and drafts were accordingly made from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, while the new levies were clothed, embodied, and disciplined. A plebeian general, who had ascended through all the various military gradations, from the station of a trooper to the chief command, was assigned to them at the same time for their leader: this was Houchard, already celebrated by his exploits in Germany; and who, after possessing in succession the command of the forces stationed on the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle, was now placed at the head of the army of the north.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1793.

THE French having attacked Lincelles, a post lately taken and occupied by command of the hereditary prince of Orange, major-general Lake, with three battalions, consisting of the first, Coldstream, and third regiment of guards, was sent to the assistance of the Dutch troops, who had unluckily retreated by a different road. But notwithstanding this discouraging circumstance, and the manifest superiority of the enemy, an immediate attack was determined upon. The English were accordingly formed, and advanced under a heavy fire against a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, erected upon a height in front of the village. After firing three or four rounds they charged with bayonets, stormed the works, drove out the enemy, dispersed them after they had rallied, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and about fifty prisoners*.

Actions at
Lincelles,
[Aug. 18.]

* The London Gazette Extraordinary states, "from the concurring testimony of the prisoners, that the enemy had twelve battalions at the post, and must have been upwards of five thousand men." Lieutenant-colonel Boswell of the Coldstream, and lieutenant

BOOK III. IN the mean time field-marshal Freytag, at the head of the
 CHAP.VIII. Hanoverians, defeated the French at Oost Capelle, Rexpede, and
 1793. Hoenchoote, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and two hundred
 Oost Capelle, &c. prisoners, while the duke of York advanced with the besieging
 [Aug. 21.] army in three columns from Furnes, on purpose to attack
 [Aug. 22.] the camp of Ghivelde. On this the enemy abandoned their
 position during the night, and a redoubt in the course of next
 day. Field-marshal Freytag at the same time seized on the posts
 of Warmarthe and Eckelsbeck, and the bridge of Lefferink's
 Hoeke; the English also, after repulsing a sally, and experiencing
 some loss in consequence of approaching the place during the
 ardour of pursuit, obtained possession of the ground near Dunkirk,
 which it became necessary to occupy previously to the siege, and
 summoned the place in the name of the king of Great Britain.

Siege of Dun-
 kirk.

BUT after the operations of this day, the success of the English
 ceased; and it soon became evident, either that the plan of the
 campaign was faulty, or that the vigour and resources of the
 enemy had not been sufficiently appreciated. No sooner did the
 committee of publick safety receive intimation of the separation
 of the grand army, and the march of the duke of York against
 Dunkirk, than the most effectual measures were taken for the
 defence of that place. Trusting no longer to noble birth, it was

de Peyster of the royal artillery, were killed upon this occasion; and the conduct of colonels
 Grinfield, Hulse, and Pennington, according to the dispatch, "reflected honour upon them-
 selves, and merited his royal highness's warmest approbation. Equal praise," it is added,
 "is due to major Wright, and the officers and men of the royal artillery attached to the
 battalions."

The duke of York also expressed himself "particularly sensible of the exertions of
 major-general Abercromby, major-general Varneck, and lieutenant-general Wurmb," in
 the action of the 24th of August, on which occasion lieutenant-general Dalton and lieu-
 tenant-colonel Eld, of the first regiment of foot guards, were unfortunately killed.

Upon the evening of the 6th of September, major Ross distinguished himself at the
 head of the 14th regiment of infantry, and colonel Moncrieff received a dangerous
 wound.

determined to employ plebeians alone. General Souham, who had risen from the ranks, was accordingly ordered to march with a chosen body of troops to the assistance of the garrison; these soon after entered the town under the command of Hoche, now an adjutant-general, and formerly a private in the French guards. The presence of the two representatives, Hentz and Duquesnoy, also animated the soldiery, and inspired the townsmen with confidence; while O'Moran, who commanded at Cassel, being suspected of treachery, was seized, conducted to Paris, and perished soon after in consequence of a sentence of the revolutionary tribunal*. Houchard having now arrived with an immense body of troops, it was determined to relieve the place by general and frequent attacks. The French accordingly marched out from the camp of Cassel, as well as from the towns of Bergues and Dunkirk, for the purpose of assaulting the whole of field-marshal Freytag's posts; and although his troops displayed great bravery, yet the enemy not only obtained possession of Bambecke, Rousbrughe, and Poperinghe, but obliged part of the army to retreat to Hondſchoote. Next day the field-marshal was attacked again; on the succeeding morning, the centre of the line was forced, and general Walmoden driven behind a canal, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and about three hundred men.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1793.

Battle of
Hondſchoote.
[Sept. 7.]

THIS action, in the course of which field-marshal Freytag and prince Adolphus were both wounded, and for some time prisoners, proved decisive of the fate of Dunkirk, and of the cam-

[Sept. 8.]

* It has been reported, that this general, who was born in Ireland, and had been patronised by Dumouriez, kept up a secret communication with the English army. Certain it is, that Hoche entertained a suspicion of treachery somewhere, as will be seen by the following extract of a letter to the war-department :

“ Je suis arrivé ici avec le général de brigade Souham, qui est un vrai sans-culotte. Enfin, à force de travail, nous commençons à nous reconnoître. Pitt avait ici des agens. Des papiers incendiaires ont été repandus, des signaux donnés à la flotte ennemie, mouillée à trois quarts de lieue de la ville, et les matelots, frappés d'une terreur panique, et probablement travaillés par l'aristocratie, s'étaient insurgés.”

BOOK III. paign; for his royal highness the commander in chief was obliged
 CHAP. VIII. to abandon his position, resign the idea of a siege, and leave
 1793. thirty-two heavy cannon, much baggage, and many of the military stores, behind him. The retreat, however, was conducted with equal ability and success by general sir William Erskine.

THUS ended the fatal attempt upon Dunkirk, in the course of which the English army assuredly did not receive that assistance and co-operation by sea, which it was in the power of a great maritime nation to have afforded; while the enemy by their numbers, their audacity, and their zeal, demonstrated that although the ruling party was capable of the most enormous crimes, it at the same time knew how to inspire enthusiasm, and ensure victory. So far were the French from being dazzled with the late success, and the subsequent capture of Furnes and Menin, that Houchard was immediately arrested, and soon after put to death, because he had not completed his triumph by the capture of the army destined to besiege Dunkirk*. On the other hand, care was taken to reward such officers as had distinguished themselves; and Jourdan, who had attacked the right and centre of the camp at Hondſchoote, as well as Hoche†, who had charged

* Houchard suffered by the guillotine at Paris, November 15, 1793. The four following charges drawn up by Barrere, and preferred to the convention, may afford grounds for a suspicion of the military talents of that general, but no positive guilt can be fairly inferred from such exaggerated accusations:

- " 1. That after defeating the English, he did not drive them into the sea;
- " 2. That when he had surrounded the Dutch, he did not cut them in pieces;
- " 3. That he sent no succours to the troops butchered near Cambray; and
- " 4. That he abandoned Menin, and in his retreat exposed his army to considerable danger.

† This officer contrived to inspire the garrison of Dunkirk with a portion of the enthusiasm with which he himself was actuated. The following are his paroles and counter-signs while at Dunkirk:

- " Cassius—Sparte.
- " Montagne—Posterité.
- " Despotes—Mort.

the left wing, were both promoted; a decree passed at the same time, declaring, "that the army of the North had deserved well of the country;" and the representatives on mission were enjoined to transmit a detailed account of the heroick exploits of the defenders of the republick.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1793.

BUT although victory had deserted the British standard, she seemed faithful for a time to that of Austria; Quésnoy was now taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the French were also defeated at Villers en Couchée; and the prince de Cobourg having passed the Sambre, drove all the detached bodies of the enemy into the entrenched camp of Maubeuge, and actually invested both it and the fortress; while Cambray and Bouchain were successively threatened by field-marshal Clairfayt.

BUT these successes proved ephemeral, in consequence of the increased ardour of the enemy. A formidable train of heavy artillery was now brought into the field, numerous bodies of troops were assembled, the representatives of the people not only harangued the army, but placed themselves at the head of the columns, while another plebeian leader was found in the person of Jourdan. No sooner was that general invested with the chief command, than he determined to have recourse to the same system that had proved successful at Hoonfcoote. An attack was accordingly made on the troops posted near the village of Wattignies, and although this at first was unsuccessful, yet being renewed with increased vigour on the succeeding morning, proved at length decisive. Accordingly, the communication with the army of observation before Maubeuge being now cut off, and the prince de Cobourg beaten in an action that lasted two days,

Battle of
Maubeuge.

"Pitt—Neant.

"Fame—Exemple.

"Liberté—Univers."

BOOK III. he deemed it prudent to repass the Sambre *; but his retreat was
 CHAP. VIII. conducted with such firmness, that two detached bodies of troops,
 1793. under lieutenant-general Benzowsky and count Haddick, took
 fourteen pieces of cannon, and some hundred prisoners.

THE French being now the assailants, the war once more
 assumed a new appearance; and the armies which had so lately
 been summoning towns and provinces in the names of the king of
 Great Britain and the emperor of Germany, found it difficult
 to defend Austrian Flanders. The enemy had by this time
 seized on Werwick and Furnes; they also obtained possession of
 Menin, and were only prevented from occupying Nieuport by
 the gallant defence of colonel de Wurmb; in consequence of
 which, time was given for the arrival of generals Grey and
 Dundas, who secured the possession of that place by means of the
 same troops with which they afterwards achieved so many con-
 quests in the West Indies. The remainder of the campaign in this
 quarter was spent in actions of little note, with the exception
 [Oct. 30.] of an attack upon Marchiennes, by major-general Kray, under
 the direction of the duke of York; in consequence of which
 the enemy lost twelve pieces of cannon, and about two thousand
 troops, including killed and wounded.

AT the very moment when the French struggled hard to ob-
 tain possession of the provinces bordering on the narrow seas,
 they were obliged to contend with superiour fleets in the Me-
 diterranean, and combat for the possession of its shores against the
 united efforts of many powerful nations.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—October 19.

"A LETTER from the commissioners with the army of the North announced that Maubeuge was relieved, and that the battle had lasted two days successively, from morning until night. They at the same time stated, that Jourdan had distinguished himself not only by his courage, but by the excellence of his plans, he being the only French general who had defeated Cobourg in a pitched battle since the commencement of the campaign."

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

The combined Fleets enter the Mediterranean—Lord Hood negotiates with the disaffected Cities—Obtains Possession of Toulon—Siege of that important Place—Bonaparte appointed to the Command of the French Artillery—Evacuation of the Town and Harbour, after setting fire to the Arsenal and several Ships of the Line.

WHILE the south of France was a prey by turns to terror and insurrection, the fleet of Great Britain, under the orders of lord Hood, and that of Spain, commanded by don Juan de Langara, had made their appearance in the Mediterranean. This event tended not a little to infuse new hopes into the malecontents, and confirm the spirit of revolt that began to prevail everywhere. The recent misfortunes of the republick, the victories of the combined armies, the scarcity of corn, the hostile conduct of the Italian states, and, above all, the countenance and the protection of England, seemed to evince the probability of a successful resistance. Every thing at this period appeared to demonstrate the declension of a cause, now only supported by the zealots of the revolution; and the declining fortunes of the convention, as well as the increasing despair of the republicans, indicated a fatal crisis.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.
1793.

BOOK IV. LORD HOOD did not fail to take advantage of the commotions

CHAP. I. that prevailed in the great cities of the southern departments. He

1793.

The English
admiral nego-
ciates with
the inha-
bitants of
Marseilles
and Toulon.

[Aug. 22.]

accordingly appeared off the islands of Hières, and received commissioners from Toulon and Marseilles on board the *Victory*, which carried his flag. It was decided in this conference, that the first constitution should be recognised; that the English should take possession of all the towns delivered up in the name of Louis XVII.; and that a supply of corn should be furnished for the use of the inhabitants. In the course of the succeeding day, a preliminary declaration was issued by the British admiral, in which he stated, "that if a candid and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy was made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally placed at his disposal, the people of Provence should have the assistance of his Britannick majesty's fleet, and not an atom of private property be touched." His lordship at the same time added, "that having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon just, liberal, and honourable terms," whenever this event took place, "the port, with all the ships in the harbour, and forts of Toulon, shall be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeably to the schedule that may be delivered." Lord Hood also published a proclamation, in which, after stating the anarchy and misery of the inhabitants of the south of France, he concluded with observing, "that he had come to offer them the assistance of the force with which he was furnished by his sovereign, in order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factions, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe." "Decide, therefore," add she, "definitively and with precision. Trust your hopes to the generosity of a loyal and free nation. In its name I have just given an unequivocal testimony to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles,

by granting to the commissioners sent on board the fleet under my command, a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which that city stands so much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain which surrounds you, and to be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed to four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved."

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1793.

ON the receipt of these declarations, they were immediately communicated by the general committee to the sections of Toulon, and a reply returned in the name of the inhabitants, expressive of "their unanimous wish to reject a constitution which does not promote their happiness, to adopt a monarchical government, such as was originally decreed by the constituting assembly of 1789; and that in consequence they have proclaimed Louis XVII. son of Louis XVI. king, sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer to suffer the despotism of the tyrants which at this time rule France." They also promise, "that the white flag shall be hoisted the moment the English squadron anchors in the road of Toulon;" "that the ships of war now there shall be disarmed;" "that the citadel and the forts on the coast shall be provisionally at the disposal of the said admiral;" but stipulate that when peace is re-established in France, "the ships and forts which may be put into the hands of the English, shall be restored to the French nation in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered."

HOWEVER, although the central committee, composed of the chief inhabitants of Toulon, had agreed to surrender the port, arsenals, and forts, in trust to admiral Hood, and had proclaimed Louis XVII.; yet a great portion of the people, and even the galley slaves, were averse from both of these measures. But the most formidable opposition originated on the part of the sailors on board the fleet. Rear-admiral Trogoff had indeed entered into all the views of the British commander, but he found a powerful

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.

1793.

adversary in St. Julien *. This officer had been charged by two of the deputies on mission at Marseilles, to cause himself to be recognised as admiral in chief, and to adopt proper measures for the safety of the navy; he accordingly assembled and communicated the order to the crews of the men-of-war, by whom he was instantly elected their chief. On this, Trogoff retired to the city, and took possession of the forts on the left of the harbour; after a variety of measures had been recurred to in vain, on purpose to gain over the captains, the revolutionary committee declared, that it would only allow the space of half an hour for them to consent to the introduction of the combined fleet, at the expiration of which period, the forts should fire with red-hot shot on their ships. These menaces, instead of intimidating the squadron, seemed to render it more determined; and it was declared by the council of officers, "that they would rather demolish the city, and perish themselves, than consent to the entrance of the enemy's squadron into the port of Toulon."

BOTH parties were now about to recur to extremities, when some of the townsmen, knowing that the commanders of several of the ships were not unfriendly to their views, determined to enter into a negotiation, and depend upon seduction rather than force. Means were accordingly recurred to for this purpose, which in the end proved successful; and Trogoff having hoisted his flag on board a corvette, under protection of the ramparts, immediately sailed for, and anchored in the roads. On his arrival within sight of the fleet, he fired a gun, and threw out a signal for the ships to join him. On this, nearly all of them saluted their former admiral, and placed themselves under his command. St. Julien, to whom the crews of seven vessels still remained faithful, was desirous of opposing the entrance of the enemy, but seeing himself abandoned by the officers, he was

* Hist. Philos. de la Révolution, tom. IV. p. 392.

under the necessity of withdrawing, and made his escape in his boat *.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.

ALL opposition being now at an end, fifteen hundred men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of fort Malgue, by means of a detachment under captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this the French ships were warped into the inner road according to agreement, and the Spanish admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road, after which one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison; rear-admiral Goodall was declared governor, and rear-admiral Gravina *commandant* of the troops.

1793.
The English
obtain pos-
session of
Toulon.
[August 23.]

[August 29.]

IN the mean time general Carteaux having advanced against and taken possession of Marseilles, the wreck of the departmental army took refuge in Toulon, and was accompanied by a crowd of unfortunate individuals of both sexes, who fled from death and persecution, to court the protection of the English. On the other hand, the latter had scarcely taken possession of the place, when Barras and Freron, the two national commissioners at Marseilles, made incredible exertions to regain the chief sea-port in the Mediterranean. They accordingly pressed the siege of Lyons, that the troops employed in the conquest of that city might be at their disposal, and subjected the merchants of Marseilles to a loan of four millions of livres. The convention also displayed an uncommon degree of energy upon this occasion,

* When admiral St. Julien had landed, he at first purposed to join the army of Carteaux, then before Marseilles; but not choosing to trust to a sanguinary government that made but little difference between the innocent and the guilty, he took once more to his boat, and surrendered himself to the Spanish admiral, who sent him a prisoner to Barcelona.

Trogoff repaired to the combined fleet, and died on board the *Commerce de Marseilles*. Many hundreds of the sailors continued so refractory, that it was soon after found necessary to send them to a French port.

BOOK IV. and not only ordered all the departments of the South to provide
 CHAP. I. bodies of troops, but transmitted immense sums in assignats, for
 1793. the purpose of raising, arming, and equipping a multitude of new battalions.

WHILE the army destined to besiege Toulon was collecting, Carteaux approached that place and took post at a small distance.

[August 31.] On this captain Elphinstone marched out with a body of troops, consisting of three hundred English, and an equal number of Spanish, and found the French force to consist of about seven hundred men, with ten pieces of cannon, and a few cavalry. The enemy was stationed in the village of Ollouilles, upon the side of a steep hill, having a deep ravine in front with a stone bridge over it, defended by two pieces of artillery; the windows of the adjoining houses were filled with musquetry: about two hundred yards further up the eminence, at a ruinous castle, were also posted a couple of cannon, and the walls of the adjacent vineyards were lined with soldiers.

Skirmishes
between the
French and
the garrison.

ALTHOUGH it was now half past six in the evening, and the French royalists and cannon expected from Toulon had not yet arrived, captain Elphinstone determined on an immediate attack, and after keeping up an incessant fire on the artillery stationed at the bridge, he advanced in column, and rushed forward on the enemy, who immediately abandoned all their posts, and left the victors in possession of their cannon, horses, ammunition, and two stand of colours.

CARTEAUX, however, soon collected a body of five thousand men, and not only harassed the garrison, but actually took possession of the gorges of Ollouilles, and occupied one of the advanced posts, not exactly situated in the regular line of defence, which it had been determined to abandon; the Spaniards, consisting of about four hundred troops, and one hundred and fifty of the national guards who were left in possession of it, suffered considerably upon this occasion; and the coalesced powers now deem-

[Sept. 8.]

ed it prudent to concentrate their forces within the forts that protected the place.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.

1793.

TOULON, before which the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene were foiled at the commencement of the eighteenth century *, when it was only defended by the cannon placed on its ramparts, appeared at this period to be rendered nearly impregnable, by the zeal and industry of the English, now commanded by lord Mulgrave, who served in the capacity of brigadier-general. Finding that the forts Faron, Balaguier, La Malgue, and L'Equillete, were overlooked and commanded by the adjacent hills, these heights were crowned with redoubts, the cross-fire from which seemed to interdict all approach. A new fort was also constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equillete, and at Balaguier; the last of which was termed the grand camp by the English, and Little Gibraltar by the French †. The redoubts were all defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships; a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Roussillon entered the place at this period, while two thousand of his Sicilian majesty's best troops, under the command of brigadier-general Pignatelli, arrived on board a small squadron, and more were expected daily; a considerable detachment from the army of the king of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was also sent to the succour of the garrison at the same time ‡.

ON the other hand, Barras and Fréron assembled all the young men placed in a state of requisition in the neighbouring departments; the besieging army was supplied with an immense quantity of artillery; and a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men expected the moment that Lyons had surrendered.

* In 1707. † Histoire Philos. de la Révolution, t. V. p. 178.

‡ London Gazette Extraordinary, dated "Whitehall, October 23."

BOOK IV. DURING this interval, both armies were occupied about the
 CHAP. I. attack and defence of detached posts. The French having opened
 1793. two masked batteries at La Petite Garenne, and a third the day
 [Sept. 18.] after at Les Gaux, sunk one of the gun-boats employed against
 them; on the other hand, Lord Mulgrave sent a detachment to
 [Sept. 21.] occupy the heights of La Grasse, which commanded a complete
 view of the whole extent of the enemy's position to the west-
 ward of Toulon; and the British seamen having dragged heavy
 cannon up a very steep ascent with infinite labour, and ex-
 traordinary expedition, this important post, which completely
 covered the outward roadstead, was put in a complete state of
 defence.

THE enemy, however, were on their side indefatigable; and
 after detaching various bodies of men in different directions,
 with a view of attracting the attention of the garrison, they
 actually conceived and executed a plan, which, even at that early
 period of the siege, was calculated to render the possession of
 Toulon precarious. Being well aware of the immense advantages
 likely to be derived from the possession of the post of Faron, an
 [Sept. 30.] attack was made upon it by night. In consequence of this, a
 picquet of sixty men was driven in from the Pas de la Malgue
 about break of day, and on returning to the redoubt of Faron
 they found that it had been abandoned by the Spanish garrison,
 and soon after taken possession of, as well as the summit of the
 adjoining mountain, considered hitherto as nearly inaccessible.

No sooner was this unlucky event known at Toulon, than a
 council of officers * was assembled, and it was determined to
 make an attack on the west, while governor Elphinstone effected

* Admiral Gravina, brigadier-general Lequierda, brigadier-general prince de Pignatelli, and lieutenant-colonel chevalier de Revel, of the foreign troops, with governors Goodall, Elphinstone, and brigadier-general Mulgrave, of the British, were the officers who assembled upon this occasion.

a diversion on the side of the redoubt of Faron. The British and Piedmontese troops, formed into a column under lord Mulgrave, led the way, while another under admiral Gravina, consisting of Spaniards and Neapolitans, followed; lord Hood in the mean time having undertaken the care of Toulon and fort La Malgue, to enable a greater force to be detached from these places. The enemy, who had from eighteen hundred to two thousand men posted on the heights, defended their position, and an obstinate engagement ensued; but the French were at length obliged to abandon the redoubt, and retire in confusion, having experienced a severe loss *. BOOK IV.
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1793.

A FEW days after this, a successful sally was also made against some works erected on the heights †; but the enemy soon fired heavy cannon and mortars as before, from two new batteries at La Hauteur des Moulins, and two more on the Hauteur de Reinier. The vice-admiral being apprehensive lest the fleet might suffer from the latter of these, it was accordingly determined to destroy them. A detachment of British infantry, marines, Piedmontese, and French royalists, was accordingly ordered under arms at eight o'clock at night for that purpose; and an in- [Oa. 1.]
[Oa. 8.]
[Oa. 16.]

* Lord Hood, in his dispatch to the Admiralty, dated "Victory, Toulon Road, October 6, 1793," observes "that the action was short, but hot. The enemy," adds he, "had upon the heights from 1800 to 2000 men, the flower of the eastern army, not a fourth part of which, we are well informed, ever returned to head-quarters; for what did not fall by the bullet or bayonet, broke their necks in tumbling headlong over the precipices in their flight."

† "Our march to the top of the height, where the new-erected batteries of the enemy had been constructed, was performed with all possible expedition, the troops observing the greatest order and silence; by which, with the aid of the French deserter, who answered the sentinels of the enemy as we passed them, our advanced party arrived at the entrance into their first battery perfectly undiscovered: the first sentinel having been put to death, the advanced party, composed of the grenadiers and light infantry of the British line, under the command of captain Stewart of the 25th regiment, very gallantly rushed in, and put every man to the bayonet that opposed them."—*Extract of a report from captain Brereton to lord Mulgrave.*

BOOK IV. intelligent deserter having given correct information relative to the
 CHAP. I. situation of the enemy, and the approaches to their works, the
 1793. expedition, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Nugent, proved successful.

NOTWITHSTANDING these partial defeats, the French army, which increased hourly, redoubled its activity, and skirmishes
 [Oa. 14.] took place daily. At length, however, a large detachment of the enemy, under general Lapoype, stormed and took possession of the heights of Cape Brun, which they carried after an obstinate resistance, by means of their superiour numbers. Lord Mulgrave, on obtaining intelligence of this unfortunate event, marched out against them, but no engagement occurred; and it became evident from this period, that the fate of the garrison, in consequence of the ardour and perseverance of the enemy, became daily more critical.

[Oa. 27.] TOWARDS the end of the month a reinforcement * arrived from Gibraltar along with lieutenant-general O'Hara, who had been appointed governour of Toulon and its dependencies.

[Nov. 15.] A few days after, the French repeatedly attacked fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, one of the most essential forts appertaining to the place, as it covered both the town and harbour; but they were repulsed by the bravery of the British troops who defended it, with the loss of several hundred men.

IN the mean time admiral lord Hood, sir Gilbert Elliot, and general O'Hara, were appointed "commissioners plenipotentiary," under the great seal of England; and being all present, proceeded to act in the name of the king of Great Britain. They accordingly communicated his majesty's declaration, which contained some expressions † not deemed strictly conformable to the spirit

* This consisted of the 1st battalion of the royals, the 18th regiment, and a battalion of the royal artillery.

† In Article I. it is stated, "When monarchy shall be restored in France, and a treaty of peace concluded, stipulating in favour of his majesty and his allies, the restitution of all

of the engagements entered into by lord Hood. The inhabitants too were anxious for the presence of Monsieur, brother to the late king, whom they wished to receive in the character of regent of France; but this favour was denied them, as the functions of the count de Provence could not be exercised, “without depriving his Britannick majesty, before the stipulated time, of that authority with which he has been entrusted at Toulon.”

BOOK IV.
 CHAP. I.
 1793.

By this time Lyons had capitulated to the troops belonging to the convention, and a powerful army now invested Toulon; the forces in which, although numerous, appertained to different nations, and were not animated either by the same sentiments or the same interests. On the other hand, the deputies with the French army provided cannon, ammunition, and provisions, in abundance; whatever the besiegers required was obtained instantly by requisition, and all the exploits of the soldiery were at once witnessed and rewarded by the representatives of the people. Dugommier, a general who had already distinguished himself by his victories over the forces of the king of Sardinia, was now appointed commander in chief; and as the surrender of the great naval arsenal of the south greatly depended on the management of the immense artillery employed against it, great pains were taken to find an engineer every way worthy of the occasion. Such a person was at length discovered in Napoleone Bonaparte, an obscure Corsican, who had been educated at the military academy in France, and served as a lieutenant in the regiment of La Fere. Having fled from the troubles that prevailed in his native island, he now offered

conquests made by France during the war, and a just indemnification for the losses and expences thereby incurred, and a proper security for the future, his majesty will cause the town, forts, and harbour of Toulon, together with the ships and stores therein, to be restored, according to the engagement entered into by the said vice-admiral.” It ought not to be omitted here however, that the commissioners, in a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated “Toulon, November 23, 1793,” expressly assert, “that his majesty’s most honourable declaration was received with the strongest marks of gratitude and satisfaction.”

BOOK IV. his services, and was employed by the deputy Barras, on the re-
 CHAP. I. commendation of his countryman Salicetti, and contributed not
 1793. a little by his military talents to decide both the fate of Toulon
 and of France.

THE very first operation was decisive of success. Knowing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, Bonaparte accordingly opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. As it became necessary to take immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery.

[Nov. 30.] HAVING accordingly obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend some redoubts whence he proposed to withdraw the soldiers, at five o'clock in the morning he sent out a detachment consisting of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spaniards, and four hundred French, under the command of major-general David Dundas. Notwithstanding these different bodies were all obliged to cross a river on a single bridge, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine terraces, they were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt. Not content with this success, by which they had fully effected all the objects of the expedition, the troops, flushed with victory, and trusting to their good fortune, rushed forward, and descended the hill after a flying enemy.

THIS unlucky incident was not overlooked by the French generals, who immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the assailants, now in disorder by the rapidity of their pursuit and the unevenness of the country, and obliged

them in their turn to retire with precipitation. The gallant lieutenant-general O'Hara, on this occasion, received a wound in the arm, and being rendered faint by the loss of blood, was obliged to sit down under a wall, where he was taken prisoner *; several other officers also fell into the hands of the French.

BOOK IV.
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1793.

THE events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer who had acted both in the capacity of governor and military commander, contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault.

NOR were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation; and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly forty thousand men, commanded by an able general, while

* Lord Hood in his dispatch to government, dated on the day when this unfortunate event took place, was pleased to observe that, "the governor promised not to go out himself, but unfortunately did not keep his word." This remark, which seems to implicate something like reproach, was undoubtedly produced by the bitterness of his lordship's grief at the event of this unfortunate expedition. The letter of sir Gilbert Elliot, on the other hand, contains a complete justification of his excellency: "It is much to be lamented that general O'Hara was, on every occasion, so prodigal of his person; but the misfortune which has befallen him, and the severe loss which the service sustains by his capture, cannot be ascribed even to this honourable fault; for he did not himself ascend the battery till it was possessed by our troops, and there was reason to suppose the object of the day had been obtained. The reverse was so sudden, and his presence must have appeared so material towards restoring order, and retrieving the error which had been committed by the troops, that it is not to be wondered at, if, with his spirit, he became exposed to personal hazard. His wound, though not dangerous or serious, has bled much; and, added to the exertion he had before made, weakened him so much, that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves." *Extract of a letter to the right honourable Henry Dundas, dated Toulon, December 1, 1793.*

BOOK IV. the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the
 CHAP. I. best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops,
 1793. composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file*. With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men.

THE French being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, by fresh ones, and at two o'clock in the morning opened two new batteries on fort Mulgrave, and from these and three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As
 [Dec. 16.] the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier.
 [Dec. 17.]

AT day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed however on the east side, by about seven hundred men, commanded by colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In the course of this day's fight, all the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and trusting to their numbers,

* See major-general Dandas's letter, dated "Hieres Bay, December 21, 1793."

charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The deputy Arena BOOK IV. headed one of their columns, and the generals Cervoni and Bonaparte particularly distinguished themselves *. CHAP. I.
1793.

A COUNCIL of flag and general officers now assembled; and as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in the possession of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. Toulon abandoned by the Allies. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and in the course of that evening the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick, wounded, and British [Dec. 18.] field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Misissey without orders, embarked at noon, and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about seven thousand men, during the night.

As the enemy now commanded the town as well as some of the ships by their shot and shells, it became necessary that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men-of-war and the arsenal, but was prevented, by the sudden and unexpected evacuation that took place, from carrying his intentions fully into execution. Having entrusted that service to sir Sydney Smith, the latter on entering the dock-yard Sir S. Smith attempts to burn the arsenal, &c. found that the artificers had already substituted the three-coloured cockade to the white one, while about six hundred galley slaves, who had broken their fetters, were jealous of his operations, and would have exhibited a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, on purpose to keep them in awe. After

* It is not a little remarkable, that all of these were foreigners. Cervoni was a subject of the king of Sardinia; while Arena and Bonaparte were both Corsicans, born anterior to the period when their country was subjugated by the French.

BOOK IV. this, he set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as
 CHAP. I. to the mast-house, the great store-house, and other buildings, but
 1793. the calmness of the evening prevented all the success expected from the conflagration.

IN the mean time the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder ships, and they as well as the English were foiled in the attempt to cut the boom, and destroy the men-of-war in the basin, in consequence of repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag-ship, and the wall of the royal battery. The *Hero* and *Themistocles* were however set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service*, effected their retreat; by day-light next morning all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Rear-admiral Trogoff, on board the *Commerce de Marseilles*, with the *Puissant* and *Pompée*, two other ships of the line, and the *Pearl*, *Arethusa*, and *Topaze* frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which lord Hood proceeded to *Hieres* bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, with which his decks were encumbered.

[Dec. 19.] THUS, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which had provided four thousand ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained, and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musquet. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors not only sullied their victory, but disgraced themselves, by

* See Appendix.

a terrible and indiscriminate carnage *. Workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Toulon was changed for that of Port de la Montagne, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.
1793.

* The following authentick extracts and notes written by the deputies on mission, will convey to the indignant reader some idea of the unbridled vengeance of the victors:

“ LA vengeance nationale se deploye. On fusille à force. *Déjà tous les officiers de la marine sont exterminés.* La république fera vengeance d’une manière digne d’elle: les mânes des patriotes seront apaisés.”

“ FRERON à MOYSE BAYLE.

“ Toulon, 6 Nivose, 2^e année républicaine.

“ CELA va bien ici; nous avons requis *douze mille mâçons* des départemens environnans, pour demolir et raser la ville. Tous les jours depuis notre entrée, nous faisons tomber deux cents têtes.”

(Signé)

“ FRERON.”

“ Toulon, 16 Nivose.

“ IL y a déjà huit cents Toulonnais de fusillés.”

“ FRERON.”

C H A P. II.

Campaign on the Rhine—The Duke of Brunswick exhibits great Talents at Pirmasens—Landau invested and the Lines of Weissembourg carried by the Austrians—Actions at Haguenau, Brumt, and Wauzenau—Fort Louis surrenders—Pichegru and Hoche at length change the Fortune of the Campaign—War in La Vendée, and on the Frontiers of Spain and Italy.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. II.

1793.

THE fortune of the campaign of 1793, on the banks of the Rhine, was various. The same causes that had contributed to the successive defeats of the northern army and the loss of Belgium, operated there also with nearly an equal degree of force; and it was not until the jacobin party had displayed an unexampled degree of energy, that a change propitious to the cause of France took place.

AFTER the capture of Mentz, which contributed in some measure to restore the lustre of the Prussian arms, Frederick-William II. remained inactive until reanimated by the prospect of a subsidy from England. At length, however, when the army of the Moselle had been forced to withdraw behind the Sarre, the duke of Brunswick once more took the field, and defeated the French, who had marched to attack him. On this occasion he exhibited an instance of generalship that did honour to the old school; for by turning the flanks of the assailants he obliged three thousand of them to surrender prisoners of war, and obtained possession of twenty-seven pieces of cannon and two howitzers. After this he made some movements in support of the Austrians, who had hitherto contended on unequal terms

Action at
Pirmasens.
[Sept. 15.]

with the army of the Rhine, surprised a corps of French encamped near Bitche, and destroyed all the camp equipage belonging to it, while Kalkreuth defeated another body that had marched against him, and cut to pieces the regiment of *sans culottes*.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. II.
1793.

GENERAL WURMSER took advantage of this career of success to invest Landau; after this he advanced against the lines of Lauter and Weissenbourg, which he attacked with his troops divided into six columns, carried the different redoubts constructed in front of the French camps by assault, seized on all the tents, nine standards, and twenty-six pieces of artillery, and would have destroyed the greater part of the enemy had not their retreat been favoured by a fog*.

Landau invested, and the lines of Weissenbourg carried. [Oct. 13]

THE disasters of the French did not end here, for Haguenau surrendered to general Mezaros, the enemy were beaten next day at Brumt, the important position at Wauzenau, with all the camp equipage was seized upon nearly at the same time by the Austrians, while Fort Louis, with a garrison of four thousand men, surrendered after a siege of only four days. But here the tide of victory ceased to flow in its former direction, for the committee of publick safety being now determined to obtain a decided superiority, reinforced the army of the Rhine with that of the Moselle, and augmented both by means of new levies. The successes that ensued are to be chiefly attributed however to the two generals employed upon this occasion. Pichegru, but lately a serjeant of artillery, conceived an admirable plan for reconquering Alsace, and he was ably seconded on this occasion by Hoche, who, like himself, had wielded a halbert before he was permitted to grasp a truncheon. From this moment a new

Actions at Haguenau, Brumt, and Wauzenau. [Oct. 17.] [Oct. 25.] Surrender of Fort Louis. [Nov. 14.]

* The French assert that they were betrayed upon this occasion; and Isambert, a general of brigade, was condemned to death at Strasburgh, for having abandoned one of the principal redoubts at the attack of the lines of Weissenbourg.

BOOK IV. spirit was infused into the troops, and it was determined, both on
 CHAP. II. the part of the leaders and the soldiery, either to conquer or
 1793. perish. The Prussians were now attacked and defeated at Sar-
 [Nov. 17.] bruck; in the course of the next morning their camp at Bliescastel
 was stormed, and in three days more Deux-Ponts was captured;
 [Nov. 29 & 30.] but the enemy were repulsed with great loss by the duke of Brun-
 swick in two attacks near Lautern.

Victories of Pichegru and Hoche. THESE partial defeats, however, seemed only to redouble their
 [Dec. 22.] exertions, for the redoubts of Haguenau being carried by the
 bayonet, the allies were driven from the town with great
 slaughter, and the heights of Reifhaffen, Jaudershoffen, and
 Wrotte, deemed more impregnable than those of Gemappe,
 [Dec. 26.] were stormed in succession. At length, after a series of battles,
 hitherto unexampled in modern warfare, the republican army
 regained possession of Weissembourg, the siege of Landau was
 raised, Fort Louis was evacuated, and Kaiserlautern, Germer-
 sheim, and Spires, submitted to the French.

SUCH was the spirit of enthusiasm with which the republicans
 on this frontier were actuated, that general Wurmser, who had
 so lately attempted to obtain Strasburgh by a secret negotiation,
 and Landau by force, was now obliged to retreat across the
 Rhine, while the duke of Brunswick, astonished at the zeal and
 activity of the enemy, and uncertain of the ultimate inten-
 tions of the two young generals who now sustained the glory of
 their country, made a hasty retreat to cover Mentz, and soon
 withdrew from the command in disgust.

BUT although fortune, in almost every other portion of the seat
 of war, seemed disposed to second the energetick efforts of the
 French government, she still appeared unpropitious in La
 Vendée, a country hitherto unsubdued either by the gallantry of
 the republican battalions or the savage ferocity of the triumphant
 faction. In the course of the summer the towns of Saumur
 and Machicoul were seized upon by the royalists, and al-

though they were afterwards defeated before Nantz, and repeatedly routed by the garrison of Mentz, yet it was found impossible to quell them entirely. At length Barrere obtained a decree for putting an end to the war in the course of "a single month *;" and such was his presumption, that he soon after announced "the total extinction of the rebellion," in consequence of the successes obtained at Mortagne, Chollet, Chatillon, and Beaupreaux, while Merlin of Thionville, on his arrival from the western army, announced with a savage joy, "that the insurgent territories were reduced to a heap of ashes, and soaking in blood."

BOOK IV.
CHAP. II.
1793.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the inhabitants of the disaffected departments appeared frequently in arms, fought several actions, and actually besieged some of the neighbouring towns. The chiefs too, who had relied before entirely on their own strength, now thought proper to enter into correspondence with foreign powers, and to obtain succour from England, they made an attack on Granville, with a view of keeping open a communication, and facilitating the reception of supplies; but having failed in their attempt, and La Roche Jacquelin, one of the bravest of their leaders, being killed upon this occasion, a body of troops which had failed to their assistance at the close of the year, under the command of lord Moira, returned to England, and the expedition was abandoned.

BUT such was the nature of this contest, that out of the ashes of La Vendée new armies seemed to arise, and although fresh victories were announced daily in the convention, yet it became

* The following is a copy of the proclamation issued upon this occasion to the army of the West :

"SOLDIERS of liberty ! the rebels of La Vendée ought to be exterminated before the end of the month of October ; the safety of the country requires, the impatience of the French commands, your courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits all those who fight to secure liberty and equality !"

BOOK IV. manifest that this domestick conflict was far more terrible than all
 CHAP. II. the united disasters of the many foreign wars in which France
 1793. was now involved.

War with
Spain and

HOSTILITIES on the frontiers of Spain and Italy participated of the general fortune of the campaign, being carried on in a languid manner at the commencement, and increasing in vigour and animation towards the conclusion. Early in the spring, Don Ventura Caro drove the French from the fort of Andaya, and destroyed the encampments of Biritau ; while Don Ricardos, at the head of the army of Catalonia, about the same time defeated the republicans at Givet, and Bellegarde was taken after a bombardment of thirty-three days. General Dagobert attacked and carried a camp belonging to the enemy, at the bottom of mount Libre ; but on the other hand, Don Ricardos defeated the French near Perpignan. Soon after this, however, an entrenched camp belonging to the Spaniards at Pirescham was forced, and twenty pieces of cannon, together with the tents and baggage, were taken. At length, in the month of November, the republican forces entered Catalonia, and it soon became evident that Spain was unable to contend with this warlike people.

THE French having determined to humble the court of Turin, fitted out a formidable fleet at the beginning of the year, under Truguet, with a view of obtaining possession of the island of Sardinia. After seizing on the isles St. Peter and Antioch, the expedition, consisting of nineteen sail, many of which were line of battle ships, appeared in the gulph of Cagliari, whither the commandant of the former had retired with his garrison, consisting of eight hundred men. The French admiral immediately sent a deputation of twenty-one men on shore with a flag, and an officer, who demanded the surrender of the capital ; but the Sardinians having killed seventeen of these, the remainder retreated to their boat. The fleet having at length entered the harbour, commenced an attack upon Cagliari, and the bombardment con-

tinued during three days, in the course of which period the affailants were much annoyed by the red-hot balls fired from the shore. Several of the ships were also damaged in their masts and rigging, and one was set on fire; while, on the other hand, the shells thrown from the bomb-vessels produced but little effect. In short, this expedition appears to have been conducted in such a manner as to reflect but little glory on the naval power of France; and nearly all the troops landed at different times and in different places were cut off by the inhabitants, who precipitated themselves from the mountains, and fought with the greatest bravery and resolution.

BOOK IV.
CHAP. II.
1793.

THE civil war that took place in the southern departments, for a time appeared to give a decided preponderance to the feeble efforts of the king of Sardinia. The greater part of the republican troops being recalled for the purpose of reducing Toulon and Marfeilles, the remainder were completely defeated in the county of Nice, and the whole of Savoy appeared on the eve of returning under the dominion of its ancient masters. But towards the latter end of October the Sardinians were completely beaten at Saorgio, and it began to be conjectured that the approaching campaign would prove disastrous to Victor Amiadæus.

THE superiority of the English fleet in the Mediterranean contributed not a little, however, to support for a time the declining fortune of the house of Savoy, as well as to produce a considerable effect on some of the Italian states; for although Genoa, notwithstanding the unfair means resorted to, could not be intimidated into a declaration of war against France, yet the court of Florence at length yielded to threats, in consequence of which the French minister was dismissed, and such measures adopted as afterwards bereaved the sovereign of Tuscany of his ducal crown, notwithstanding the intervention of a short and precarious peace.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1794—The French reconquer Austrian Flanders.

AS the campaign of 1793, notwithstanding its prosperous com-
mencement, had closed in a manner peculiarly inauspicious for
the allies, great preparations were made by them for opening
the succeeding one in such a manner as to redeem the reputation
of their arms. The courts of London and Vienna accordingly
adopted the most efficacious measures to bring a powerful body
of men into the field, and colonel Mack, an officer in the con-
fidence of the emperor, was sent to England on purpose to con-
cert a plan of operations with the British ministry. The conduct
of the cabinet of Berlin had however become equivocal, for early
in the present year an intercourse took place between commis-
sioners from the French republic and general Kalkreuth at
Frankfort, the former having entered that city with great ceremony
in a state carriage formerly appertaining to Louis XVI., on the
pannels of which the cap of liberty assumed the place originally
destined for the flower-de-luce during the monarchy.

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.
1794.

THE king of Prussia, nearly at the same time, notified to the
diet of Ratisbon, that unless his troops received subsistence at the

Policy of the
king of
Prussia.

BOOK V. publick expence, he would confider himfelf under the neceffity of
 CHAP. I. withdrawing the army on the Rhine, and contributing no more
 1794. than his fimple contingent; he alfo oppofed the general arming
 of the inhabitants of the empire, which had been propofed
 by its head, and intimated to the prince de Saxe Cobourg, that
 the whole of his forces, with the exception of twenty thoufand
 men, was about to leave the neighbourhood of Mentz, and re-
 tire to Cologne. At length his majefty, by a publick declara-
 tion, in which he described the prefent conteft as a war “with
 a delirious and never-diminifhing fwarm of foes,” openly pro-
 claimed his feceffion from the continental confederacy.

BUT all this proved to be a high-wrought piece of political
 coquetry, calculated to procure advances on the part of the mari-
 time ftates: nor was the court of Berlin miftaken in adopting this
 fingular mode of diplomattick courtfhip; for England and Holland
 immediately entered into a fubfidiary treaty for the maintenance
 of fixty-two thoufand four hundred men, in the courfe of which
 the interefts of the houfe of Brandenburg were regulated with
 all the nicety of mercantile calculation. *

* By this treaty, figned at the Hague, April 19, 1794, “their majefties the kings of Great Britain and Pruffia, and their high mightineffes the ftates-general of the United Provinces, being animated by the fame defire of putting a flop to the progrefs of the fystem of anarchy and crimes by which civil fociety has been menaced, &c. &c. have agreed upon the following articles:”

By Article I. His majefty the king of Pruffia engages to furnifh a body of troops, which fhall be compofed of fixty-two thoufand four hundred men, and fhall *remain united under a Pruffian commander*, &c.

By Article II. The two maritime powers agree to furnifh to his Pruffian majefty a fubfidy of fifty-two thoufand pounds fterling a-month, until the end of the year 1794, to be reckoned from the *beginning of the month* in which the prefent treaty is figned.

By Article III. The king of Pruffia is to receive immediately the fum of 300,000*l.* fterling; and on the return of the troops, the further fum of 100,000*l.*; the former of which, as well as that of the firft month of the firft fubfidy, is to be paid immediately after the ratification of the prefent treaty, and the fubfidy of the following months is alfo to be paid in advance, at the beginning of each month. All thefe payments fhall be made at Berlin by

THE emperor, who had been also induced to persevere in his efforts by the expectation of a loan from Great Britain, endeavoured to rouse the tardy zeal of the Germanick body, to which he intimated the necessity of a triple contingent: he at the same time increased his troops in the Low-countries, so as to amount to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men; and, on purpose to obviate jealousies similar to those that had occurred in the course

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.
1794.

Conduct of
the emperor
and

the maritime powers, and the pound sterling is to be reckoned at six crowns in golden Fredericks.

By Article V. It is stipulated that the above sums are not intended to include the expences of bread and forage, which is to be reckoned at the rate of one pound twelve shillings sterling per month for each man: and by Article VI. All conquests on the part of the Prussian army are to be made in the names of the two maritime powers.

It appears by "A return made to the order of the honourable house of commons, dated the 5th day of January, 1795," that the following sums were issued to, and received by, the king of Prussia, in pursuance of the above treaty:

By warrant, dated 4th June, 1794,	£ 600,000.
By ditto, dated ditto,	100,000.
By ditto, dated 13th ditto,	100,000.
By ditto, dated 28th ditto,	120,000.
By ditto, dated 22d July, 1794,	100,000.
By ditto, dated August 13, 1794,	106,491.
By ditto, dated 24th September, 1794,	50,000.
By ditto, dated 4th October, 1794,	130,000.

£ 1,306,495

It will be seen, by a perusal of the following extraordinary paper, that the court of Berlin thought proper to deny that any portion of the Prussian troops had been taken into the service of Great Britain; and the reader perhaps will smile at the subtlety with which a great general condescended to quibble between the *pay* and the *subsidy* of an army.

"Orders issued by his excellency the field-marshal count Mollendorf, on the parade, at the Prussian head-quarters at Kayferslautern, June 22, 1794.

"Whereas, an ill-founded report has been spread in these environs, and among the army, namely, That the troops of his Prussian majesty had entered into British pay; his excellency F. M. count Mollendorf, in order to prevent such unfounded rumours from being credited, declares publicly, that the army of his Prussian majesty is only subsidised by the two maritime powers, Great Britain and Holland, in the manner as it was in the seven-years' war, but receives no pay from any of these powers."

BOOK V. of the preceding autumn, it was determined that Francis II. should
 CHAP. I. command the allies in person.

1794.

AFTER the solemnity of his inauguration as duke of Brabant, his imperial majesty accordingly took the field at the head of the combined armies, which were stated at this period to amount to two hundred thousand men; and it was now hoped that, in addition to such an immense military force, an unity of action would be obtained, and former misfortunes avoided. On the other hand, the preparations on the part of the French were such as no age or country had ever before witnessed. Instead of agreeing to a cessation of hostilities for two years, as had been proposed by an agent of the combined powers at a neutral court, they intimated their intentions of carrying on a terrible war as the best mode of obtaining an honourable peace; in reply to the offer of "a provisional acknowledgment of the French republick," they insisted on "the provisional destruction of all tyrannical governments;" and, already affecting the language of ancient Rome, intimated a design of surrounding the coalesced kings with the circle of Popilius.

of the
 French.

THE decree for the levy in mass had already placed all the youth of the most populous nation in Europe at the disposal of a government which boasted of having one million two hundred thousand men in arms. The war with the maritime powers having interdicted the importation of gunpowder and military stores, these were now supplied by the talents of the chemists and the industry of the artisans of France. Paris alone, from its three hundred forges and fifteen founderies, furnished eleven thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, and one thousand one hundred pieces of brass cannon, every month. The insurgent cities were ordered to transmit a certain portion of salt-petre by way of fine; the feudal castles of the nobility, still supposed to frown on the liberties of the republick, as well as the forests that sheltered the rebels of La Vendée, also provided their

quota of an ingredient so necessary in the modern art of war. Nor were the commercial signs of wealth, at all times indispensable for carrying on military operations, wanting. In addition to the almost inexhaustible fund arising from assignats, the credit of which was supported by the law of the *maximum*, the indiscreet piety of their ancestors presented them with other resources, which were at this period called into action; for the estates of the clergy, and the precious metals hoarded up in the cathedrals and churches, were freely recurred to, while the supernumerary bells furnished cannon for armies amounting to considerably more than half a million of fighting men*. That nothing might be wanting to give efficacy to these immense preparations, the archives of the war department were searched for the schemes and memorials drawn up during the reign of Louis XIV.; and a chosen body,

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.
1794.

* The following statements of the respective forces of the belligerent powers, were about this time published by the convention, and it has been deemed proper to insert them here, although obviously incorrect.

REPUBLICAN ARMIES.

Army of the North	220,000
United armies of the Rhine and the Moselle	280,000
Army of the Alps	60,000
Army of the Oriental Pyrenées	80,000
Army of the South	60,000
Army of the West	80,000
Total	780,000

ARMIES OF THE COALESCED POWERS.

Army of the prince de Cobourg	140,000
Army of the duke of York	40,000
Army appertaining to Holland	20,000
Austrian army on the Rhine	60,000
Prussian army	64,000
Army of the Empire	20,000
Army of Condé	12,000
Total	356,000

BOOK V. consisting of the ablest military men in France, formed plans for
 CHAP. I. the campaign, and laid down instructions for the generals, under
 1794. the inspection of Carnot, a member of the committee of publick safety, and one of the best engineers and statesmen of the age.

WHILE thus recurring, with indefatigable industry, to all the resources and all the instruments of modern warfare, the benefits to be derived from new discoveries were not forgotten. The balloon, hitherto considered as a philosophical toy incapable of affording any solid advantage to mankind, was converted into an engine by means of which the position, evolutions, and numbers of the enemy, could be readily ascertained; at the same time that the telegraph, with a few simple motions, served to communicate the result of a siege or of a battle, with the accuracy, if not the minuteness, of a dispatch, and a celerity that in some measure rivalled the progress of sound.

[April 16.] AT length the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, and amounting to 187,000 men, assembled on the heights above Cateau, and were reviewed by the emperor. In pursuance of the plan previously agreed upon, they advanced during the succeeding day, in eight columns, three of which were intended as corps of observation. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, seized on the village of Catillon, where they obtained four pieces of cannon, and having crossed the Sambre, immediately occupied a position between that river and the little Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies on that side. The second, led by lieutenant-general Alvinczey, took post in the forest of Nouvion. The third, headed by the emperor and the prince de Cobourg, after forcing the enemy's entrenchments, advanced to the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were formed from the army under the duke of York, that of which his royal high-

Action at
Landrecies.
[April 17.]

ness took the direction, being intended to attack the village of Vaux. Major-general Abercromby commenced the assault with the van, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of guards, under the command of colonel Stanhope, and stormed and took the star redoubt, while three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, commanded by major Petrasch, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the French had constructed for its defence.

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.
1794.

SIR William Erskine was equally successful with the other column; for finding the enemy posted at Premont, the brigade of British infantry, with four squadrons of light dragoons, was detached under lieutenant-general Harcourt to turn their position, while he himself attacked in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of British and Austrian artillery, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and not only obtained possession of the redoubts, but of two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours*.

THE success of this extensive and complicated attack, in consequence of which the French lost thirty pieces of artillery, being now complete, it was immediately determined to lay siege to Landrecies. The direction of this important affair was intrusted to the hereditary prince of Orange; while his imperial majesty, with the grand army, estimated at 60,000, covered the operations on the side of Guise; and the troops under the duke of York, amounting to near 30,000, were employed in a similar service towards Cambray. A body of Hessians and Austrians, to the

Investment of
Landrecies.

* Nine cannon were taken in the course of this day by the column under the immediate command of his royal highness the duke of York; who, in the dispatch transmitted on this occasion, regrets the loss of the honourable captain Carleton, of the royals; and expresses his obligations to lieutenant-generals sir William Erskine and Otto, major-general Abercromby, and lieutenant Fage of the British artillery.

BOOK V. number of 12,000, under general Worms, were at the same time
CHAP. I.

1794.

[April 21.]
The French
beaten under
the walls of
Landrecies.

[April 23.]

Grand attack
on the allies,
from Treves
to the sea.
[April 26.]

stationed near Douay and Bouchain; count Kaunitz, with 15,000, defended the passage of the Sambre; and general Clairfayt, with 40,000 more, protected Flanders from Tournay to the sea. Such was the strength and position of the allies, even without the assistance of the Prussians, who made no movement in their favour, that all the generals of the old school imagined success to be inevitable. And appearances, for a time, seemed to confirm these conjectures, for the hereditary prince of Orange made a general attack upon and carried all the posts still occupied by the enemy in front of Landrecies: he also took their entrenched camp by storm, and obtained possession of a strong redoubt within six hundred yards of the body of the place. In addition to this, the French were driven from Cæsar's camp, near Cambray, and repulsed a few days after with great slaughter, in an attack on the heights of Cateau, where the duke of York was posted; on which occasion lieutenant-general Chapuy, with three hundred and thirty officers and privates, were taken prisoners, while thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English*.

BUT although the enemy were not only worsted in this quarter, but also in an attack commanded by the emperor in person, yet they proved successful in another point of this general assault, which took place along the whole extent of the frontiers; for Pichegru having advanced on the same day from Lisle, defeated general Clairfayt at Moucron, from whom he took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and in a short time after obtained possession of Werwick, Courtray, and Menin, the last of which held out dur-

* The British commander in chief, in his official letter, praises the conduct of the troops on this day, and returns thanks to colonel Vyse, who commanded the two brigades of British cavalry after major-general Mansell's death. Captain Pigot and captain Fellows, of the third dragoon guards, fell upon this occasion.

ing four days, when finding no probability of succour, the gar-
 rifon, confifting chiefly of emigrants, forced their way through the
 enemy. Thefe fuccesses, however, were supposed to be fully coun-
 terbalanced by the fall of Landrecies, and the defeat of a body of
 30,000 troops, who had attacked the army of the duke of York, at
 Tournay; on which occasion they lost thirteen pieces of cannon,
 and above four hundred men taken prisoners*: but general Clair-
 fayt was less fortunate, for Pichegru once more attacked him, and
 that too with such irresistible impetuosity, that he was obliged to
 retreat in confusion; his flying troops were at length with some
 difficulty, prevailed upon to halt; and this gallant but unlucky
 commander immediately occupied a position so as to cover Ghent,
 Bruges, and Ostend.

BOOK V.
 CHAP. I.
 1794.

Surrender of
 Landrecies.
 [April 30.]
 Action at
 Tournay.
 [May 10.]

THE army of the allies, in consequence of the offensive opera-
 tions of the enemy, who, whether vanquished or victorious,
 proved incessant in their attacks, being thus broken into many se-
 parate masses, and destitute of unity in its operations, was evi-
 dently liable to be overcome. Accordingly, while Pichegru
 was pursuing his victorious career in the west, Jourdan, already
 celebrated for his victories at Maubeuge and Hoondschoote, en-
 tered West Flanders, and after crossing the Sambre, forced general
 Kaunitz to retreat; but in the course of a few days the Austrians
 rallied, and obliged the French in their turn to give way with the
 loss of near 5,000 men, and three pieces of cannon.

[May 18.]

HIS imperial majesty was now induced to make a general attack
 with his scattered forces, on purpose to compel the enemy to evacuate
 the Low-countries. The attempt, however, proved unsuccessful,
 for two of the five columns employed upon this occasion were
 unable, from fatigue, to execute the plan; and a third found the

Grand attack
 by the allies,

* Lieutenant-general Harcourt, major-general Dundas, and sir Robert Laurie, distin-
 guished themselves upon this occasion.

BOOK V. enemy in such force at Moucron, that it retreated to Turcoing.

CHAP. I.

1794.

In the mean time, seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of light dragoons, and four of hussars, led by the duke of York, forced the French to evacuate Lannoy and Roubaix, and advanced, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, against Mouveaux. General Abercromby then attacked with four battalions of guards, seconded by the seventh and fifteenth light dragoons under lieutenant-colonel Churchill, and compelled the enemy to retire with the loss of three pieces of cannon.

Action at
Turcoing.

THE French having attacked Turcoing early next morning, the English commander in chief dispatched two battalions of Austrians towards that place; but an opening being left in the right, the enemy took advantage of this unfortunate incident, and his royal highness was so briskly assailed both in front and rear, that his troops gave way, and he himself found it impossible either to join the brigade of guards, or that commanded by major-general Fox; but he was at length enabled to escape to a body of Austrians commanded by general Otto, accompanied only by a few dragoons of the sixteenth regiment, while major-general Abercromby, with some difficulty, effected his retreat to Templeuve; and major-general Fox fortunately succeeded in gaining the village of Leers*.

NOTWITHSTANDING some occasional advantages obtained by the allies, it was by this time evident to all enlightened men, that the immense numbers and systematical exertions of the republican armies would in the end preponderate. His imperial majesty, who had been taught to believe that his appearance in the Low-countries was alone sufficient for the resumption of the ancient dominions of the house of Austria, and the

* According to the French account, they took no less than sixty pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners, in the course of this general attack.

complete overthrow of its enemies, now learned from sad experience that the Belgians were averse from his government, and the French too mighty for his vengeance. This young prince, disgusted at the past, uncertain of the future, equally alarmed at the progress of an inveterate foe and the suspicious conduct of a king, at once his rival and his ally, thought proper to abandon the field in the middle of the campaign; and after having exposed the person* of the first monarch in Europe to the ignominy of

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CHAP. I.
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* It is notorious, that Francis II., like his uncle the emperor Joseph, exposed his person freely at the head of the army; but as the imminent danger from which his imperial majesty escaped during the siege of Landrecies, although well authenticated, is not generally known, the following papers have been procured and subjoined, as the incident is not only singular in itself, but reflects high honour on a regiment of English cavalry:

Copies of the Official Testimonies proving the gallant Conduct of the fifteenth Light Dragoons on the 24th of April, 1794, in the Affair of Landrecies.

No. I. An attestation of lieutenant-general Otto, in his imperial majesty's service, relative to the action that took place the 24th of April, 1794, translated from the German, being previously witnessed by the right honourable sir Morton Eden, our envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

"WHEN his imperial majesty's army besieged Landrecies, a French city, and his royal highness's army formed the right wing near Cateau, where I was placed, the enemy endeavoured by different attacks to prevent the siege; and, to effect their purpose, they assembled about twenty-four thousand men at Cæsar's camp, and advanced, 23d of April, 1794, in three columns, attacked the imperial troops near Douchy, Avesnes le Second, Villers en Couché, Harpres, and the Hessian advanced posts near the river Selle, which were forced to retire. Major-general Sentkerefky, who was on my right flank, near St. Hilaire, with two hussar and two English light-dragoon squadrons, informed me of the circumstance. I reconnoitred the enemy, who were ten thousand strong, composed of cavalry and infantry: they advanced as far as Villers en Couché. Seeing how serious it was, as the enemy's patrols had pushed on to the other side of the river Selle, I sent for a reinforcement, which arrived the same day. I marched on the 24th of April, 1794, in front of the enemy, and ordered them to be attacked on their flank, near Montrecourt, by a part of the cavalry, which were the advanced guard composed of the above-mentioned two hussar and two of the fifteenth light-dragoon squadrons; the reinforcement was not up, and notwithstanding the very small force of the advanced guard, aid-de-camp Mezery, and Sentkerefky, colonel of Leopold's hussars, with major Aylett, of the fifteenth English dragoons, attacked the enemy, although considerably stronger, with such fortitude and bravery, that their cavalry began to run away behind their infantry; they then cut off the infantry, and killed above eight hundred, and

BOOK V. being taken prisoner by the troops of the new republick, he suddenly retired to his own capital, and left the allies to meditate on the approaching catastrophe.

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1794.

took three pieces of cannon. After this happy success, the Imperialists and Hessians, who had retired from the Selle, reassembled, and advanced on the other side of my detachment; and by this means a very small number drove the enemy, who were prodigiously stronger, as far as Cambray. I do not wish to enter into too long a detail; but every person can judge of the valour of this attack, if, with the eyes of an experienced warrior, he observes on the map the position of our army and the advancement of the enemy as far as the river Selle, and he will find how much truth there is in the saying, 'that a few resolute and brave soldiers can decide a great deal.'

"The names of the officers who distinguished themselves on that ever-memorable day:

	Lieut.-col. Aylett,	}	fifteenth light dragoons.
	Major Pocklington,		
Captains	{ Ryan,	}	fifteenth light dragoons.
	{ Calcraft,		
	{ Blount,		
	{ Wilton,		
Majors	{ Keir, sixth dragoon guards.		
	{ Butler, eighty-seventh reg. then in the fifteenth reg.		

"OTTO, lieutenant-general."

English force, one hundred and eighty-seven rank and file.—Austrian force, eighty-seven rank and file.—Total, two hundred and seventy-four men.

No. II. "THE undersigned certifies to captain Ryan, of the English light dragoons, that on the 24th of April, 1794, the fifteenth regiment charged the enemy, who were in great force at Villers en Couché, routed them, sabred a great many, and by this conduct rescued his imperial majesty from the danger that menaced his person, for being on the road from Valenciennes to Catillon, he was cut off by their patrols, which had already passed over the river Selle.

"The courageous conduct of this regiment, animated by its brave officers, is so much the more meritorious, as the main column of the allied army did not arrive to its support: but although abandoned to itself, it still relied on its own valour, attacked the enemy, and by its bravery alone prevented the melancholy consequences above stated: and not content with that, it took three pieces of cannon. Captain Ryan, who so distinguished himself in this affair, had his horse wounded, as well as the officers who are specified by field-marshal-lieutenant Otto, under whose particular command the regiment was.

"MAXMN. COUNT DE MERVELDT.
major-general."

"Vienna, 20th December, 1797."

No.

PICHEGRU now prepared in his turn a general assault on the lines of the allies, which he accordingly commenced with a heavy fire of artillery; and a succession of attacks, or rather battles, ensued, which lasted from the break of day until late in the evening, when the French retired without being able to make any effectual impression, notwithstanding their immense numbers,

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1794.

Grand attack
by the
French.

[May 22.]

No. III.—An attestation of general Sentkereksky, in his imperial majesty's service, witnessed by the right honourable sir Morton Eden, K.B. our envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

"THE extraordinary bravery which the two squadrons of the fifteenth light dragoons, under my command, shewed on the 24th of April, 1794.

"A corps of the enemy twenty thousand strong, who, on the 23d of the same month, advanced from Cambray, dislodged the Hessians, and drove them from the river Selle, and thus stopping the communication, was, by two hussar and the above light-dragoon squadrons, attacked near Villers en Couché. This attack was executed with such bravery and resolution, that they killed above one thousand, and took three pieces of cannon. By this courageous and unexpected attack, the enemy was entirely drove back, the communication with the Hessian troops, near to Denain, re-established, and the right wing of the besieging army, near Landrecies, covered. This remarkable action of the two light-dragoon squadrons, encouraged by their brave officers, who, despising the greatness of the danger and the multitude of the enemy, gave to this astonishing affair an essential decision. All this passed under my eyes, to the disadvantage of the enemy, and to the glory of our arms, by the just, meritorious, and noble conduct of the eight brave officers mentioned by general Otto.

"SENTKERESKY, major-general."

No. IV.—An attestation of major-general prince Schwarzenberg, witnessed by the right honourable sir Morton Eden, K.B. our envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

"THE undersigned attests, that two squadrons of the fifteenth light dragoons, with two hussar squadrons, formed the advanced guard of a column of cavalry, who, by chance, did not follow; notwithstanding which the advance guard were determined to attack the enemy; nor did they permit themselves to get into confusion by the astonishing number of their adversaries, or by their support not being up, but, conducted by their brave officers, attacked the enemy with such an extraordinary resolution, and with such violence, that they killed a vast number, and took three pieces of cannon. The brave conduct of this courageous regiment was on this occasion more considerable, as the advancement of the enemy might have caused the most fatal consequences in respect to the journey of his imperial majesty, from Valenciennes to Catillon.

"CHARLES, prince of Schwarzenberg."

No.

BOOK V. which have been estimated at two hundred thousand. On this
 CHAP. I. occasion the combined forces conducted themselves with signal
 1794. bravery; and the second brigade of British, under major-general
 Fox, distinguished itself in a particular manner by the spirit and
 gallantry with which it stormed and carried the village of Pontechin, by means of the bayonet.

Passage of
 the Sambre.
 [May 24.]

BUT the French, instead of being dispirited by their ill success upon this occasion, actually crossed the Sambre two days after, and occupied a position between Rouveroy and Fontaine-L'Eveque; they however suffered themselves to be again surprised by general count Kaunitz, and lost fifty pieces of cannon, and near five thousand men, about three thousand of whom were made prisoners. As if undismayed by events, they actually broke ground before Charleroi soon after; but being attacked by the combined army under the hereditary prince of Orange, they were compelled once more to retreat. Such however was their amazing superiority in point of numbers, that another army of forty thousand men about this time entered the

[June 3.]

NO. V.—“SIR,

“THE emperor remembers with satisfaction the distinguished proofs of valour that you, and the other officers of the fifteenth light dragoons, manifested on 24th April 1794, near Cambray. His majesty regrets, that the statutes of the order of Maria Theresa, confirmed by a constant custom, forbid the cross of this order, strictly national, being conferred on officers so worthy of being decorated with it; but wishing to give you, as also your honourable companions, a public mark of his particular esteem, his majesty has commanded a medal to be struck, to perpetuate the remembrance of this brilliant action, and has ordered me to offer to them the only impressions which have been struck, except one, which is placed in the imperial cabinet of Vienna. In fulfilling the intentions of his imperial majesty, I beg you, consequently, to receive for yourself, sir, and to distribute to the other officers who, on the memorable 24th of April, 1794, fought under your orders, the medals which I have delivered to captain Ryan. I have the honour to join the assurances of the highest consideration, and have the honour to be, sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“Vienna, March 5th, 1798.”

“LE BN. THUGUT.”

“To Lieut. Col. Aylott.”

duchy of Luxembourg, a movement which obliged general Beaulieu to retire from the duchy of Bouillon, the chief town of which had been pillaged by the Austrians, under pretence that some of the inhabitants had fired upon them.

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CHAP. I.
1794.

NOTWITHSTANDING their reiterated miscarriages in that quarter, the enemy' soon after re-crossed the Sambre again, and assumed a position near Josselies, on purpose to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches; but the same general who had defeated them a few days before, arrived again and obliged them to retreat, with the loss of near six thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. But general Jourdan having received considerable reinforcements from the army of the Moselle, crossed the Sambre a third time, stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and prepared again to besiege a city which had so long eluded his attacks.

[June 6.]

ABOUT this period some of the most ferocious members of the ruling party in France, exhibited a degree of savage revenge respecting England, well calculated to render them the objects of general detestation. Not content with solemnly proclaiming the premier "the enemy of the human race" in the convention, a decree * was also obtained, declaring, "that henceforth no English or Hanoverians should be made prisoners;" and an address was soon after transmitted to the armies of the republick, in which, after accusing the British government of all the crimes perpetrated against France, they assert, that "no one of the slaves of George ought to return to the traitorous territory of England †." The

* May 26, 1794.

† On the 11th Prairial (31st May, 1794), Barrere proposed to the convention that the decree prohibiting quarter being given to the English or Hanoverians, should be accompanied by the following address to the armies:

"England is capable of every outrage on humanity, and of every crime towards the republick. She attacks the rights of all nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty.

"How

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1791.

conduct of the duke of York upon this occasion was at once dignified and humane. Instead of issuing orders for immediate retaliation, and thus producing all the horrors of mutual assassination, his royal highness in an address to his army *, requested the troops to suspend their indignation, and reminded them, "that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character." To the honour of the enemy too, neither the officers nor soldiers would enforce these barbarous mandates; and several of the generals actually refused obedience to them, at the risk of their lives.

Ypres taken.
[June 17.]

IN the mean time the French proved victorious in maritime Flanders; for Pichegru, after defeating Clairfayt, who had marched to the relief of Ypres, which contained a garrison of seven thousand men, commenced the siege of that place, which was soon after obliged to surrender to Moreau, a young man of great promise, who in early life served as a private soldier, and

"How long will you suffer to continue on your frontiers the slaves of George—the soldiers of the most atrocious of tyrants? He formed the congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. He massacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. He starved your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

"When the events of battle shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your views to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinico, and St. Domingo—places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime worthy of their perfidious character, and Machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of George, say, can they fight for him?

"No! no! republican soldiers—you ought, therefore, when victory shall put in your power either Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free."

After the fall of Robespierre, the barbarous and unjust decree which accompanied this address was repealed.

* Dated June 7, 1794.

had but lately exchanged the lawyer's robe for the truncheon of a general.

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CHAP. I.

1794.

NOR was Jourdan less fortunate in another quarter, for he pressed the siege of Charleroi so closely, that the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, surrendered at discretion. The prince de Cobourg, assisted by the prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, not being acquainted with this event, marched in the course of that very evening with the combined army, divided into five columns, and early on the succeeding morning made preparations to relieve the place. Having attacked the enemy's entrenchments in the direction of Lambirfart, Espinies, and Gosselies, he obliged a few detached bodies to retreat, notwithstanding the protection of several strong redoubts; but such was the opposition experienced on this occasion by the allies, that it was evening before the left wing had arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field works lined with an immense number of heavy artillery. Although a variety of unforeseen obstacles had interposed, an attempt was now made to force this strong position with the bayonet, while Jourdan on the other hand, having obtained the assistance of the besieging army, in consequence of the fall of Charleroi, determined to decide the fate of Flanders in a pitched battle. He accordingly advanced with a numerous army, and made such an excellent disposition as to enable the greater part of his forces to contend with the left wing of the allies only. Nevertheless, such was the impetuous valour of the assailants, that they repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and formed several times under the fire of their cannon; but towards seven o'clock in the evening, the advantage obtained by Jourdan became conspicuous; for having drawn his troops out of their entrenchments, and made three distinct charges upon the enemy, after an action which commenced at dawn of day, and did not entirely conclude until near sun-set, victory, which had been hovering by turns over each of the rival armies,

Capture of
Charleroi.
[June 26.]

Battle of
Fleurus.
[June 27.]

BOOK V. declared finally in favour of the republicans. The combined troops,
 CHAP. I. taking advantage of the night, immediately fell back, first on Mar-
 1794. bois, and next on Nivelles, with an intent if possible to cover Namur.

THUS ended the battle of Fleurus, fought on the same ground as that on which the French had discomfited the allies a century before; in consequence of which general Jourdan was now considered for a time as the rival of marshal Luxembourg.

SOME circumstances worthy of record deserve to be enumerated here. The loss of this action, on which so much depended, appears to have arisen partly from the ignorance of the imperial general relative to the fate of Charleroi, and partly from the determination of the French soldiers, who, dreading the ignominy of being again driven across the Sambre, exclaimed from one end of the line to another, "No retreat to-day!" The reserve, in particular, which turned the fortune of the battle, displayed an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, and repeatedly charged the enemy, amidst unceasing shouts of "Long live the republic!" Nor ought a novel incident, connected with the fate of this engagement, and consequently of Austrian Flanders, to be omitted. The committee of publick safety, ambitious of boasting that it had enlisted science under the banners of liberty, had sent a company of aërostats to the head-quarters of the army, in consequence of which a balloon was constructed, and frequently elevated during the action, with a confidential officer attached to it, who conveyed the most important intelligence relative to the designs, the numbers, and the evolutions of the enemy*.

THE loss of the combined forces in this engagement has never been precisely ascertained; it was undoubtedly diminished greatly

* Etienne, adjutant-general of the army, was the person pitched upon to reconnoitre the Austrians, and the balloon was called *L'Entrepreneur*. "I was attacked," says he, in the report published by him upon this occasion, "with hisses as well as grenades, but none of them reached me. I corresponded with the generals during the action, and informed them of every new position assumed by the enemy." The intelligence was conveyed in a note fastened to an arrow, while the balloon itself was attached to a cord.

on one hand by the prince de Cobourg, who stated it at fifteen hundred *, and grossly exaggerated on the other by the French, who estimated it at ten thousand men. The effects however were prodigious, for the combined forces now retreated in all quarters, and Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Bruffels, and even Namur, were left without protection.

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.
1794.

THE body of English and allies under the duke of York participated of course in the disasters of the campaign ; for his royal highness, after attempting in vain to form a junction with general Clairfayt, was obliged to retreat from Tournay to Renaix ; and general Walmoden having been forced at the same time to abandon Bruges, all communication with Ostend was thus cut off. The ministry, greatly alarmed at this event, immediately requested the earl of Moira, who had been nominated to the command of a separate body of troops, now encamped in the vicinity of Southampton, and destined, in conjunction with several regiments of emigrants, for a secret expedition against France, to repair to the Low-countries. Notwithstanding this nobleman had before intimated that any orders for serving in that quarter must occasion his immediate resignation, he yet waved his former resolutions at so critical a period ; and after landing a body of troops in maritime Flanders, proposed a junction to the generals Clairfayt and Walmoden, so as to enable them to act from Bruges to Thielt, upon the left wing of the French, with a view of covering Ostend on one hand, and producing a diversion in favour of the duke of York on the other. While on his march to effect this, the situation of the prince de Saxe Cobourg rendered the

Proceedings
of the British
army.

Expedition
under lieu-
tenant-gene-
ral earl of
Moira.

* See a "Return of the action of the 26th of June, 1794, near Fleurus," published in the London Gazette, "Whitehall, July 1."

"Our loss," it is said, "is not very considerable, and may perhaps amount to fifteen hundred men. No cannon have been lost ; but a howitzer and one colour have been taken from the enemy."

BOOK V.
CHAP. I.

1794.

Lord Moira
joins the
Duke of
York.

[June 29.]

[July 6.]

plan impracticable ; his lordship however determined to comply with a pressing invitation on the part of the English commander in chief, then in a difficult position; and accordingly, by means of a rapid movement, completed the object of the expedition ; after which he was consigned to obscurity, but not until he had repulsed the French at Aloft *, and also at Malines, whence he forced the enemy to retire, notwithstanding they had made a successful attack on all the duke's out-posts, in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp.

HOWEVER, the French returned to the charge, and again assaulted the line of defence occupied by his royal highness, who deemed it prudent to retreat across the Meuse, and withdraw into Holland.

NOR was the enemy less successful in other quarters. Notwithstanding the battle of Fleurus appeared decisive of the fate of the Netherlands, the prince of Saxe Cobourg contended against fortune with the most indefatigable perseverance, being determined not to relinquish the ancient dominions of the house of Austria without a long and violent struggle. Having assembled the remains of his army at Halle, he advanced and assumed a formidable position, but was immediately attacked by a victorious army, and forced to evacuate Mons ; on which occasion his rear-guard left that town by one gate, at the very moment the van of the French entered it at another. Having retreated to Soignies, and thus placed himself between the republicans and the capital of Brabant, he threw up entrenchments and fortified this post, which was not inferior to that of Jemappe in point of natural strength, so as to render it nearly impregnable ; but nothing could now withstand the fury of the assailants, who, braving the fire of a numerous artillery, and undaunted at the slaughter that ensued, rushed in with screwed bayonets, and by having recourse to that weapon,

Action at
Mons.
[July 2.]

Action at
Soignies.

* Lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandeleur distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

demonstrated that their discipline was complete, and their victory certain.

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CHAP. I.

1794.

THE flying Austrians now retreated through Bruffels, the inhabitants of which could not disguise their satisfaction upon this occasion ; on the contrary, no sooner did the French legions advance, than they opened their gates and received them with the most lively demonstrations of joy, and gladly proclaimed their union with the victorious republick. The inhabitants of Oudenarde, Ghent, and Ostend, also testified their exultation ; and it now became evident, that the house of Austria had not only lost the dominion of the Low-countries, but also the hearts of the people*.

The French
enter Bruffels.
[July 9.]

* About a fortnight before this, an address, of which the following are the concluding paragraphs, had been published at Bruffels, in the name of the emperor, exhorting the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands to rise in arms against the invaders. This however produced no effect whatever, and it is not a little remarkable, that a *levy en masse* has never been obtained in any other country except France.

“ The emperor’s armies are still entire : victory has often crowned their glorious efforts, but they are wearied by continual battles ; and perhaps the inactivity of the Belgians may diminish their ardour, when they see that it is not felt by the nation they are defending.

“ A rapid march into the enemy’s territory presented prospects more brilliant, but glory was sacrificed to your safety. Powerful reinforcements are expected ; yet the danger, though momentary, is urgent ; you have no time to lose. The general arming to which we invite Belgium, implies neither a regular incorporation with the army, nor the retention of arms for any considerable length of time, nor even a difficult war : for disciplined and courageous armies support you ; and the august brother of his imperial majesty, the usual organ of his sentiments in your behalf, will guide your efforts and march at your head. Merely to arm, is at once to destroy the audacity and the hopes of the enemy.

“ Religion, constitution, property, the sovereign who wears you all next his heart, who came among you without guards, who trusted himself to your love, who esteems you—these are the watch-words that must organise you, and your zeal and courage will never disappoint our hopes.” Dated Bruffels, June 23, 1794.

C H A P. II.

The French obtain Possession of the Fortresses on the Northern Frontier, and drive the Austrians beyond the Rhine—Campaign of 1794-5 in Holland.

BOOK V. AS Jourdan had routed the enemy on the banks of the Sambre,
 CHAP. II. while Pichegru overcame them on the borders of the Scheldt, it
 1794. was now determined to regain those fortresses, which had fallen into the hands of the allies. The troops left in garrison were but few in number, and not in possession of a sufficient quantity of provisions to withstand a long siege; they were besides intimidated not only by the retreat of the combined armies, but also by a barbarous law that menaced their lives. Robespierre and his associates, not content with staining the scaffold daily with the blood of the best and most illustrious of their fellow-citizens, had wrested a decree from the too-compliant convention, threatening extermination against all those who, after a certain period, should presume to defend the frontier towns lately appertaining to France.

GENERAL SCHERER having appeared before Landrecies, immediately summoned that place, and the fatal term of twenty-four hours was suffered to elapse, after which the foreign troops were to be put to the sword. But although the governour at first declined to capitulate, yet he did not permit any of the fortifications to be injured; for no sooner had the French broken ground, and erected batteries, than he proposed terms; these were refused; and the garrison, consisting of near two thousand men, surrendered at discretion.

Recapture of
 Landrecies.
 [July 15.]

THE same general and the same army next appeared before Quefnoy, which after a similar ceremony opened its gates, an event notified to the convention by the telegraphe, first used upon this occasion*. In a few days more, Valenciennes, which had been taken with such difficulty, followed the example of the two former places, and submitted to its ancient masters; nor did Condé, the name of which was now exchanged for that of *Nord Libre*, exhibit the least inclination to resist, but yielded also, without being able to obtain a capitulation. Under the walls of one of these places † were obtained one hundred and ninety waggons loaded with stores and ammunition; and in another ‡ was found a rich booty of three millions of florins in specie. But although all the garrisons had infringed the terms of the sanguinary decree already alluded to, neither officers nor soldiers were treated with cruelty; the unhappy emigrants, however, were delivered up to the military tribunals, and most of them punished with death §. The forbearance exercised on this occasion towards the foreign troops, originated in the state of

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.

1794.

Quefnoy,
[Aug. 15.]
Valenciennes,
[Aug. 29.]
and Condé,
[Aug. 30.]
surrender to
the French.

* The intelligence was transmitted to Paris within the space of a single hour after the surrender, by means of thirteen distinct motions. When this instrument, the invention of citizen Chappe, had attained a greater degree of perfection, the time occupied in a similar communication between Lille and the capital, did not exceed two minutes.

† Condé.

‡ Valenciennes.

§ *Extract from a Report relative to Valenciennes, Condé, Le Quesnoy, and Landrecies, read by Carnot in the French Convention, September 22, 1794, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety.*

“ It was necessary to retake the fortresses of which the enemy had obtained possession, and in order that it might be done more speedily, it was resolved to adopt revolutionary means; the decree of the 16th Messidor ordered, that such of the garrisons should be put to the sword as refused to surrender within twenty-four hours after being summoned. Nevertheless, it was not forgotten that this law might become a terrible weapon against ourselves, by infusing despair into the minds of the foreign troops. The committee felt that the convention did not mean to pass a decree of carnage, but to save the country: they, therefore, suffered the generals to use their own prudence, with

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.

1794.

parties; for when the unrelenting character of Maximilian Robespierre and his accomplices is considered, there can be but little doubt that they would have strictly enforced their original threats, and thus devoted their names to new infamy; but the execution of this monster, whose exertions had of late been solely confined to the management of the guillotine, prevented the carnage they had meditated, and in some measure rescued France from fresh reproach.

IN the mean time the armies, but little influenced by the con-

respect to executing or not executing the decree. The four garrisons were restored to the republic in less than four decades.

"We found in Valenciennes three millions of florins in specie, about six millions and a half of livres. Landrecies did not choose to wait till her fortifications should be injured. Le Quesnoy and Condé made still less resistance. The commandants of such of the places as did not obey the decree within the twenty-four hours prescribed, were arrested and rendered responsible for the non-execution of the decree. Despots are the only persons whom the convention would punish, and not those who have the misfortune to be their slaves.—(*Loud Applauses.*)

"Notwithstanding the perfidy of Robespierre, who gave it as his advice that each of the places should be assaulted, though he knew that each assault would have cost us at least six thousand men; notwithstanding the hopes of that monster, who only waited for a check on the part of our army for the purpose of accusing his colleagues; Valenciennes, Condé, Quesnoy, and Landrecies, cost little blood to the republic ere they were restored.—The garrisons surrendered at discretion, and France triumphed equally by her generosity and her courage.

"In remembrance of these happy events, Condé has received the name of Nord Libre; and under the walls of that fortress we have found one hundred and ninety waggons of stores, provisions, and ammunition of all kinds.

"Thus fade away for ever all the chimerical hopes of all our enemies! and thus have the ephemeral successes of Europe produced only shame to her, and glory to us.

"What, cannot all Europe conquer France!—that country which has been said to be 'only a chasm in the map of Europe.' Wait, legislators; the combined powers have only deferred their formidable designs, and next year they are determined to march to Paris.—(*Laughter.*)

"The emigrants taken in the different garrisons have been delivered to the military tribunals.—The national representatives on missions have taken proper steps to restore to those four communes the usual activity in their commerce, primary schools, and constituted authorities."

vulsions that had taken place in the capital, were put in motion, and resumed the operations of the campaign, after a suspension of nearly two months, during which interval the four frontier garrisons had been subdued. Accordingly, while Pichegru prepared with one body of troops to attack Holland, another assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels under Jourdan, and proceeded in pursuit of Clairfayt, who had succeeded the prince de Cobourg as commander in chief, and was the only general who now kept the field; for the duke of York had by this time withdrawn into Dutch Brabant, after a long and ineffectual struggle, and the hereditary prince of Orange was obliged to cross the Dyle to prevent his army from being surrounded.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1794.

THE field-marshal, now at the head of the Austrian troops, after being obliged by general Kleber to evacuate Louvain, and abandon Namur and Antwerp, in each of which an immense booty was found, assumed a new position; but he was attacked three days in succession, and, notwithstanding a momentary success on the part of general Kray, the number and enthusiasm of the enemy finally triumphed, so that the Austrians were obliged to take advantage of a fog to ensure a safe retreat.

Defeat of
Clairfayt.
[Sept. 15.]

JOURDAN now pressed forward with his usual ardour, while the Austrian general retreated, still worsted, but never wholly overcome, first to Hervé, and then to Aix-la-Chapelle. The French, having waited for the arrival of the main body of the army, assaulted all the enemy's posts from Ruremonde to Juliers. Clairfayt, who had by this time occupied a strong position upon the Roer, still hoped to be able to resist, and the victory for a long time proved doubtful; but the continual attacks and undiminishing ardour of the French, at length obliged him to retire into Germany, after having lost near ten thousand men in the course of three days. The republicans were now in possession of Hervé, Malmedy, and Spa; preparations were made to invest Maastricht and Venloo; the city of Cologne was in their pos-

Decisive at-
tack on the
Austrians.
[October 1.]

The Aus-
trians are
driven across
the Rhine.

BOOK V. feſſion ; and a detachment of their army under general Moreau
CHAP. II. ſeized alſo upon Coblentz, where the emigrants had originally
1794. appeared in arms ; ſo that Mentz was now the only place which
Coblentz the allies poſſeſſed on the left bank of the Rhine.
taken.
[O&T. 23.]

WHILE the armies of the Sambre and Meuſe, under Jourdan, were chaſing the Auſtrians acroſs the Rhine, Pichegru, at the head of the army of the North, was making preparations for the invaſion of Holland.

Pichegru
enters Hol-
land.

AFTER this general had remained ſeventeen days in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing magazines and enſuring a ſupply of proviſions, his troops at length commenced their march, and aſſumed a poſition at Turnhout, near Hoogſtraten. On this the duke of York, knowing the ſuperiour force of the enemy, immediately retired towards Bois-le-duc, and relinquished the defence of Breda to its gariſon.

Capture of
Sluys.
[Aug. 25.]

IN the mean time Moreau had undertaken the ſiege of Sluys, and to complete the inveſtment of that place, it became neceſſary to poſt a body of troops in the iſle of Cadſand. This operation appeared at firſt to be attended by nearly inſurmountable obſtacles, for the paſſage was defended by a battery of fourteen cannon, and the troops were entirely deſtitute either of pontoons or veſſels proper for their tranſport ; but the audacity of the ſoldiers ſupplied all deficiencies, for while ſome of them ſwam over, others croſſed the arm of the ſea in ſmall boats, and the young and adventurous general entered the place as a victor, and thus added to the acquiſitions of the republick, at the very moment when his aged father had fallen a ſacrifice to the ſuſpicions of the triumphant faction.

Action at
Boxtel.
[Sept. 15.]

PICHEGRU deeming it prudent to abandon the idea of the ſiege of Breda for the preſent, in order to oblige the Engliſh to croſs the Maefe, commenced his march for that purpoſe, and came up with the duke of York's advanced guard, ſtrongly poſted upon the banks of the Dommel, all the bridges over which, as well as

those across a neighbouring stream, had been broken down. This obstacle retarded the action, which commenced at three o'clock, and continued until six in the evening; when the French having effected a passage, partly by swimming and partly by rafts, the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who occupied an advanced position, suffered considerably, and a considerable number of them laid down their arms*. As the loss of Boxtel would oblige his royal highness to abandon the whole of his line of defence, it was determined to send lieutenant-general Abercromby at the head of the reserve, during the ensuing night, with orders if possible to retake it; but the enemy being found too strong, the troops returned; and the commander in chief having learned by this time that numerous columns to the amount of eighty thousand men † were advancing against him, it was deemed prudent to withdraw, more especially as an attack appeared to be meditated against his left, which was the most vulnerable point. This portion of the allied troops accordingly retreated across the Maese in good order, after having lost, according to the French accounts, two thousand men, who were made prisoners, seven cannon, and a number of horses; while Bois-le-duc and Bergen-op-zoom, as well as Breda, being no longer protected by a covering army, were obliged to depend on their own internal strength and resources.

As it now became necessary to obtain possession of some strong place, whence the invading army might draw its subsistence, the siege of the first of these towns was resolved upon, and it was

Investment of
Bois-le-duc.
[Sept. 23.]

* The French, who have as usual magnified this defeat, assert, that thirty hussars made two battalions lay down their arms; while a single drummer, alone and unsupported, took ten prisoners:

“ C'est dans cette occasion où l'on a dit que trente hussars du huitième régiment firent poser les armes à deux bataillons. Ce fait est exact; & il est encore vrai qu'un tambour, qui avoit à peine dix-huit ans, seul & sans armes, nous amena dix prisonniers.” *Campagnes du General Pichegru, par le Citoyen David, témoin de la plupart de leurs exploits.* p. 79.

† London Gazette Extraordinary, Sunday, September 21.

BOOK V. accordingly invested, notwithstanding the difficulty of the under-
 CHAP. II. taking in consequence of the inundations. At length, the fort
 1794. of Orten having been abandoned by the enemy, and that of
 Crevecœur taken, the governour of Bois-le-duc,
 [Sept. 29.] notwithstanding the floods were increased by incessant rains,
 Surrender of agreed to a capitulation, and, to the great surprize of the victors
 Bois-le-duc. themselves, resigned the place.
 [Oct. 10.]

ON this, general Pichegru immediately crossed the Maese in pursuit of the enemy, regulating all his movements in exact conformity to the operations of Jourdan; while, in direct opposition to received opinions, he left the strong towns of Sas-de-Ghent, Hult, and Axel, in Dutch Flanders, as well as Bergen-op-zoom and Breda, in Dutch Brabant, in his rear*.

Action at
 Pufflech.
 [Oct. 19.]

THE duke of York, who is allowed on this occasion even by the enemy to have conducted his retreat with great ability in the face of a superiour army, waited for the invaders in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, having his two wings supported by two rivers. The French, notwithstanding this, moved forward in four columns, and attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right, particularly those of Drutin and Appelthern, the former of which was defended by the 37th regiment, and the latter by the prince of Rohan's light battalion. These troops conducted themselves with great gallantry; but a post on the left having been forced, major Hope, after distinguishing himself greatly, was obliged to retreat along the dyke of the Waal, where his regiment being charged furiously by the enemy's horse, suffered considerably; major-general Fox is said to have been nearly at the same time taken prisoner, and detained for a few minutes by a French hussar, while encouraging the troops to a

* It was not until the 19th of October, that the two first divisions of the French troops under the generals Bonneau and Souham crossed the Maese, near Teflen. This delay proceeded from the want of pontoons, nineteen only of which could be procured.

strenuous opposition. On this occasion too, the unfortunate emigrants suffered considerably, for general Jordan, at the head of the third regiment of cavalry, made a most destructive charge upon the legion of Rohan, which he completely defeated and almost destroyed, as he made only sixty-two prisoners*.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1794.

AFTER this engagement, the duke of York immediately retired behind the Waal, while the invading army, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, and the obstacles arising out of the nature of the country, prepared to besiege the neighbouring garrisons.

VENLOO was accordingly invested by general Laurent, who is said upon this occasion to have had no more than four thousand men under his command, and to have been destitute of heavy artillery. He however commenced his operations within one hundred fathoms of the covered-way, and a capitulation having been assented to, the troops were permitted to march out with the honours of war and ten pieces of cannon.

Capture of
Venloo.
[Oct. 28.]

IN the mean time, Pichegru, who had sat down before Nimeguen with the main body of the forces, was obliged to abandon the command to Moreau, in consequence of having contracted an inveterate cutaneous disease, which forced him to repair to Brussels.

DURING his absence, general Kleber greatly facilitated the operations of the two grand armies, by the celerity with which he reduced Maestricht. That city was besieged and taken by Louis XIV. in thirteen, and by Louis XV. in twenty-one days; on both of which occasions medals were struck, while the best poets and painters of the time celebrated the conquest by the exertion of their respective talents; but amidst this wonderful campaign, the capture of so important a fortress, although the

Surrender of
Maestricht.
[Nov. 5.]

* Histoire Chronologique des Opérations de l'Armée du Nord, p. 117.

BOOK V. trenches had been opened during no more than eleven days, ex-
CHAP. II. cited but little attention.

1794.

Siege of
Nimeguen.

[Nov. 5.]

THE French, however, appeared for a while to be less fortunate in their attack upon another city, which was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but covered by the duke of York, who from his camp at Arnheim was enabled at any time to throw in supplies. The enemy, after forcing the British outposts in front of the place, immediately attacked Fort St. André, and lieutenant-general Abercromby and lieutenant-colonel Clarke were slightly wounded in the skirmish that ensued, as was also captain Picton in a fall from the place. At length the French broke ground under the direction of general Souham, and began to construct their batteries; on which count Walmoden marched out suddenly with a body of British infantry and cavalry *, two battalions of Dutch; the legion of Damas, and some Hanoverian horse under major-general De Burgh, who was wounded while leading on his men with great gallantry. On this occasion the infantry advanced under a severe fire, and jumping into the trenches without returning a shot, charged with the bayonet, and by this check greatly retarded the enemy's works.

[Nov. 6.]

As it now appeared evident that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English army was cut off, two strong batteries were immediately erected, on the right and left of the lines of defence, and these were so effectually served that they at length destroyed one of the boats which supported the bridge of communication. The damage sustained upon this occasion was immediately repaired by an officer † of the navy; but the duke of York, being aware of the superiority of the enemy's fire, determined to with-

* This detachment consisted of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of infantry, and the 7th and 15th light-horse.

† Lieutenant, now commodore, Popham.

draw every thing from the town beyond what was barely necessary for its defence. All the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, accordingly retired; but piquets, to the amount of twenty-five hundred men, were left under the command of major-general de Burgh. The Dutch, on seeing themselves abandoned, became dispirited, and determined also to evacuate the place; but an unfortunate shot having carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, it swung round, and about four hundred of the garrison were immediately taken prisoners, on which those that remained in the fortifications opened the gates to the besiegers*.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1794.

Surrender of
Nimeguen.
[Nov. 8.]

IN the mean time the duke of York, desirous of avoiding an engagement which might have been attended with the most fatal effects in respect to Holland, retired immediately, while Moreau and the other generals represented the state of the French army to be such as required repose. But the government was inexorable on this subject, and, notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the season, determined to prosecute military operations during the whole winter. The passage of the Waal was accordingly resolved upon, and general Daendels, a Dutch emigrant, who had of late exhibited those talents in the field which he had before displayed in the forum, was entrusted with the enterprise. Having collected a number of boats, he filled them with troops and effected a landing near the post of Ghent during a thick fog, in consequence of which he was also enabled to surprise a battery. This attack, which extended to several posts in the line occupied by the allies, particularly Fort

The French
determine to
cross the
Waal.

* The French at this period published an absurd report, which has since been admitted into several of their memoirs on the war, particularly "Les Campagnes du Général Pichegru," p. 126, accusing the English of perfidy, and asserting that they fired on their allies the Dutch while attempting to escape by means of the flying bridge.

BOOK V. St. André, Donvert, Panderon, and the isle of Byland, did not
CHAP. II.

1794.

Difficulties
attendant on
the invasion
of Holland.

however prove ultimately successful, for many of the assailants were killed upon this occasion by the fire of the batteries, and a multitude drowned, in consequence of which the project was at length entirely relinquished. Preparations, however, were made to facilitate the operations of the approaching campaign, and the generals Bonneau and Lemaire received orders to invest Breda, by means of winter cantonments; Grave also was surrounded in a similar manner, and all the necessary dispositions were taken to insure the conquest of Holland in the course of the ensuing spring.

BUT this was no easy enterprise. The water on every side opposed obstacles nearly insurmountable to an invading army; and lakes, marshes, and rivers, seemed to have conspired to insure the independence of the Batavians. The only practicable roads being those constructed on the summits of the dykes, it was evident, notwithstanding his increasing unpopularity, that the stadtholder, reduced to despair, might recur to the same means against the French republic that his predecessors had employed with success in opposition to the monarchy. In other countries, a mild and favourable season is in general necessary for the purposes of subjugation; but, during a winter campaign here, nothing less than an intense and rigorous frost, which, by converting the water into solid ice, might facilitate the transport of armies, cannon, and ammunition, could achieve the overthrow of the house of Nassau.

THE operations of the French had been now suspended upwards of a month, and an awful pause had taken place in the career of victory; it was even uncertain whether on the return of fine weather it would be safe to venture further into a country which might be so easily laid under water, and the genial winters that had occurred in Europe for some years past, prohibited the hope of that degree of congelation necessary for military enterprises.

Partly removed by a frost similar to that of 1758.

THE season, however, soon assumed a menacing appearance for the Dutch, as the frost set in, towards the latter end of the year,

with an unexpected degree of rigour. On this general Pichegru, for whom repose had no longer any charms, although his health was not as yet entirely re-established, immediately left Brussels and proceeded to head-quarters. On his arrival there, finding that both the Maese and the Waal were already able to bear troops, he determined to take advantage of this opportunity to complete his projects. Two brigades, under the generals Daendels and Osten, accordingly received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel; a detachment was at the same time detached against Fort St. André; and the reduction of those places, which at any other time would have been attended with great slaughter, was now achieved almost without bloodshed, at a time when the mercury in the thermometer had fallen lower than at any former period during the last thirty years. Sixteen hundred prisoners and an immense number of cannon rewarded the toils of the invading army, while the allies, unable to withstand their numbers, retired to the entrenchments between Gorcum and Cuylenberg. A successful attack was made at the same time on the lines of Breda, Oudebosch, and Sevenbergen; but what was infinitely more important, the town of Grave, considered as a masterpiece of fortification, and which had already suffered a blockade of two months, being destitute of provision and ammunition, was now forced to surrender, in consequence of which its garrison was made prisoners of war.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1794-5.

Resumption
of hostilities.
[Dec. 27.]

Surrender of
the isle of
Bommel and
Fort St. André.

Capture of
Grave.

[Dec. 29.]

A FEW days after this, the weather continuing favourable to his enterprise, Pichegru determined to cross the Waal in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, with his whole army; this was accordingly effected, and whole battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, detachments of artillery, with an immense number of waggons, passed over this branch of the Rhine, without the assistance of either bridges or boats. The whole of the troops had not, however, reached the place of destination, when a

1795.

[Jan. 11.]

The French
army crosses
the Waal.

[Jan. 12 &
13.]

BOOK V. sudden thaw, by cutting off the communication, seemed to hazard
 CHAP. II. the success of the whole expedition; but the frost, by resuming its
 1795. empire, enabled the French to form a junction, and Gorcum, the
 [Jan. 14.] head-quarters of the prince of Orange, was now threatened with
 Flight of the prince of an assault.
 Orange.

THE duke of York having in the mean time returned to England, the command devolved upon general Walmoden, who achieved every thing that was possible to be performed by an army destined to contend against an enemy superiour in point of numbers, inured to hardships, and accustomed to victory. But, although major-general David Dundas had succeeded in an expedition, in the course of which he carried Tayl, and drove a body of the enemy across the ice, with the loss of a number of men and four pieces of cannon, yet it was deemed necessary, in the course of a few days, to remove the head-quarters from Arnheim to Amerongen. An obstinate frost having converted the whole of the low country into one continued sheet of ice, the allies were obliged to fall back during the night first upon Buern, and soon after took refuge behind the Leck. They however at times attacked the enemy, and proved successful in an affair of posts at Gelder Malsel, on which occasion major-general lord Cathcart, with three English regiments* and the British hulans, distinguished himself greatly, and this too during a period when the troops, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, were frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air. At length, however, the enemy, having crossed over the frozen Waal in five different columns, attacked the line of the allies, forced the

[Jan. 10.]

* The 14th, 27th, and 28th. At the attack of the fort of Meteren, the 14th, 33d, 42d, and 78th, also conducted themselves with great bravery. The gallantry of lieutenant Elrington of the 14th is recorded in lord Cathcart's dispatch; and mention is made at the same time of the services of colonels Gillman, Paget, and captain Kirkman, as well as of lieutenant-colonel Buller and lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, who were severely wounded upon this occasion.

Austrians to abandon Huefden, and the Hanoverians to retreat across the Lingen; but they were repulsed for a time at Rhenen by the spirited conduct of the British guards and Salm's infantry; the English, however, withdrew in the course of that very night to Voorthuizen, deeming themselves lucky to be able to remove all the wounded officers, and the whole of the sick, except about three hundred, who were recommended by lieutenant-general Harcourt to the humanity of the French, and treated with great kindness. All the vessels on the Leck, containing forage and stores, were now burnt, and the greater part of the ammunition contained in fifteen ordnance vessels at Rotterdam was at the same time destroyed.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1795.

THE British troops having been thus obliged to abandon the province of Utrecht, its capital was entered by general Salm, on the very day that general Vandamme took possession of Arnheim; while the fortress of Gertruydenburg, nearly at the same period, capitulated to general Bonneau.

Surrender of
Utrecht and
Arnheim.
[Jan. 18.]
Gertruyden-
burgh.

THE situation of the prince of Orange was now truly deplorable. His serene highness had published many animated addresses to the people, entreating them to rise in arms, and defend their country; but he was unable, like his ancestors, to inspire the Dutch with a spirit of resistance; and many respectable citizens of Amsterdam not only opposed his plan to produce a grand inundation around that city by opening all the surrounding sluices, and breaking down the different sea dykes, but actually deprecated the idea of admitting a foreign garrison for its defence*. The imprisonment of several of the petitioners added greatly to the unpopularity of his government; and no sooner did the invasion begin to assume a formidable attitude, than secret committees were formed within the principal cities of the re-

* Petition of the citizens of Amsterdam, of the anti-stadtholderian party, dated October 14, 1794.

BOOK V. publick, while the Batavian emigrants without, not only directed
 CHAP. II. the efforts of the enemy towards the most vulnerable points, but
 1795. aided them at the same time by means of their influence and even
 by their personal services.

No sooner had Pichegru advanced along the ice, and menaced the capital with a visit, than the stadtholder repaired to the assembly of the states-general*, and requested that his two sons might be permitted to resign the commissions which they held in the army of the republick. On the succeeding day he asked for, and obtained, permission to withdraw during a short period from the territories of the union; for general Daendels, from his headquarters at Deerdam, had by this time invited the province of Holland to rise in arms, and effect a change, while the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam, which now avowed itself for the first time, dismissed the magistrates of the capital, nominated Visscher, formerly imprisoned and condemned to banishment, mayor, and elected a new body of representatives†.

* January 16, 1795.

† PROCLAMATION.

“ BRAVE CITIZENS!

“ WE G. Puyu, S. Wifelus, J. J. A. Goges, J. Koen, D. Von Laer, J. Ondonp, E. Vandenluis, P. Duereult, J. Van Hassen, P. J. B. P. Vander Aa, forming your revolutionary committee, hail you with vows of health and fraternity.

“ By the mighty aid of the French republick, and by your own energy, you have cast off the tyranny which oppressed you. You are once more in possession of your rights.

YOU ARE FREE, YOU ARE EQUAL!

“ Your tyrants have fled from their posts.

“ Fellow-citizens, you may follow with confidence and security your usual avocations. Your persons, your properties, shall be protected.

“ We propose to you to name as your representatives the following burghers. Be assured that they will watch over, and protect your rights, your interests, and your liberties.

“ The citizens whom we offer to your consideration are:

“ N. Van Staphoerft, J. V. Bieterse, J. P. Leyden, G. Titsingh, J. Van Eys, W. Van der Veurft, J. Teusset Junia, J. W. J. Van Dam, S. Bos, G. H. de Wilde, H. T. Kaë, Karel D'Amoer, H. Van Castrop, R. J. Schimmelpenning, N. Breukelaar, G. Vander Zoo, D. Vanaken, J. L. Hendras, M. Van Mawrick, J. Galdberg, J. Van Lang.

“ Choose,

THE day before this, the prince of Orange, with his family, had set off for Scheveling, where the hereditary high-admiral of the united provinces deemed himself happy in being able to find an asylum on board of a wretched little vessel *, entirely destitute of accommodation, where he waited the event of a negotiation; but this proving ineffectual, his serene highness immediately failed for England, and occupied for a time the palace built by his illustrious progenitor.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1795.

WHILE the stadtholder was thus forced to fly from a country where his ancestors, by their intrepidity and patriotism, had rendered themselves adored, a French officer, with dispatches from general Pichegru, entered Amsterdam and repaired to the [Jan. 19.] house of the burgomaster. In the evening of the same day a multitude of the citizens placed the three-coloured cockade in their hats, and made the streets resound with patriotick airs. Next morning a detachment of hussars posted themselves before the town-house, where the tree of liberty was planted with great solemnity, and the command of the place conferred on a citizen † attached to the Lovestein party, while De Winter, then a general

“ Choose, fellow-citizens, these patriots as your representatives, that, in the name of the people of Amsterdam, they may immediately enter on the administration of your affairs.

“ We once more hail you worthy fellow-citizens! By your own patriotism, with the aid and under the guidance of such representatives, order, tranquillity, and happiness, will reign in this city. The Frenchmen who are among us conduct themselves, indeed, like brethren. Every idea of plunder, of rapine, or of injustice of any kind, is unknown to them. Fraternity with them, as with us, is the SOLE ORDER OF THE DAY.

“ In the name of the revolutionary committee,

P. J. B. C. VANDER AA.”

“ Amsterdam, the 19th January, 1795, and the
1st day of Dutch freedom.”

* The pink Johanna Hogenraat, commanded by J. O. Vaillant. This vessel arrived at Harwich, Tuesday, January 20, 1795.

† Krayenhoff.

BOOK V. of brigade in the French service, took possession of the fleet,
 CHAP. II. which he was afterwards destined to command.

1795.

A COMPLETE revolution was thus effected throughout the seven united provinces. At Utrecht the administration was changed without the least disorder; new municipal officers were chosen by the burghers, and the orders of the nobility and clergy suppressed. Events nearly similar occurred at the same time at Leyden, Haarlem, and the other populous towns.

Pichegru enters Amsterdam.

[Jan. 20.]

THE conquerour of Holland, surrounded by the deputies of the states, now repaired to the chief city of the union, where he was received with transports of joy. Dordrecht, Rotterdam, the Hague, Helvoetsluys, were all occupied by French troops in succession; and to complete the wonders of this campaign, a body of horse, supported by detachments of light artillery, actually advanced along the ice, and forced a squadron of men-of-war, frozen in a strait of the Zuider Zee, between West Friesland and the island of the Texel, to surrender.

THE states-general, yielding to imperious necessity, now negotiated with the invaders, and issued orders to all the governors to deliver up the fortifications on the first summons to the French, who, instead of disarming the garrisons, only required them to take an oath not to carry arms against the republick.

[Jan. 26.]

SOON after this an assembly of deputies from many of the towns was held at the Hague, and citizen Peter Paulus being declared president of "the assembly of the provisional representatives of the free people of Holland," the sovereignty of the Dutch nation, and the declaration of the rights of man, were solemnly proclaimed; the abolition of the stadtholdership was decreed, and the right of shooting, hunting, and fishing, on his own property, restored to every one.

AFTER the lapse of a short period, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the republick of France and that of the seven united provinces, and Holland, equally un-

fortunate in respect to her allies and her enemies, after being overrun in consequence of impolitick counsels, was doomed to be deprived of a large portion of her commerce, and bereaved of most of her foreign possessions, in the progress of events which she could neither anticipate nor prevent.

BOOK V.
CHAP. II.
1794.

IN the mean time the English army, now diminished to one third of its original number, after experiencing nearly equal distress from the severity of the season and the pursuit of the enemy, retired into Westphalia, leaving the wealth and resources of this opulent country, one of the cities of which * had denied the rites of hospitality, in the power of a bold, needy, and enterprising enemy. By a wonderful change, a nation, whose liberties and independence had been so recently threatened, was now destined to give the law to neighbouring nations, while the possession of Belgium, the Palatinate, and Holland, not only rescued its inhabitants from the dread of famine, but enabled them to obtain ample supplies from countries accustomed to furnish the rest of Europe with corn.

THUS ended the campaign in Holland, during which the republicans, aided by the rigours of an accidental frost, achieved conquests that the monarchy, during its most brilliant periods, had been unable to effect; for the Lech had proved an insurmountable barrier to Louis XIV. † amidst his career of glory; while the modern French, without a chief, destitute of a government, and devoid of finances, after crossing both that river and the Yffel, carried their conquering arms to the borders of the Ems.

* Groningen.

† In 1672.

C H A P. III.

Campaign of 1794 on the Rhine.

BOOK V.
CHAP. III.
1794.

The French
seize on
Kaiferslau-
tern, Spires,
&c.

WHILE the French armies were subduing Flanders, re-annexing Liege to the republick, and menacing Holland, their forces on the banks of the Rhine, although few in point of numbers, became their rivals in glory.

THE campaign in this quarter was opened by the reduction of the strong fort of Kaiferslautern in the Palatinate; and the capture of Spires, Gummorsheim, and Leimershiem, extended the conquests of the republick: so great was the terrour of the Austrians in this quarter, that they soon after abandoned Fort Louis, now called Fort Vauban, and destroyed the works, on hearing that the enemy were marching against it.

The French
beaten at
Kaiferslau-
tern.
[May 27.]

A VARIETY of bloody and uninteresting skirmishes now ensued, but nothing of any moment occurred until field-marshal Mollendorff, who had succeeded to the command of the Prussian troops on the resignation of the duke of Brunswick, at length took the field. As he was desirous of achieving something worthy of his reputation, he determined to signalize his command by a brilliant exploit. The French, to the number of twelve thousand men, were forced at this period behind the defiles of Otterback, Hogglesback, and the Lauter. They had covered these positions by means of redoubts and entrenchments; the bridges were every-where destroyed, and three strong posts had been occupied to facilitate their retreat in case of accident. It appears, however, that these formidable preparations only tended to impress them with a blind security; for so inattentive were

they to the approach of the enemy, that the Prussian commander in chief, by a sudden movement, contrived to surround and surprise their camp. The loss on this occasion was considerable, for one thousand men were killed on the spot, and more than two thousand made prisoners, while eighteen pieces of cannon and two howitzers fell into the hands of the victors. After this, the marshal established his head-quarters at Winnweiler, while his advanced posts extended as far as Deux-Ponts and Carlsberg : the prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, at the same time, took possession of Nieustadt.

BOOK V.
CHAP. III.
1794.

BUT the French attributing the recent disaster to accident alone, only waited the arrival of supplies to exact a severe retaliation ; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the wary Prussian, this was accordingly obtained. A large reinforcement having accordingly joined them, they recurred to a mode that had hitherto proved uniformly successful ; this consisted of fighting a series of battles day after day, until their object was fully obtained. Nor were they disappointed upon the present occasion, for, notwithstanding the troops opposed to them were posted in an advantageous situation, their attacks were so incessant, their artillery so well directed, and their numbers so superiour, that neither the mechanical prowess of mercenary soldiers, nor that species of discipline obtained by the cane of the adjutant, could resist the native impetuosity of men who considered themselves as fighting to vindicate the glory of their country, and ascertain their own freedom as well as that of their posterity. All however that could be expected from hireling valour was obtained ; for this body of Prussians held out, during two whole days, and withstood seven different attacks before they were subdued. Another strongly posted at Tripstadt still resisted ; but as the epoch on which they were assailed, proved to be the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, the French fearlessly advanced and stormed their works, amidst hymns addressed to liberty, and shouts announcing triumph. On this occasion they took a great number of

Battle of
Edikhoffen.
[July 12, 13,
and 14.]

BOOK V. cannon as well as many prisoners; and such was the unabating ardour

CHAP. III. of their courage, that on the succeeding morning they commenced a
1794. fresh attack along the whole of the line occupied by the Imperial

The French
attack the
chain of posts
occupied by
the allies.
[July 15.]

and Prussian troops. Although the superiority of the French artillery was particularly conspicuous, yet the allies maintained their ground until night, when they happily effected a retreat. An extent of territory sixty miles in length was now abandoned to the conquerors, and the ancient jealousies between the vanquished immediately revived with increased rancour.

The French
seize on
Treves,
[Aug. 5.]
and the
Palatinate.
[August 8.]

BUT these were not the only fruits reaped from this series of victories, for the army of the Moselle having commenced its march, under the command of general Michaud, entered the electorate of Treves, and seized its capital, where the troops were welcomed by the magistrates and the people. The Palatinate too was overrun rather than conquered about the same period; and as this occurred at the commencement of the harvest, the corn destined for the supply of Germany was applied to the maintenance of their troops.

THE possession of the duchy of Juliers, the bishoprick of Cologne, and the city of Coblentz, tended not a little to render the French name terrible in the empire; while the retreat of the gallant but unfortunate Clairfayt across the Rhine, afforded a pretext to the Prussians to abandon offensive operations, and withdraw to the neighbourhood of Mentz*.

VARIOUS disputes and altercations now took place between two of the allied courts; and one of the Prussian generals deemed

* Extract from a paper circulated in Germany during the autumn of 1794. "Field-marshal Mollendorf, with the army of his Prussian majesty, has received orders from the king his master, to retreat with his troops beyond the Rhine. These orders are to the following effect, and are dated in October, 1794:

'That as, on the part of his Imperial majesty, all offensive operations had been abandoned in consequence of the Austrian army having crossed the Rhine, it was therefore deemed prudent not to persist in contesting a territory which is but of little extent, in comparison with the whole of the empire; as by a defence of the left bank of that river, the

it incumbent on him, not only to vindicate his conduct, relative to the charge of abandoning Treves to the enemy, but even to term it a wicked calumny *. The king at the same time intimated his intentions, notwithstanding the subsidy received from England, to employ his troops solely for the defence of Germany †; and the diet of the empire began to listen about this period to propositions for peace. The elector palatine, part of whose dominions were in possession of the enemy, testified his wishes on this subject in an official note. The elector of Mentz proposed to invoke the mediation of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; and the ministers of Treves, Cologne, and Bavaria, readily acceded to the propriety of a negotiation. Frederick-William II. also, in his capacity of elector of Brandenburg, testified his approbation of the measure; and even his imperial majesty, who at this period insisted on the necessity of levying the quintuple contingent, did not openly oppose it.

BOOK V.
CHAP. III.
1794.

The Germanick body
wishes for
peace.

THUS, partly in consequence of the revival of ancient jealousies, and partly from the progress of the French arms, that formidable confederacy, which at one time threatened the liberties, and at another the independence, of France, was on the point of being dissolved. The British cabinet, justly alarmed

troops of his majesty may be exposed to a check. It has been accordingly resolved, that the Prussian army, after the example of that of the house of Austria, should likewise retreat across the Rhine.

* Address from the head-quarters of lieutenant-general Kalreuth, dated Nieder-Klenich, August 25, 1794, to his excellency field-marshal Mollendorff.

† Extract from a "Note" transmitted to the circles of Franconia and Suabia, by the Prussian minister, at the end of September, 1794.

"Meanwhile his majesty the king of Prussia cannot but signify, that the imperial court has laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her pleasure of the Prussian army, which is henceforth to remain to defend Germany, in whatever quarter his Prussian majesty may deem it most expedient, or where the allied powers have agreed, or will agree to let it act."

BOOK V. at the idea of a separate peace, immediately dispatched an em-
CHAP. III. bassy to the emperor, with a view of inducing that prince to
1794. remain firm to his engagements; and a subsidy, under the name
of a loan, was accordingly promised for the purpose. But by
this time it became evident, that all the forces of Germany, aided
by all the treasures of England, were incapable of an efficacious
resistance to the revolutionary torrent, which now threatened to
overspread prostrate Europe.

C H A P. IV.

Campaign of 1794 in Spain and Italy—Progress of the War in La Vendée.

THE same uniform career of victory that attended the French arms in Germany and in Belgium, accompanied their exertions in the eastern and western Pyrenées, and began at length to alarm the court of Madrid. The armies of Spain, once so dreaded both in Europe and America, were incapable of contending with the hardy republicans now opposed to them; the inhabitants of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian beheld the three-coloured flag floating from their battlements; the whole province of Guipuscoa offered to capitulate on conditions; and Charles III. who in vain attempted to raise a people bigotted by superstition, in a mass against their enemies, would have been taught to tremble upon his throne, had not the hatred against all crowned heads been modified after the fall of Robespierre, by the same maxims of policy which actuated one of the freest nations of antiquity, and taught it to controul its rivals, and even its enemies, by means of kings.

BOOK V.
CHAP. IV.
1794.

War with Spain.

THE efforts of France on the side of Italy, were at length prosperous there also; and although the attempt to possess any portion of that beautiful country had constantly proved abortive during the existence of the ancient monarchy, it soon became evident, that the inroads of a military democracy were likely to be attended by more permanent and more fatal effects. In the course of the former campaign, Savoy, indeed, had been annexed to the territories of the republick, yet but little impresson could be made on Piedmont; and the insurrection in the southern depart-

Progress of the French armies in Piedmont.

BOOK V. ments, added to the unexpected possession of Toulon by the
 CHAP. IV. English, and the gallant resistance displayed by the inhabitants of
 1794. Lyons, retarded the progress of the French arms in that quarter. Oneglia, which contained a couple of frigates, and a few galleys, belonging to the king of Sardinia, and had been in part destroyed by vice-admiral Truguet during the preceding year*, was now besieged and taken, although encircled within the territories of a neutral power; which, on account of its feebleness, hath been repeatedly menaced and insulted in the course of the present war, both by the English and French. The capture of this place, insignificant in itself, was important when considered with relation to collateral circumstances, for it not only gave shelter to a number of privateers, which preyed upon the wreck of the French commerce in the Mediterranean, but also served to keep up a direct communication with the British fleet.

Capture of
 Oneglia.
 [April 6.]

WHILE a body of troops penetrated into Piedmont on one side, and overcame the Sardinians and Austrians, who attempted in vain to oppose their progress, another, after traversing valleys formerly unpeopled by a bigotted duke of Savoy, at the request of an unprincipled king of France, because the inhabitants were protestants†, by piercing through defiles supposed to be impenetrable, and ascending mountains the heads of which were covered with eternal snow, at last scaled Mount Cenis. A feeble effort was made to resist their progress, by means of redoubts, batteries, and fortifications; but the dispositions made by general Dumas were so judicious, and his troops so replete with ardour, that he seized all the enemy's posts one after another, and not only took

Mount Cenis
 in possession
 of the French.
 [May 21.]

* In October, 1793, the vice-admiral sent a boat with a flag of truce on shore, which was fired upon, and his *aide-de-camp* Aubermesnil killed. On this, he demanded the priests to be delivered up, who, according to his account, had incited the populace to violence; and on a refusal being given, he set the town on fire.

† The Vaudois.

nine hundred prisoners, but obtained possession of a numerous train of artillery.

BOOK V.
CHAP. IV.

1794.

GENERAL DUMVILION nearly at the same time seized on the forts of Saorgio, Belvedere, Rocabiliere, and St. Martin, in consequence of which sixty pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and two thousand prisoners, were obtained by the invading army.

THE Austro-Sardinians had now recourse to a new system, and endeavoured to prevent the further progress of the French, first by means of partial attacks upon their advanced posts, and next by a defensive system calculated to prolong the war. But in neither did they prove successful, for they were completely beaten towards the end of autumn, and forced to seek shelter under the walls of Alexandria.

HAVING thus wrested the key of Italy from the king of Sardinia, it will be seen in the sequel, that its finest provinces were destined to grace the triumph of an ambitious nation.

BUT the Vendean war still appeared to be interminable, notwithstanding the inflated accounts of the leaders who had fought, and the deputies on mission who had witnessed, and not unfrequently countenanced, the scenes of horror that took place in that unhappy country. Previously to the fall of Robespierre, general Westermann had stated at the bar of the convention, War of La Vendée. [Jan. 7.] "that of the rebel army, which once amounted to ninety thousand in the district of Mans alone, not a single combatant had escaped;" and he added with a disgusting particularity, that "chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, countesses, and marchionesses, had all perished by the sword, the flames, or the waves."

CARRIER, on his return from the insurgent departments, [Feb. 22.] asserted, "that the number of the banditti, and the nature of the war, had hitherto been alike unknown." According to him, the whole population of a space of more than four hundred square leagues had appeared in arms. In August, 1793, the rebels, he

BOOK V. said, "amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men; but
CHAP. IV. the victories of Mortagne and Cholet had proved fatal to them,
1794. as their leader had acknowledged that the former battle cost them twenty thousand combatants." He hoped however, "it would not be supposed that the war was terminated, for the country abounded in forests and was covered with brushwood, which afforded a secure retreat to the disaffected; as a proof of which, the republicans at one time had passed through forty thousand insurgents, who were concealed there."

SOON after the fall of that faction which protected his enormities both in the committee of publick safety and the convention, this deputy, who had disgraced his publick character by a series of the most atrocious cruelties recorded in history, suffered the punishment due to his crimes; and it was now intended to employ policy as well as force, against men whose prejudices and whose courage appeared to be equally inveterate.

BUT, although France at length began to reap the fruits of so many victories, and the continental powers were reduced to the mortifying alternative of either acceding to a disgraceful peace, or persevering in a war, now become hopeless, one nation still defied her vengeance. In consequence of the position, naval strength, and financial resources of Great Britain, her inhabitants were enabled to contemplate the triumphs of their fleets, and behold an island in the Mediterranean, and many in the Atlantick, conquered by the bravery and perseverance of their armies.

C H A P. V.

Cruise of the Channel Fleet—Two indecisive Combats, followed by an important Victory obtained by Lord Howe on the First of June—Naval History.

ALTHOUGH fortune had not been propitious to the armies of the allies during the present campaign, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The Channel fleet, which during the last summer had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy that had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous upon the present occasion to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command, left no doubt relative to the result of a contest.

BOOK V.

CHAP. V.

1794.

Lord Howe
sails from
St. Helen's.
[May 2.]

The following is the order of battle issued by the commander in chief.

Frigates.	Guns and Captains.	Line of Battle Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
		1 Cæsar . . .	80	Capt. Molloy.
		2 Bellerophon . .	74	{ Rear Admiral PASLEY. Capt. W. Hope.
		3 Leviathan . . .	74	— Ld. H. Seymour.
		4 Ruffel . . .	74	— Payne.
		5 Marlborough . .	74	— Hon. G. Berkeley.
Niger . .	32 (repeater) Hon. A. Legge.	6 Royal Sovereign	100	{ Admiral GRAVES. Capt. Nichols.
		7 Audacious . . .	74	— Parker.
		8 Defence . . .	74	— Gambier.
		9 Impregnable . .	90	{ Rear Ad. CALDWELL. Capt. Westcott.
		10 Tremendous . .	74	— Pigott.
		11 Culloden . . .	74	— Schomberg.
		3 x 2		Latona

BOOK V. Frigates.
CHAP. V.

1794.

	Guns and Captains.	Line of Battle Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Latona . . . 38		12 Invincible . . . 74		Capt. Hon. T. Pakenham.
Thornborough.		13 Barfleur . . . 98		{ Rear Admiral BOWYER. Capt. Collingwood.
Phacton . . . 38		14 *Arrogant . . . 74		— Hawkins Whitshed.
Bentinck.		15 *Thefeus . . . 74		— Calder.
Southampton 32		16 Gibraltar . . . 80		— Mackenzie.
Hon. R. Forbes.		17 Queen Charlotte 100		{ Admiral Earl HOWE. Capt. Sir R. Curtis, Kt. — Sir A. Douglas, Kt.
*Venus . . . 32		18 Brunswick . . . 74		— J. Harvey.
W. Browne.		19 Valiant . . . 74		— Pringle.
Pegasus . . . 28 (<i>repeater</i>)		20 Orion . . . 74		— Duckworth.
Barlow.		21 Queen . . . 98		{ Rear Ad. GARDNER. Capt. Hutt.
		22 *Ganges . . . 74		— Truscott.
		23 Ramillies . . . 74		— H. Harvey.
		24 *Bellona . . . 74		— Wilfon.
		25 Alfred . . . 74		— Bazeley.
		26 Royal George . . . 100		{ Ad. Sir A. HOOD, K. B. Capt. Domett.
Aquilon . . . 32 (<i>repeater</i>)		27 Montagu . . . 74		— J. Montagu.
Hon. R. Stopford.		28 Majestick . . . 74		— Cotton.
		29 Glory . . . 90		— Elphinstone.
		30 *Hector . . . 74		{ Rear Ad. MONTAGUE. Capt. Halsted.
		31 *Alexander . . . 74		— Bligh.
		32 Thunderer . . . 74		— Bertie.

[The ships and frigates marked with an asterisk constitute the squadron dispatched under rear-admiral Montague with the convoy.]

ON reaching the Lizard, a signal was made for the East-Indiamen to proceed on their voyage under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre.

Admiral
Montague
detached with
a convoy.

WHILE lord Howe sailed directly in quest of the enemy, who were expected to put to sea for the protection of a fleet chiefly laden with provisions from America, rear-admiral Montague, after obeying his instructions relative to the merchant-men, was

ordered to cruise in such a latitude as to be enabled either to re-join the Channel squadron, or to intercept the French store-ships, now become an object of infinite importance to a country menaced not only by a combination of foreign and domestick foes, but suffering at the same time under the pressure of famine.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.
1794.
Wind
easterly.

IN the mean time the commander in chief having received [May 19.] information from two of his frigates * detached for that purpose, that the Brest fleet was at sea, deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under rear-admiral Montague as soon as possible; but on hearing two days after, from some of the Lisbon convoy which he recaptured, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered in that direction.

DURING the former campaign great care had been taken to avoid any contest with the English, but on the present occasion orders were transmitted to vice-admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. André, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag-ship, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the convention.

French fleet
fails.
[May 16.]

AT length the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event, earl Howe continued his course, while admiral Villaret-Joyeuse endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance that greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of

Wind S. W.
May 28,
eight o'clock
in the morn-
ing.
Lat. 47° 33'
N.
Long. 14° 10'
W.

* The Phaeton and Latona.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

1794.

Fifty-five
minutes past
one o'clock.
First day's
action.

the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chase, and to prevent their escape he soon after detached admiral Pasley * to make an impression on their rear: that officer accordingly, near the close of day, came up with and attacked the *Révolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line; but his topmast being disabled during the action, lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the *Leviathan*, gallantly advanced and received her fire, which was tremendous, and by the time it was dark capt. Parker of the *Audacious*, having arrived close to the rear ship †, fought her also within the distance of half a cable's length. The latter finding the mizen-mast gone by the board, and the lower-yards and main-top-sail-yard shot away, first attempted to board his antagonist, and having failed, then made sail before the wind, after having been supposed to strike her colours. Nor was the situation of her antagonist much better; for her rigging was destroyed, the fore-top-mast wounded, and the bowsprit crippled, in which situation, with nine sail of the enemy to windward, followed by two of their ships, and fired at occasionally by a large frigate and two corvettes, after a chase of twenty-four leagues directly to leeward, the captain deemed it proper to return to Plymouth-sound.

Thus ended the first day's action without any thing decisive being effected, for it must be owned that it was in all respects a

* The rear-admiral commanded a flying squadron, consisting of the *Bellerophon*, *Ruffel*, *Marlborough*, and *Thunderer*.

† This vessel is supposed to have been the *Révolutionnaire*, which had been engaged before with the rear-admiral and lord Hugh Seymour.

Le Révolutionnaire, the captain of which was killed during the action, floated like a wreck on the water until the 29th, when *L'Audacieux* fell in with, and took her in tow, until they had reached Rochefort.

drawn battle, and such as by no means was calculated to insure for Great Britain the superiority upon the ocean.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

1794.

[May 29.]

THE rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on one part, and twenty-five on the other, remained within sight of each other during the whole night on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward; but next morning between seven and eight o'clock the English tacked by signal, and with some degree of irregularity, with a view of making an impression on the enemy's rear. On this, admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, and by the retreat of the Audacious having obtained the superiority of one line of battle ship, immediately wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet.

Second day's
action.
W. S. W.

LORD HOWE, taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, renewed the signal for passing the adversary's line, but on perceiving that the *Cæsar**, which was the leading ship, had not kept the wind, he himself gave orders to tack the *Queen Charlotte*, and being seconded by the *Bellerophon* and the *Leviathan*, gallantly broke through between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear, after which he again resumed the larboard tack, being now better enabled to renew the action in consequence of having obtained the wind. During the period his lordship remained in this critical

* Captain Molloy was brought to a court-martial for his conduct during this action, and after a trial of sixteen days, the following sentence was delivered by the court:

“That the said charges have been made good against the said captain Anthony James Pye Molloy. But having found, that, on the said 29th of May, and 1st of June, as well as on many former occasions, captain Molloy's courage had always been unimpeachable, the court is of opinion, that captain Molloy, then commanding the *Cæsar*, should be dismissed from his majesty's said ship the *Cæsar*, and it is ordered that he be accordingly forthwith dismissed.”

It is but candid to state here, that there were eighteen seamen killed and thirty-seven wounded on board the *Cæsar* on the 1st of June.

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French Line of Battle, June 1, 1794.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

1794.

Third action,
[June 1.]

Ships.		Guns.	Commanders.
1	La Convention	74	
2	Le Gasparin	74	
3	*L'Amerique	74	
4	Le Terrible	110	Rear Admiral BOWVET,
5	*L'Impetueux	74	
6	L'Eole	74	
7	Le Mucius	74	
8	Le Tourville	74	
9	Le Trajan	74	
10	Le Trente-un Mai	74	
	Le Tyrannicide	74	(Out of the line.)
11	L'Audacieux	74	
12	*Le Juste	80	
13	La Montagne	120	{ JEAN BON ST. ANDRE' (Nat. Com.) Vice Admiral VILLARET-JOYEUSE. Capt. Bafile.
14	Le Jacobin	80	
15	*L'Achille	74	
16	Le Patriote	74	
17	†Le Vengeur	74	
18	*Le Northumberland	74	
19	Le Gemappe	80	
20	L'Entreprenant	74	(Broad pendant.)
21	Le Neptune	74	
22	Le Republicain	118	Rear Admiral NEILLY.
23	*Le Sanspareil	80	
24	Le Scipion	80	
25	Le Mont blanc	74	
26	Le Pelletier	74	(Broad pendant.)

FRIGATES.

CORVETTES.

La Proserpine.	La Gentile.	Le Maireguiton.	L'Athalante.
La Surprise.	La Felicité.	Le Furet.	La Mouche.
L'Infurgente.	La Bellone.	La Mutine.	Le Papillon.
La Résolue.	La Précieuse.	Le Jean Bart.	Le Courier.
La Nayade.	La Tamise.		
La Galathée.	La Semillante.		

[& The six ships marked by an asterisk were captured upon this occasion, and the ship designated thus † sunk.]

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

English Line of Battle, on the 1st of June, 1794.

1794.

Repeating Frigates.

STARBOARD DIVISION.

Names of Ships. Guns. Commanders.

1.
Niger, 32 guns,
Hon. A. K. Legge.

Van S.

1st Division.	1. Cæsar (the leading ship of the van division)	80	Capt. A. J. Molloy.	
	2. Bellerophon . . . 74	{	†** R. Ad. PASLEY. *W. Hope.	
	3. Leviathan . . . 74		*Lord H. Seymour.	
	4. Ruffel . . . 74	{	*J. W. Payne.	
	5. Marlborough . . 74		Hon. G. Berkley.	
2d Division.	6. Royal Sovereign	100	{	†**V. Ad. GRAVES. *H. Nichols.
	7. Defence . . . 74	{		*J. Gambier.
	8. Impregnable . . 98		R. Ad. CALDWELL. G. B. Westcott.	
	9. Tremendous . . 74		J. Pigott.	
		The Audacious after the first day's action had been obliged to return to port.		

2.
Pegasus, 28 guns,
Capt. R. Barlowe.

Centre S.

1st Division.	10. Invincible . . . 74	*Hon. T. Pakenham.	
	11. Barfleur . . . 98	{ †**R. Ad. BOWYER. C. Collingwood.	
	12. Culloden . . . 74	Is. Schomberg.	
	13. Gibraltar . . . 80	T. Mackenzie.	
	14. Queen Charlotte	100	{ ** Adm. Earl HOWE. ** Sir R. Curtis. ** Sir A. Douglas.

LARBOARD DIVISION.

3.
Aquilon, 32 guns,
Hon. R. Stopford.

Rear S.

2d Division.	15. Brunswick . . . 74	§J. Harvey.	
	16. Valiant . . . 74	*T. Pringle.	
	17. Orion . . . 74	*J. F. Duckworth.	
	18. Queen . . . 90	{ **R. Ad. GARDNER. §J. Hutt.	
1st Division.	19. Ramilies . . . 74	*H. Harvey.	
	20. Alfred . . . 74	J. Bazeley.	
	21. Royal George	100	{ †**V. Ad. Sir A. Hood. *W. Domett.
	22. Montagu . . . 74	§J. Montagu.	
	23. Majestick . . . 74	C. Cotton.	
	24. Glory . . . 98	J. Elphinstone.	
	25. Thunderer . . . 74	A. Bertie.	

25 ships of the line. 2028 guns.

The following Frigates, Sloops, Cutters, &c. also attended the Fleet.

4. Phaeton,	38,	Captain W. Bentinck.
5. Latona,	38,	—— E. Thornborough.
6. Southampton,	32,	—— Hon. R. Forbes,
7. Venus,	32,	—— W. Brown.
8. Charon,	44, (hospital ship,)	—— G. Countefs.
9. Comet,	14, (fire-ship,)	—— W. Bradley.
10. Incendiary,	14, (fire-ship,)	—— J. Cooke.
11. King's-fisher,	18, (floop,)	—— M. Goffelin.
12. Ranger,	14, (cutter,)	Lieut. C. Cotgrave.
And 13. Rattler,	14, (cutter,)	—— J. Wynne.

[☞ The flag officers marked thus ** were afterwards presented with a gold medal and chain, which was suspended by a blue and white riband round the neck.

The captains marked thus * were presented with a gold medal, to be worn suspended from the third and fourth button-holes upon their left side.

The officers marked thus † lost their legs, were created baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each per ann.

Those marked ‡ were honoured with the peerage; and those marked § either died in action, or on their return to port.]

THE British admiral perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, an event which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement. But they were miserably disappointed, for in about half an hour lord Howe, relaxing the usual sternness of his countenance into a smile, with joy and hope at the same time beaming in his eye, gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte, on board of w. s. which was flying the signal for close action, alongside the French admiral. This was accordingly effected, and, by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of his master *, he was enabled to assume a most excellent position, so as to be able to contend with advantage against a vessel far superiour in point of size; and while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward.

Ushant, E.
half N. 140
leagues.

Nine o'clock
in the morn-
ing.

* Mr. Bowen, now a post-captain in the navy.

BOOK V. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day
 CHAP. V. depended but little either on the exertion of nautical knowledge,
 1794. or the exhibition of that scientific skill which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics: all was hard fighting. Yet upon this occasion, when the drapery of the three-coloured flag not unfrequently intermingled with that of the British cross, and the muzzles of the guns of many ships belonging to the two hostile fleets almost touched each other, the superiority of the English seamen was eminently conspicuous. Disciplined into war, the undaunted eye, the steady arm, the animated countenance, denoted that they were not unacquainted with the element on which they fought; and while the shot of the enemy made but little havock on decks where there were no useless men, every broadside spread death and desolation through the crowded vessels of their antagonists*.

Ten o'clock,
 A. M.

SUCH was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage, on the part of the British, that in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several of his ships disabled, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain † and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded. He accordingly crowded off with all the canvas he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not

* Comparative Estimate of Killed and Wounded.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
On board the six French ships taken . . .	690	580	1270
On board six of the English ships that suffered most .	125	335	460
Surplus killed and wounded on the part of the French	565	245	810

† Basile.

completely crippled ; two or three of these, although dismasted, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail hoisted on the occasion ; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished : the *Queen Charlotte* in particular, which but for an unlucky broadside from *Le Jacobin* would have captured her antagonist *, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action ; this was soon after followed by the main-topmast, which fell over the side ; while the *Brunswick*, which had lost her mizen-mast, and the *Queen*, which was also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty and five seventy-four gun ships †, however, still remained in possession of the victors, but one of the latter went down soon after she was taken possession of.

THE slaughter on the part of the English was not so great as might have been expected. Captain Montagu, of the *Montagu*, happened to be the only commander who fell during the engagement. Several officers of distinction, however, suffered in the course of the day : for vice-admiral Graves, the honourable G. Berkley, and captain J. Harvey ‡, were among the wounded ; and the rear-

* It has been stated to the author by a captain of the navy, who was present in this action, that the chief damage experienced by the English admiral's ship proceeded from the fire of *Le Jacobin*, which alone prevented lord Howe from obtaining possession of *Le Montagne*.

† Lists of French ships captured, June 1, 1794.

	Guns.
<i>Le Juste</i>	80
<i>Le Sanspareil</i>	80
<i>L'Amerique</i>	74
<i>L'Achille</i>	74
<i>Le Northumberland</i>	74
<i>L'Impetueux</i>	74
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	74
fired between five and six o'clock at night.	

‡ Captain J. Harvey of the *Brunswick*, who had conducted himself with distinguished bravery during the action, died a few days after his return to Portsmouth, of a fever accom-

BOOK V. admirals Pasley and Bowyer, with captain Hutt of the Queen,
 CHAP. V. lost a leg each.

1791.

NEVER did a British fleet exhibit greater eagerness to engage, or evince more ardour in battle, than was displayed upon this occasion. The commander in chief, whose vigour appeared unabated either by age that usually emasculates the mind, or disease that is always supposed to enervate the body, not only gave the signal, but also the example of close fight, and he was in general ably seconded by the admirals and captains under him. The crews of all the ships displayed a degree of steady valour that could not fail to

panied by a delirium: captain Hutt, of the Queen, also perished in a similar manner. These two gallant officers were thus prevented from receiving the rewards so justly due to their valour; but the rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each per annum. Admirals Graves and sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the king in person, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with Victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his lordship's name, and the date of the action.

In December, 1796, his majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the following flag officers and captains, who were reported by lord Howe to have signalised themselves during the battle with the French fleet:

Vice-admiral sir A. Hood,
 ——— T. Graves,
 Rear-admiral A. Gardner,
 ——— G. Bowyer,
 ——— T. Pasley,
 ——— sir R. Curtis,
 Captain W. Hope,
 ——— Elphinstone,
 ——— hon. T. Pakenham,
 ——— J. T. Duckworth,
 ——— sir A. Douglas,
 ——— H. Harvey,
 ——— W. Domett,
 ——— H. Nichols,
 ——— J. W. Payne,
 ——— T. Pringle.

ensure victory; and so conspicuous was the spirit and discipline every-where prevalent, that when a commander was either killed or mortally wounded, the next officer in rank continued the fight with unyielding valour.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.
1794.

ON the other hand, due praise ought to be given to the enemy, who, according to the British admiral, "waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution*." Notwithstanding the reinforcement that had been received previously to the signal contest that followed two undecisive engagements, their manifest inferiority in every point was conspicuous; and when it is recollected that nearly all the officers of the royal marine were precluded by their birth from serving upon this occasion, but a small portion of either skill or discipline could be expected. However, if the crews were deficient in respect to these qualifications, they must be allowed not to have been wanting in enthusiasm; and although their intrepidity has been perhaps exaggerated, certain it is that the French navy never displayed a greater portion of bravery than on this occasion. One ship † on a former day appears to have engaged three of ours in succession; and on the present occasion, another that had struck was fired into by one of her consorts and forced once more to hoist her colours.‡. On board a third §, when the water had nearly reached the orlop deck, some of the officers, while contemplating the situation of their country, appeared utterly insensible to their own. Many of the crew, indeed, readily profited by the generous humanity of their conquerors, and it is certain that they suspended a British flag from their stern; but

* Letter from earl Howe, dated "Queen Charlotte at sea, June 2, 1794," published June 10, in the London Gazette Extraordinary.

† Le Révolutionnaire.

‡ See the Journal in the Appendix.

§ Le Vengeur.

BOOK V. when the ship was in the act of sinking, others, completely re-
 CHAP. V. signed to their fate, were seen conversing as on common oc-
 1794. casions, and displaying a surprising degree of stoical heroism. The skill of the admiral also ought not to be overlooked, for on the 29th it was thought by some of the British officers that his order of battle was admirable; and even after he broke the line on the 1st of June, instead of making directly for port, he collected such of his scattered ships as had experienced but little damage, and by affecting to renew the engagement, enabled two or three of the dismantled ones to escape.

[June 8.]

IN the mean time admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately dispatched to join earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander in chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which in case of an action might take shelter in that port; he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day he espied the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse; but, notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle and gave chase; while the fleet from America, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety three days after the French squadron had been obliged to abandon its protection.

[June 12.]

Grand fleet
 arrives.
 [June 13.]

LORD HOWE now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron. He accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, and in the course of the same day returned thanks for "the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several

actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st of June.”

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.
1794.

THUS ended a cruise, which, although one of the objects had not been attained, yet conferred not only the dominion of the narrow seas, but the sceptre of the ocean, on Great Britain. While the French convention, inflamed by the delusive eloquence of Barrere and the exaggerated report of Jean Bon St. André*, gave

* Barrere, in his speech of the 21st Messidor (July 9), affirms, “ that since the sea first became a field of carnage, and the waves have been stained with blood, the annals of Europe do not record a battle so obstinate, valour so well sustained, or an action so terrible and sanguinary, as that of the 1st of June.” After asserting that one of their line-of-battle ships went down with the republican colours flying, that the crew refused quarter, and that their last prayers were offered up for liberty and their country, he concluded with proposing,

“ 1. That a model of *Le Vengeur* should be suspended from the roof, and the names of the brave republicans on board inscribed on the column, of the Pantheon :

“ 2. That the three-decked ship then building in the covered basin of Brest, should be named *Le Vengeur* :

And “ 3. That recompences shall be decreed, at a national festival, to the poets, painters, and sculptors, who undertook to transmit to posterity the sublime trait of republican heroism exhibited upon this occasion.”

Jean Bon St. André, in his report to the national convention, July 4, 1794, positively asserts, that the English line of battle on the 28th of May consisted of thirty sail, and on the 1st of June, of twenty-eight, besides some in reserve. The French Squadron is fairly stated at twenty-six ; but the commissioner, instead of confessing that several of the crippled ships had been replaced, only mentions “ that four, forming the division of rear-admiral Neilly, were exhausted by a long cruise.” Among other gross mistakes in this hasty account, it is asserted “ that the English first ceased firing,” and that “ several of their line-of-battle ships were seen to sink.”

It is well known that the French fleet had received positive orders to fight, provided the English should cross their cruising-ground ; and it will be seen by the following extract, that St. André attributes the safety of the American fleet to the measures adopted upon this occasion.

“ The engagement of the 10th Messidor (May 29) lasted between seven and eight hours, and if not decisive was glorious for the republic. The scene of action was the very spot over which the convoy was expected to pass, the safety of which was our chief object. We accordingly deemed it our best method to manœuvre so as to draw the enemy to such a distance from their position, to the northward and westward, as that the convoy might sail twenty-five leagues to the southward of the two fleets. The event completely ascertained the propriety with which we had taken our measures.”

BOOK V. orders to hang up the model of the Vengeur, the crew of which
 CHAP. V. had long contended hand to hand with an enemy's ship of the same
 1794. rate †, in the Pantheon, the English nation exhibited unbounded joy at a victory in some measure necessary to its independence. The metropolis, and many of the provincial cities and towns, were illuminated during three nights in succession; the parliament passed a vote of thanks; large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action; and the king repaired to Spithead, on purpose to congratulate in person the gallant admiral, officers, and seamen, who had performed such brilliant achievements.

Second cruise
 of the grand
 fleet.

THE grand fleet, after being refitted and increased by five sail of line-of-battle ships and a Portuguese squadron of five vessels, the latter of which added to its numbers rather than to its strength, again put to sea; and notwithstanding the veteran commander was so ill with the gout that he was hoisted on board in a chair, he still continued to superintend its movements. The enemy however had been so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out until lord Howe returned to port; and but little glory or advantage was reaped even then, for their commanders and crews, consisting chiefly of landsmen, being unfitted to contend with so boisterous a season, were incapable of performing any exploit whatever, and, instead of making captures, actually lost five sail of the line.

Action off
 Guernsey.
 [April 23.]

THE success of the British navy, in the course of this year, was nearly uniform, both in respect to squadrons and single ships. Captain sir John Borlase Warren, having been ordered to cruise on the coast of France with four ships ‡, while proceeding to his station, fell in with four sail of the enemy §, under a

† The Brunswick, captain J. Harvey.

‡ The Arethusa, Melampus, La Nympe, and Concorde.

§ L'Engageante, 34 eighteen-pounders, 4 carronades, and 300 men, commanded by citizen Desgarceaux, *chef d'escadre*.

commodore, fresh from port, having left Cancalle bay on the preceding evening. The two squadrons crossed each other on opposite tacks, and the enemy as usual began the action at a considerable distance. As the wind luckily happened to change two points in his favour, the English commander at length perceived that it was possible to weather the French, and therefore made a signal for the ships to engage as they came up, so as to ensure a close action, and prevent them from gaining their own shore. After a contest of two hours, in which captain sir Edward Pellew of the *Arethusa*, who was the second astern, and the other commanders, conducted themselves with equal courage and seamanship, two of the ships struck; and as the *Flora*, which had led the line into action, was rendered incapable of continuing the pursuit, a signal was made for the other English frigates to pursue the enemy. In the mean time sir Richard Strachan got up with and engaged two of the retreating squadron, one of which † bore down, and laying herself across *La Concorde's* bows, obliged her to drop astern. He however made sail and attacked the other vessel, which proved to be *L'Engageante*, the crew of which defended themselves with the greatest bravery during two hours and a quarter, when her guns being silenced and her sails unmanageable, she was taken possession of.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

1794.

Rock Dover
E. by S. 4 or
5 leagues.

Wind S.S.W.

11 o'clock,
A. M.

A quarter past
2, P. M.

THE same commander, towards the latter end of the summer, proved again successful on this station. Having received information relative to some of the enemy's frigates supposed to be cruising near Scilly, he sailed in pursuit with a small squadron ‡

* *La Pomone*, 44 twenty-four-pounders, 400 men.

La Résolue, 36 eighteen-pounders, 320 men.

* *La Babet*, 22 nine-pounders, 200 men.

[The vessels captured by the English are marked thus *.]

† The *Résolue*.

‡ The *Pomona*, *Artois*, *Santa Margaritta*, *Diana*, and *Arethusa*.

BOOK V. consisting of five sail; and having discovered a French ship of war,
 CHAP. V. which proved to be *La Felicité* of 40 guns, he made a signal for
 1794. a general chase, in consequence of which some of his consorts en-
 [Aug. 23.] gaged with and ran her ashore near the Penmark rocks. He him-
 4, A. M. self, in company with the *Arethusa*, at the same time pursued two
 corvettes, obliged them to take refuge under cover of three batteries
 near the Gamelle rocks, and fought them in that position until
 their masts fell overboard, on which the greater part of the crews
 escaped. Having manned and armed his boats, he intended to
 have burnt the vessels, which were called *L'Alerte* and *L'Espion*,
 but was prevented from a laudable humanity in respect to the
 wounded, who must have inevitably perished*.

BUT few combats worthy of record took place between single
 ships in the course of this campaign. The honourable captain
 [June 17.] Paget, in the *Romney* of 50 guns, brought *La Sybille* of 44
 to action in Miconi road, and captured her after a contest of
 one hour and ten minutes; but this is chiefly remarkable, as
 being an attack on an enemy's ship in a neutral harbour. Captain
 Nagle of the *Artois*, belonging to and in fight of sir Edward
 [Oct. 21.] Pellew's squadron, also took the national frigate called *Révo-*
lutionnaire, after a fight of forty minutes: she had scarcely sur-
 rendered, when the breakers of the *Saints* were discovered right
 a-head.

ON the other hand, the English lost a line-of-battle ship, which
 became a subject of some exultation to the enemy. The *Alex-*
 [Loss of the] *der* and *Canada*, vessels of equal force, happened to be seen and
 74 guns. chased at break of day, by a squadron consisting of five seventy-
 fours, three large frigates, and an armed brig, under the com-
 mand of rear-admiral Neilly. The two English men-of-war at
 Lat. 48° 25' N. first separated, but rear-admiral Bligh having made his consort's
 Lon. 7° 53' W. signal to form a-head for their mutual support, an attempt was

* The *Flora* is said to have run aground on this dangerous shore during the action.

made to obey; on this, two ships of the line, and two frigates, which were in pursuit, hauled to starboard, and obliged her to pursue the former course. In the mean time the *Alexander* continued firing her own stern and receiving the bow chasers of the enemy, when three ships of the line came up and commenced a close action, which was gallantly sustained for upwards of two hours, at the end of which period she became a complete wreck, the main-yard, spanker-boom, and three topgallant-masts, being shot away, and the sails and rigging cut to pieces, while all the lower masts were expected every moment to go over the side. At this critical period too, the ships which had chased the *Canada*, finding it impossible to overtake her, now made sail for the British admiral, on which the officers, who had been assembled on the quarter-deck, deeming all further resistance ineffectual, were unanimously of opinion that she ought to be surrendered; in consequence of this her commander reluctantly complied, and was carried into Brest, where he was treated, according to his own account, with great kindness and humanity.

NOR ought a remarkable instance of seamanship to be omitted in the naval transactions of the present year. A few days subsequent to the evacuation of Toulon, captain Hood, being unacquainted with that event, entered the port and proceeded for the inner harbour, where he grounded, soon after being discovered by the enemy; but such was the presence of mind and excellent disposition evinced upon this occasion, by the commander, lieutenants, master, and in short by every person on board, that notwithstanding these sinister accidents, the *Juno* escaped, although assailed by a number of batteries, and was no sooner out of immediate danger, than she opened upon them and returned their fire.

IT will be seen in the succeeding chapter, that the British fleet was still triumphant in this quarter, and that not content with the dominion of the Mediterranean, it extended its operations to the conquest of one of the principal islands in that sea.

BOOK V.
CHAP. V.

1794.

[Nov. 6.]
11 o'clock,
A. M.

C H A P. VI.

Invasion and Conquest of Corsica.

BOOK V. NO sooner were the English forced to evacuate Toulon, than
 CHAP. VI. the admiral commanding in the Mediterranean conceived the
 1795. idea of annexing Corsica to the crown of England. He was
 Advantages incited to this undertaking by a variety of reasons. In the first
 to be derived place, the possession of it would prevent the French from supply-
 from the pos- ing their great naval arsenal in that quarter with ship timber;
 session of and in the next, the situation of its ports, particularly that of
 Corsica. St. Fiorenzo, could afford at any time an excellent asylum to the
 British fleet.

CIRCUMSTANCES were also peculiarly favourable. Pascal Paoli, who after the retreat of king Theodore, and the transfer of Corsica to Louis XV. had struggled for several years to render that island independent, was discontented with the late revolution in France, although permitted by its leaders to return to his native country, and enjoy his patrimony in tranquillity. After subscribing the civick oath, he had accordingly repaired to Bastia, and been nominated successively mayor of that place, commandant of the national guard, and president of the department. But notwithstanding the republican zeal professed by this celebrated man, it soon became evident, that he endeavoured to convert the immense influence which he possessed over the minds of his countrymen, to his own advantage; and the failure of an ex-

pedition against Sardinia, as well as the revival of projects supposed to be dictated by ambition and the love of glory, were at length ascribed to this celebrated chief!

BOOK V.
CHAP. VI.
1795.

THE convention, impressed with these notions, summoned him to its bar, and on his refusal to appear there, proclaimed him a traitor. On this, no longer concealing his projects, he immediately convoked a *consulta*, or popular assembly, by which he was elected *generalissimo*; but being conscious from former experience that he was incapable of contending alone with France, he kept up a secret correspondence with the English, and successfully held out the allurements of a petty sovereignty, to a prince already possessed of ample dominions.

LORD HOOD, who had been but lately foiled in a naval expedition fitted out against this very island, wisely determined to make himself well acquainted with the strength and resources of the party which had declared for Paoli, before he embarked seriously in an undertaking of such magnitude. He therefore dispatched two field officers* to Corsica, and on their report, which was extremely encouraging, he resolved to repair thither in person; more especially as he learned at the same time, that the French had already embarked eight thousand troops at Nice, for the purpose of securing possession of the island.

THE vice-admiral accordingly sailed from the bay of Hieres, accompanied by a fleet of sixty sail, with two thousand two hundred of the unfortunate Toulonese on board; but a storm having ensued, it was several days before they could reach the object of their destination. At length commodore Linzee anchored in the bay to the westward of Mortella Point; the troops† were landed the

[Jan. 24.]
Expedition
against Cor-
fica.

* Lieutenant-colonel, now major-general, Moore, and the late major Koehler.

† These consisted of the second battalion of the royals, 11th, 25th, 30th, 50th, 51st, and 69th regiments, amounting in all to about 1400 men.

BOOK V. same evening under lieutenant-general Dundas, and possession
 CHAP. VI. taken of a height that overlooked the tower of Mortella.

1795.

[Feb. 8.]

Gallant defence of the tower of Mortella.

THE general and commodore being both of opinion that this important post * ought to be taken immediately, with a view of securing the anchorage, the Fortitude and Juno were accordingly placed in their proper stations, and a combined attack took place both by sea and land. Notwithstanding the garrison consisted of no more than thirty-three men, the defence was so obstinate, that the ships were obliged to withdraw after a severe and well-directed fire of two hours and a half, during which several hot shot were lodged in the side of the Fortitude †.

BUT what could not be effected by the navy, was at length achieved by the land forces, who occupied an eminence that commanded the place, and established a battery consisting of one eighteen, two nine pounders, and a carronade, within one hundred and fifty yards of it. The enemy however still held out : this partly proceeded from the form of the tower, which was

* It appears from the following facts, communicated to me partly from memory and partly from the journal of a respectable officer, that, in consequence of a singular incident, Mortella tower had been seized by the English during the preceding year.

“ The Lowestoffe frigate, captain Wolfely, anchored in Fiorenzo bay, the 19th of February, 1793, and sent lieutenants Gibbs and Mountsey with twenty-one men on shore. This party finding Mortella tower evacuated, and a ladder constructed of bafs rope placed immediately under the walls, ascended and took possession of it ; in consequence of which the English colours were hoisted for the first time in the island of Corfica.

“ In the course of that very night, an officer with twenty-five Frenchmen arrived from Calvi, to occupy the post, all of whom were taken prisoners. Commodore Linzee immediately stationed a garrison in it of nine Corficans, who were afterwards obliged to surrender to two French frigates.”

† The following is the account of the attack given by admiral lord Hood in his dispatch, dated “ Victory, St. Fiorenzo, February 22, 1794 :”

“ The walls of the tower were of a prodigious thickness, and the parapet, where there were two eighteen-pounders, was lined with bafs junk five feet from the walls, and filled up with sand ; and although it was cannonaded from the height for two days, within one hundred and fifty yards, and appeared in a very shattered condition, the enemy still held

round*, and partly from its being arched over and rendered bomb-proof. It also in some measure set an assault at defiance; for it was not only provided with loop-holes commanding the ground below, but it could be alone entered by a narrow aperture in the wall, through which the garrison ascended, by means of a ladder, afterwards secured within. The besieged, consisting of a single officer and thirty-two men, with only two eighteen-pounders, one of the carriages of which was broken, at length surrendered, in consequence of the basins belonging to the tunny-fishery, which constituted its chief defence, being set fire to. BOOK V.
CHAP. VI.
1795. [Feb. 10.]

IN the mean time lieutenant-colonel Moore had been detached with two regiments, a small howitzer, and a six-pounder, which were dragged seven or eight miles through a desert and mountainous country, destitute of roads, on purpose to obtain possession of the town of Fornelli; but it was soon found that it could not be taken with light artillery. However, on examining the mountains that skirted the western part of the gulph and overlooked the enemy's posts, an attack on this side appeared likely to prove successful, provided heavy cannon could be carried thither. This operation was cheerfully undertaken by the officers of the navy; and after four days' incessant labour, four eighteen-pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar, were hauled over rocks and precipices, to an eminence elevated at least seven hundred feet above the level of the sea. After this, one battery, consisting of three pieces of artillery, was constructed so as [Feb. 16.]

out; but a few shot setting fire to the basins, made them call for quarter. The number of men in the tower was thirty-three; only two were wounded, and those mortally."

The want of water to extinguish the flames, was the immediate cause of the surrender of this place; for although there was a well at the bottom, immediately below a bomb-proof casemate ample enough for the protection of more than a hundred men, yet it was difficult of access, and a sufficient quantity had not been obtained and placed on the rampart previously to the siege.

* An officer present on this occasion describes the tower as exactly resembling a wooden *sand-box* in point of shape.

BOOK V. to enfilade the *redoubt of the convention*, mounted with twenty-
 CHAP. VI. one pieces of heavy ordnance, and considered as the key to the
 1795. whole, while a second took it in reverse: another eighteen-
 Attack on pounder was brought up next day, to prevent two French frigates
 Fornelli. in the bay from obstructing the attack; at the same time a body
 [Feb. 17.] of Corsicans, to the number of twelve hundred, assembled by
 general Paoli, occupied the advanced posts and covered the flanks.
 8 o'clock at In the course of that very evening, lieutenant-colonel Moore led
 night. one column against the advanced point of the redoubt; lieu-
 tenant-colonel Wauchope marched with another towards the
 centre, while captain Stewart with a third entered on the left, and
 carrying the works with the bayonet, drove the enemy down a
 steep hill in their rear. The complete success of this measure was
 partly owing to the gallantry of the troops and men who gave
 the assault, partly to a false attack on the part of the islanders, and
 partly to the judicious fire of the batteries, which distracted the
 attention of the enemy, of whom ten officers and sixty men were
 made prisoners, and one hundred killed and wounded, out of five
 hundred and fifty who occupied the work.

THE heights of Fornelli might still have been defended, but
 the town and batteries, on which an unsuccessful attack had been
 made in the course of the last year by one of our flying squadrons,
 were now abandoned; the two frigates, both of which were
 fated to be destroyed soon after, were hauled off, and the neigh-
 Fiorenzo eva- bouring town was abandoned.
 cuated.

THE English were now masters of the gulph, fortrefs, and
 town of St. Fiorenzo; and it was the opinion of the admiral,
 that Bastia, whither the French had retreated, ought to be imme-
 diately attacked. Notwithstanding major-general Dundas did not
 deem it prudent to join in this undertaking, lord Hood made the
 necessary dispositions; and as the capture of the tower of Mor-
 tella is to be solely attributed to the land forces, so the glory of
 reducing this town entirely appertains to the navy, and the troops

serving on board of it. Lieutenant-colonel Villettes having landed with a body of men who had hitherto acted in the capacity of marines, and captain (now lord) Nelson with a detachment of seamen, batteries were opened and the place summoned, while the mouth of the harbour was guarded so as to intercept the arrival of supplies to the besieged, the ships being moored in form of a crescent, gun-boats and armed launches occupying the intervals. General Gentili, a Corsican, who commanded in the town, where there was a numerous garrison*, made a very gallant defence; but after a siege of thirty-three days, during which the English officers both by sea and land distinguished themselves greatly, articles of capitulation were agreed to, the place was resigned to a detachment of British troops, and the French, who had stipulated that the Corsicans should not be permitted to enter the place to witness the surrender, were sent to Toulon †.

BOOK V.
CHAP. VI.
1795.

[April 4.]

Surrender of
Bastia.
[May 22.]

As Calvi was the only town now belonging to the enemy, it was determined to obtain possession of it also: and while the British admiral was cruising to intercept a squadron of six sail of the line, from Toulon, supposed to be destined for its relief, which he soon after forced to seek protection under the batteries of St. Honora, St. Margaretta, and Cape Garoupe, captain Nelson proceeded with the troops from Bastia, and effected a landing at port Agra; in the course of the same day the army, [June 19.]

* The garrison amounted to near three thousand men, while the assailants did not exceed one thousand three hundred English, and eight hundred Corsicans.

† Lord Hood, in his dispatches, gives great praise to "the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of lieutenant-colonel Villettes;" he also mentions the services of vice-admiral Goodall, major Brereton, captain Nelson of the *Agamemnon*, captains Wolfeley, Hallowell, Young, Inglefield, Knight, Buller, and Serocold; the lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, of the navy. In addition to these, captain and lieutenant Alexander Duncan of the royal artillery, lieutenant de Butts of the royal engineers, major Smith, captain Radfale, lieutenant St. George, and ensign Vigoureux, are enumerated as deserving of commendation; while the admiral does not forget his obligations "to general Petrecono, Mr. Frediani, and all the officers of the Corsicans serving with the army."

BOOK V. now considerably reinforced, and commanded by the honourable
CHAP. VI. lieutenant-general Stuart, encamped in a strong position upon the

1795.

Serra del Cappucine, three miles distant from the town. The works being very strong, and the approaches difficult, it was determined to adopt rapid and forward movements instead of regular approaches; the seamen and soldiers were accordingly employed in making roads, dragging cannon to the tops of precipices, and collecting military stores, for the purpose of erecting two mortar and four gun batteries, against Mollinochesco, situated on a steep rock, and the stone star-fort Mozello; the latter of which, by a sudden march, and the united exertions of the whole army, was to be attacked by batteries erected within seven hundred and fifty yards of its walls.

IN the mean time lord Hood, having left admiral Hotham to blockade the French in the road of Gourjean, returned to Corfica, to assist in the reduction of Calvi; and not only kept close off that port, to relieve the wants of the besiegers every morning, but landed seven of the lower-deck guns of the Victory, on purpose to make an impression on the enemy's works.

[July 18.]

AT length the French were obliged to evacuate the Mollinochesco, and withdraw the shipping under the protection of the town; at which period, a breach appearing practicable on the west side of the Mozello, lieutenant-colonel Moore and major Brereton advanced with unloaded arms, and stormed the place, regardless of the fire of musquetry and the bursting of shells; while lieutenant-colonel Wemys, with the royal Irish regiment and two pieces of cannon, under the direction of lieutenant Lemoine of the royal artillery, carried the enemy's battery on the left, and forced the trenches without firing a shot.

CASA-BIANCA, a general of division in the French service and a native of the island, now proposed a truce of twenty-five days; but this being deemed inadmissible, the navy and army

united their efforts, and in the course of nine days more, additional batteries of thirteen heavy guns, four mortars, and three howitzers, were opened within six hundred yards of the town; in consequence of which the enemy's fire being nearly silenced, after a cannonade and bombardment of eighteen hours, and a siege of fifty-one days, the garrison consented to an honourable capitulation*, by which the English obtained complete possession of, and the French were expelled from, the island. Soon after this, a general *consulta* was assembled at Corte, and general Paoli being elected president, the representatives of the nation voted the union of Corsica with the British crown, which was cheerfully accepted on the part of the viceroy †. The constitution presented to the Corsicans contained many admirable provisions in behalf of their national liberty, and privileges highly advantageous in their nature were readily conferred on these new subjects.

BOOK V.
CHAP. VI.
1795.

Surrender of
Calvi.
[August 10.]

WE must now avert our eyes from Europe, to contemplate the progress of hostilities in another hemisphere; where the passions appear to be sublimed by the ardour of a burning sun, and war, constantly accompanied by disease, is productive of double horror.

* The general in his dispatch announcing this event, enumerates the services of lieutenant-colonels Moore and Wauchope; captain Serocold of the navy, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-shot; captains Stewart, Duncan, and Stephens, of the royal artillery; lieutenants Newhurst and Lemoine; majors Brereton and Oakes; and sir James Erskine. Lieutenant-colonel Sembaldi of the Corsican battalion, and lieutenant William Byron of the R. R. of Ireland, were killed; and lieutenant-colonel Moore, captains Colin Macdonald and Mackenzie, and lieutenants D. Macdonald, Johnston, Livingston, Paoli, and Mattei, wounded.

The following ships were taken in the harbour of Calvi:

La Melpomene	.	.	.	40 Guns.
Mignonne	.	.	.	28
Auguste and Providence, two brigs	.	.	.	4
And Ca-ira, a gun-boat	.	.	.	3

† Sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. now lord Minto.

C H A P. VII.

Campaign in the West Indies—Reduction of Martinico, Gaudaloupe, St. Lucia, Maregalante, Deseada, and the Saints.

BOOK V.
CHAP. VII.

1793.

The fleet fails
for the West
Indies.
[Nov. 3.]

WHILE the allies were nearly reduced to despair in Europe, and no longer deemed it probable that they could make any lasting impression on the frontiers of republican France, the ministers of Great Britain were preparing a formidable armament against her colonies in the West Indies. After being delayed for some time in consequence of a temporary expedition into maritime Flanders, the sea and land forces sailed towards the latter end of the year, under the command of admiral sir John Jervis and lieutenant-general sir Charles Grey, two officers of established reputation. As soon as the men-of-war and transports had rendezvoused at Carlisle-bay in the island of Barbadoes, it was determined to make an immediate attack upon Martinico, whence a small body of English troops had been repulsed in the course of the preceding year.

ON the arrival of the fleet a joint manifesto * was published on the part of the commanders in chief by sea and land, inviting all the “ friends of peace, government, religion, and order, in the island, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and set themselves free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent sovereign.” Personal security, and full and immediate enjoyment of their

* Dated on board the Boyne, January 1, 1794.

lawful possessions, conformably to the ancient laws and customs, were also promised to the colonists. But this spirit of moderation was clouded by a supplement, in which all those taken with arms in their hands were threatened with transportation; and in case of their return "to either of the windward islands," they were to incur the "pains of death." It was also intimated, that general Rochambeau having promised freedom to such slaves as should combat for the defence of Martinico, and it being impossible to "distinguish those *Brigands* from people of colour born free," the latter were apprised that all of this description "who should be found armed, or who having fought, should have escaped the bayonets of the British troops," were to be "treated as slaves, and transported immediately to the coast of Africa, where they will be abandoned to their fate."

BOOK V.
CHAP. VII.
1793.

THE land forces, which originally consisted of about six thousand men *, and had been considerably reduced by sickness, were divided into three brigades: the first commanded by lieutenant-general Prescott; the second by major-general Thomas Dundas; and the third by lieutenant-colonel sir Charles Gordon, during the absence of prince Edward. These having embarked, sailed immediately under convoy of the *Boyne*, a ship of ninety-eight guns, [Feb. 3, 1794.]

Expedition
sails for Mar-
tinico.
[Feb. 3,
1794.]

* An account of the number of men destined for the expedition to the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, at the close of the year 1793.

Fourteen regiments at six hundred rank and file each . . .	8400
Flank companies of fourteen regiments	1960

	10,360
Artillery and artificers	400

10,760

An account of the number of men withdrawn from the forces destined for the expedition to the West Indies; under sir Charles Grey, and placed under the command of the earl of Moira. . .

Eight regiments	4642
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Troops remaining	6118
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BOOK V. which carried the vice-admiral's flag, accompanied by three ships
 CHAP. VII. of the line, some frigates, a bomb-ketch, a few gun-boats, and
 1794. several store-ships*.

As the obstinate resistance or immediate surrender of the enemy's islands was supposed to depend greatly on the arrival of a supply

* List of the English Squadron.

Ships' names.	Guns.	Commanders.
Boyne	98	{ Vice Admiral sir John Jervis. Capt. G. Grey.
Vengeance	74	{ Commodore C. Thompson. Capt. Henry Pawlett.
Irrefistible	74	Capt. John Henry.
Veteran	64	— Charles Edmund Nugent.
Beaulieu	40	— John Salisbury.
Blanche	32	— Christopher Parker.
Terpsichore	32	— Sampson Edwards.
Blonde	32	— John Markham.
Solebay	32	— William Hancock Kelly.
Quebec	32	— Josias Rogers.
Rose	32	— Edward Riou.
Nautilus	18	— James Carpenter.
Rattlesnake	18	— Matthew Henry Scott.
Zebra	18	— Robert Faulkner.
Seaflower	15	— William Pierrepont.
Experiment	44	— Simon Miller.
Woolwich	44	— John Parker.
Dromedary	44	— S. Fatham.
And Vesuvius (bomb)		— Charles Sawyer.

} Armed en flute.

The following reinforcement arrived previously to the capture of the island :

Asia	64	Capt. John Brown.
Affurance	44	— V. Cornelius Berkley.
Santa Margarita	36	— Eliab Harvey.
Ceres	32	— Richard Incedon.
Winchelsea	32	— Lord viscount Garlies.
And Roebuck	44	— Andrew Christie. (Converted into an hospital ship.)

of provisions, an order of council *, equally novel and important, had been obtained, expressly calculated for the occasion, by which the British cruisers were enabled to detain all vessels carrying supplies for the French colonies.

BOOK V.
CHAP. VII.
1794.

AFTER the necessary dispositions had been made, three separate landings were effected on the island of Martinico, in consequence of which the enemy abandoned the post of Trinité, while general Bellegarde, a mulatto chief, evacuated the fort that bore his own name; on this, Morne Bruneau, about two leagues from fort Bourbon, and the strong position of Le Maitre, were immediately seized upon by major-general Dundas. Another detachment, under brigadier-general Whyte, forced the batteries of Cape Solomon and Bourges, with a view of facilitating the possession of Pigeon island †, and thus enabling the shipping to enter the harbour of Port Royal. After this Mount Matherine, which commanded the enemy's works at the distance of four hundred yards, being crowned with a battery so as to take the island in reverse, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of colonel Symes with a detachment of the fifteenth regiment, and two hundred seamen under the command of lieutenants Rogers and Rutherford, the garrison struck their colours, and surrendered at discretion in little more than two hours.

Proceedings
of the army.
[Feb. 5, 6,
and 8.]

Capture of
Pigeon
Island.
[Feb. 10.]

* This order, dated November 6, 1793, was revoked six weeks afterwards, but remained in force during three months.

† This island is situated on the south side of the bay of Port Royal, at about two hundred yards distance from the shore. It consists of a steep rock, elevated about ninety feet above the level of the sea, is accessible only on one side by means of a ladder, and was defended by seventeen pieces of heavy cannon, four thirteen-inch mortars, and a howitzer. See "An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies, in the year 1794, by the Rev. Mr. Cowper Williams, chaplain to the Boyne."

On the north side of the same bay is Fort Louis, and the town of Fort Royal, behind which stands Fort Bourbon, erected on a steep hill by the marquis de Bouillé, formerly governor of Martinico; one of whose aid-de-camps, well acquainted with the works, accompanied the expedition.

BOOK V. THE third column, commanded by colonel sir Charles Gordon,
 CHAP. VII. assisted by colonel Myers and captain Rogers of the navy, having
 1794. landed to leeward, seized on five batteries between Caïse de Navire
 and Fort Royal ; after which it occupied the posts of Gentilly,
 La Cofte, and L'Archer, which are situated within a league of Fort
 Bourbon, where Rochambeau, a son of the marshal of the same
 name, at this period commanded.

As the entrance into the bay and harbour of Port Royal was
 now completely opened for the British fleet, admiral sir John
 Jervis immediately sailed from Ance L'Arlet, and anchored there
 with a view of assisting in the reduction of the fortresses. The
 commander in chief also moved forward with the troops from
 [March 14.] Riviere Salée to the post of Bruneau, where he joined lieutenant-
 general Prescott ; and having previously concerted an attack upon
 the town of St. Pierre with major-general Dundas, the latter
 proceeded towards the heights of Cassot and Calebasse, which
 were evacuated by the enemy, who had, nevertheless, attacked
 colonel Campbell at Port-au-Pin. On perceiving this, the ad-
 vanced guard, consisting of no more than sixty-three men, was
 sent forward under the command of captain Ramsay of the
 Queen's, and on gaining the summit obliged them to desist :
 but although the feeble succour arrived time enough to ex-
 tricate the detachment, yet it was too late to save the life of the
 gallant commander, who perished while charging at the head of
 the fortieth light company,

NOTWITHSTANDING several spirited movements on the part
 of the French, the two columns proceeded against St. Pierre, a
 considerable town defended by batteries on the flanks, and pro-
 tected by redoubts on the hills which overhang it ; but that place
 had already yielded to a detachment under colonel Symes and
 major Maitland. To the honour of the English, their entrance
 into this place was marked by the greatest regularity, order, and

Capture of
 St. Pierre.

decorum ; while, in return, they were received by the inhabitants as deliverers rather than as enemies.

BOOK V.
CHAP. VII.

1794.

BUT, notwithstanding the success of the British arms, two strong fortresses still remained to be subdued : the first of these was Fort Louis, situated on a neck of land which forms one side of the harbour called the Carenage ; the second Fort Bourbon, built upon a hill, and greatly superiour in point of strength.

As the latter could not be closely invested without the previous possession of the heights of Sourriere, which were occupied by general Bellegarde, sir Charles Grey had fixed on one o'clock of the succeeding morning to force his position with the bayonet ; but at noon he was anticipated by the mulatto chief, who descended and attacked his left flank in a very daring and spirited manner. While lieutenant-general Prescott, at the head of a reinforcement, at once charged and checked the enemy, the English commander in chief embraced this lucky opportunity to seize on the position of the assailant, now greatly weakened by the troops sent against him. He accordingly dispatched the third battalion of grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and supported by the first and second battalions of light infantry under lieutenant-colonels Coote and Blundell, who stormed the works on the left with such gallantry and success, that possession of the camp and artillery was immediately obtained with inconsiderable loss.

Attack on
Bellegarde's
camp.
[Feb. 18.]

AFTER this fortunate event, Fort Bourbon was invested, but the siege of that place was found to be accompanied by a number of difficulties ; however, by the exertions of the soldiery, a new road, nearly five miles in extent, was cut through a thick wood, and over a rugged eminence, for the transport of heavy artillery and mortars, while the cannon were dragged to the heights by the unremitting energy of the seamen, who at their own request had a battery assigned to them.

[March 7.]

IN the mean time Bellegarde, with his second, Pelocque, and

BOOK V. three hundred of their followers, had surrendered to the English.
 CHAP. VII. This chief, on retiring to the heights of Sourriere, and perceiving
 1794. his camp in possession of sir C. Grey, immediately endeavoured to
 [March 7.] enter Fort Bourbon, with a view of contributing to the defence of
 the place; but notwithstanding the small number of the garrison,
 he was repulsed by general Rochambeau, who was at enmity
 with him, and obliged to throw himself into the power of
 an enemy, by whom he and his companion were immediately
 sent to America, while his partisans were confined on board
 the fleet.

THE batteries of the second parallel being at length completed,
 at the distance of between four and five hundred yards from the
 body of the place, measures were concerted with the admiral for a
 combined attack by the naval and land forces; the artillery on the
 Morne, Tortentson, and Carrier, accordingly kept up a constant
 fire upon Fort Royal, while all the other batteries played on Fort
 Bourbon, during both day and night, as well as on the succeeding
 [March 19.] morning, until the ships destined for this service had taken their
 respective stations.

PREVIOUSLY to this, the battery on Point Carrier, which forms
 the east side of the entrance of the Carenage, had been opened,
 and with the gun-boats kept up an incessant fire on Fort St.
 Louis. Lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who commanded the
 latter, perceiving a favourable opportunity, boarded the Bien
 Venue, a French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant,
 and about twenty men, under a severe fire of grape-shot and
 musquetry from the fort. The success of so gallant an action
 stimulated the commanders by sea and land to attempt this
 place, as well as the town of Fort Royal, by assault. Scaling
 ladders were accordingly provided; the Asia and Zebra were
 ordered to be kept in readiness to batter the walls, and also to
 cover the embarkation, consisting of flat boats, barges, and pin-
 naces, under the command of commodore Thompson, supported

by captains Nugent and Riou; while the grenadiers and light infantry, led by lieutenant-colonels Stewart, Close, and Buck-
 eridge, advanced from the camps of La Coste and Sourriere.

BOOK V.
 CHAP. VII.
 1794.

This movement succeeded completely in every part except in respect to the Asia, which did not enter the port as intended, in consequence of some mistake of the pilot, who was a French naval officer*. But that unfortunate circumstance did not deter the gallant captain Faulknor, who had been for some time exposed to a fire of grape-shot, from undertaking the service, although alone and unsupported. He accordingly ran the Zebra close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard at the head of his sloop's company, actually assailed and carried it by escalade, before the boats under captain Rogers, an active and spirited officer, could get on shore to his assistance. Immediately after this, a body of land forces, under colonel Symes, entered the town by the bridge over the canal, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name to that of Fort Edward, in compliment to the prince who had arrived some time before from Canada, and now commanded at the camp of La Coste.

Capture of
 Fort Louis.
 [March 20.]

GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU, who is supposed not to have been very warmly attached to the cause of the republicans, on this sent his aid-de-camp with a flag, offering to surrender Fort Bourbon. The terms were accordingly discussed, and ratified next day; in consequence of which it was agreed that the garrison, amounting to nine hundred, should march out with colours flying, thirty rounds a-man, and two field-pieces with twelve rounds; they were then to lay down their arms, and after stipulating not to serve against his Britannick majesty or his allies during the present war, to embark immediately for France: it was expressly insisted upon, however, on the part of the troops,

[March 21.]

* Monsieur de Tourelles, lieutenant of the fort previously to the revolution.

BOOK V. that the emigrants should not be present at the humiliating cere-
 CHAP. VII. monial that was to take place subsequently to the capitulation.

1794.

Capture of
 Fort Bour-
 bon.
 [March 23.]

At the hour appointed, the English troops, marching to the fort, struck the French three-coloured flag, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name of the place from Fort Bourbon to Fort George; while the governour, in consequence of a secret article, was permitted to retire to America*.

* The following account of the operations of the fleet during the attack on Martinico has been drawn up by a captain in the navy, who served upon that occasion :

THE armament destined for the subjugation of the French Leeward Islands, under the command of vice-admiral sir John Jervis, arrived at Barbadoes towards the close of the year.

Immediately after this a proclamation was issued by the commanders in chief, declaring the French colonies in a state of blockade; and the frigates were ordered to sea to intercept all ships bound to, or coming from, the ports of the enemy. American property to a very considerable amount was accordingly captured, and sent to the British settlements to be tried by the different courts of admiralty.

In the month of December the whole fleet sailed for Martinico, and dispositions were made to attack that island in three different places, as nearly as possible at the same period of time. Commodore Thompson with his division parted company to windward, and sailed for Trinité. Sir John Jervis and sir Charles Grey, with the body of the fleet, proceeded to a bay a small distance to leeward of Point Salines; and after a feeble and ineffectual attempt of the enemy (who afterwards set fire to the plantations to cover their own retreat) to prevent a landing, the grand division of the army under sir Charles effected a debarkation on the same night. The ensuing morning captain Rogers of the Quebec frigate, with sir Charles Gordon, and one thousand five hundred troops, frigates, bomb-vessels, &c. were ordered round to the bay of Fort Royal, on purpose to gain a landing on the Caise-de Navire side, and attempt the reduction of Pigeon Island; a strong and almost inaccessible fortress, the only approach to it being by two ladders, said to be not less than one hundred and twenty feet each in height.

On reconnoitring this post it was found necessary to make use of some heavy battering cannon: four of the Boyne's lower-deck guns were accordingly procured for that purpose; and the boats with the ammunition and the artillery were directed to proceed in the night (guided by a signal on shore) to a small bay, situated a little to the left of Pigeon Island. Unfortunately a fisherman's light in another opening misled the officers, who at day-break found themselves exposed to a heavy fire of round and grape-shot from Pigeon Island; little damage was however sustained, but the Boyne's launch, with a couple of thirty-two pounders, was sunk close in with the land. The guns were afterwards weighed, got on shore, and mounted on a height that commanded Pigeon Island. Our battery of four guns

AFTER leaving six regiments as a garrison, under brigadier-BOOK V.
 general Whyte and colonel Myres, the fleet sailed for St. Lucia, CHAP. VII.
 the reduction of which was attended with little or no difficulty. 1794.
 On the very next day after the fleet had left Martinico, a landing

opened about nine o'clock, and at half past ten the island surrendered, having lost a considerable number of men, and most of their guns being dismounted.

It now became customary, pursuant to orders from the admiral, after the surrender of Pigeon Island (in consequence of which our fleet obtained a safe and commodious anchorage on the side of the bay opposite to Fort Royal), to cannonade every day between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon, with seven gun-boats, the south side or front of the fort. This was effected with admirable judgment and precision, by the late captain R. Bowen (then a lieutenant of the *Boyne*), who always commanded upon this occasion, and constantly advanced till within the reach of grape-shot from the batteries, when, coolly drawing up his boats in a line of battle a-breast, fifty rounds were discharged from each. The attack was again renewed at an uncertain hour of the night to harass the garrison, but at a much greater distance from the fort.

This mode of warfare was carried on for some time ; but not keeping pace with the ardour of sir John's wishes, to whose active mind and enterprising genius procrastination was but ill adapted, he was at length determined, after consulting with sir Charles Grey, to carry the fort by storm. A brigade of seamen and marines, consisting of more than a thousand men, was destined for this service, under the command of captains Rogers, Riou, and Baynton ; the embarkation was to take place at Point Negro, and proceed by sea to attack the fort on its western side, aided by a battery of four eighteen-pounders on a hill above, manned by British sailors, that completely enfiladed this part of it : such was the arrangement to leeward. The *Asia* of sixty-four guns, together with the *Zebra* sloop of war, commanded by captain Faulknor, who volunteered his services on this occasion, was to engage the fort in front, and by forming a diversion on that side facilitate the operations of the storming party ; while a battery thrown up on the eastern side of the *Carenage* played on the enemy to windward, and thus placed them in the midst of four fires.

A plan so well digested, and so ably conceived, could hardly fail in its execution ; and such was the success of the day that we obtained an almost bloodless victory over the enemy. The *Asia* and *Zebra* got under weigh by signal from the admiral between eight and nine A. M. ; at the same moment the boats started from under the lee of Point Negro, and rowed with the utmost exertion towards the fort. The *Asia*, however, did not gain her situation in time to have acted with effect, but the *Zebra* arrived at her position to windward, and was standing off and on under easy sail, receiving the fire of the enemy and waiting for her consort, till captain Faulknor, imagining that some of our boats might be near the western side of the battery (as all our guns had then opened), with a degree of gallantry hitherto unparalleled, stood into the enemy's harbour amidst a shower of shot and

BOOK V. was effected in the following order: major-general Dundas's
 CHAP. VII. division, headed by lieutenant-colonel Close, disembarked at Ance
 1794. de Becune, one mile and a quarter from Gros Islet; another
 [April 1.] body of grenadiers and light infantry in Choc Bay, under
 lieutenant-colonel Blundell; a third under his royal highness
 prince Edward, at Marigot des Roseaux; and a fourth under
 colonel Coote, near the Grand Cul de Sac. While ranging
 along the shore on purpose to reach these different points, the
 ships received many shot in their hulls, sails, and rigging, from the
 numerous batteries on the coast, but although much crowded with
 men, not a single life was lost; and no sooner had the grenadiers
 and light infantry left the boats, than they advanced and carried
 all the out-posts and batteries; on which major-general Dundas
 immediately invested Morne Fortunée. The troops there being
 appalled at the matchless intrepidity with which lieutenant-
 colonel Coote, with only four light companies, had stormed a
 redoubt and two batteries, agreed to surrender; prince Edward
 accordingly hoisted the British colours, and changed the name
 to Fort Charlotte, while the Grand Cul de Sac, in which the fleet
 anchored, received the appellation of Barrington Bay.

Conquest of
 St. Lucia.
 [April 3.]

THE entire conquest of St. Lucia having been thus effected
 without the loss of a man, and colonel sir Charles Gordon en-

shells, and summoned the garrison to surrender. In the interim, the admiral, on seeing the Zebra stand into the Carenage, loosened his top-sails, fore-sail, jib, and stay-sails, and hoisted the former to the mast-head, hauling in the starboard braces forward, and larboard ones abaft; his fleet following the example, it appeared as if he was making every disposition for weighing, and attacking the enemy instantly with his whole force. This feint contributed no doubt to the speedy surrender of the fort, as on the French commandant's holding out a flag of truce, captain Faulknor told him he must surrender unconditionally, or he would, at the head of his ship's company, either carry the fort or perish in the attempt! The tri-coloured flag accordingly disappeared, and the British union was immediately displayed from the ramparts.

trusted with the government of the island; the British Squadron immediately returned to Fort Royal Bay in Martinico, where, having taken on board two regiments and the heavy ordnance, the admiral detached captain Rogers of the *Quebec*, and three other ships*, to take possession of the little islands called the Saints, which they effected without any loss. On the same day part of this fleet anchored at Pointe-à-Petre in Guadaloupe, but a fresh wind and a lee current prevented many of the transports from arriving until some time after. Without waiting for their assistance, general Grey effected a landing with a body of infantry, and five hundred seamen and marines, in the bay, notwithstanding the fire of forts Gozier and Fleur d'Epée, under cover of the *Winchelsea*, lord Garlies, who placed his ship so close to the batteries that the enemy could not stand to their guns, and happened to be the only person wounded upon this occasion. At break of day the fort of La Fleur d'Epée was carried by assault, the troops on this occasion attacking in three divisions with the bayonet; the first under the command of prince Edward, who with a body of grenadiers and a hundred of the naval battalion, stormed the post on Morne Mascot; the second, of nearly the same number of troops, under major-general Dundas, who marched in such a direction as to take Fleur d'Epée in the rear, and cut off its communication with Fort Louis and Pointe-à-Petre; the third under colonel Symes, who proceeded by the road on the sea-side, with intent to co-operate with the former.

THE success of this bold and decisive attack, in the course of which it is to be lamented that the greater part of the garrison was put to the sword during the heat of the contest, obtained for the English the immediate possession of that part of the island

* The Squadron under captain Rogers consisted of his own ship the *Quebec*, the *Ceres*, captain Inledon, the *Blanche*, captain Faulknor, and the *Rose*, captain Scott.

BOOK V. called Grand Terre, for the enemy thought proper to evacuate

CHAP. VII. Fort Louis, the town of Pointe-à-Petre, and the new battery on

1794.

the islet called Cochon; but many of the inhabitants escaped to Basse Terre before the Ceres and two gun-boats could reach the Carenage, notwithstanding the alertness and precision with which captain Incledon of the navy executed the orders of the admiral.

AFTER a garrison had been placed in Fleur d'Epée, now denominated Fort Prince of Wales, part of the squadron, with two divisions of the army, under the command of prince Edward and colonel Symes, anchored under Islet Haut de Fregatte, and the

[April 14.] troops were landed that night and next morning at Petit Bourg: nearly about the same time another detachment, under major-general Dundas, disembarked within a short distance of the town of Basse Terre, and carried the strong post of Morne Magdaline; while the two former columns, after seizing on the redoubt of d'Arbond, which had been evacuated by the enemy, and carrying Anet by storm, obtained possession of the important post of Palmiste, with all its batteries, at break of day. As these commanded Fort Charles and Basse Terre, general Collot thought fit to signify his intentions to capitulate. A negotiation accordingly commenced for that purpose, and Guadeloupe with all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marigalante and Desirada, were given up by him on the same terms that had been

Capture of
Palmiste.
[April 20.]

Surrender of
Guadeloupe.
[April 21.]

allowed to general Rochambeau. The French garrison marched out of Fort Charles, and prince Edward, with the grenadiers and light infantry, having taken possession, the British colours were immediately hoisted on Fort Matilda, the new name by which it was intended to designate this place in future.

A LARGE accession to the sugar-colonies of Great Britain was thus obtained at a very inconsiderable expence, through the gallant and indefatigable exertions of her fleets and armies; while the small portion of English blood spilt in the achievement, scarcely stained the laurels of victory. But the clemency of the

conquerours is not supposed upon this occasion to have been equal to their valour ; and a prostrate enemy, instead of being reconciled to their fate by gentleness, was soon menaced with exactions, wholly incompatible with the rights of legitimate warfare. No sooner had possession been obtained of Martinico, than some interested adventurers imposing upon the credulity of the commanders by sea and land, and not content with the booty obtained by the seizure of the shipping and stores, set up a claim to part of the produce of the island, and proposed to indemnify the toils of the captors at the expence of the planters and merchants, now become British subjects. Major-general Dundas began by publishing a proclamation, ordering “ a true and verified specification of all the colonial productions and provisions of whatever kind and quality,” within the circumference of the town of St. Pierre *. This was followed by another from lieutenant-general Prescott, intimating the intention of “ sir Charles Grey, and sir John Jervis,” that all the above species of property should be “ publicly sold for the profit of those who have seized them †.”

SOON after this, the idea of a *requisition* was extended from the town of St. Pierre to the whole island ; but as this bore too close an affinity to the conduct of the French in Europe, a commutation was at length suggested ; and the governor proposed to the astonished inhabitants, to meet commissaries “ appointed by their excellencies, for the purpose of fixing in an equitable and efficacious manner on a general contribution (the amount of which was to be made known to the representative of each parish), to be paid by all those who possess property in the colony ; the commanders in chief having decided that such an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiscation ‡.”

* Dated “ St. Pierre, Martinico, February 19, 1794.”

† Dated “ April 10, 1794.”

‡ See a proclamation by his excellency R. Prescott, esq. &c. &c. dated May 10, 1794.

This

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As the colonists did not assemble in compliance with the orders issued, the commanders in chief explained their intentions in a subsequent proclamation, denouncing a general seizure if they delayed any longer to appoint commissioners "to confer on the most equitable and most expeditious ways and means to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigues, and their consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expence incurred by the British officers, soldiers, and sailors, who, with unshaken firmness and matchless perseverance, have achieved the conquest of this island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest part of its inhabitants, and restored them to the quiet possession of their property, the confiscation of which had been already decreed."

NOR was this novel and extraordinary measure confined to the island of Martinico; for it was enforced in Guadaloupe, and part of the composition money actually received: nor there cannot be the least doubt but that the whole would have been exacted, had not the ministry at length interposed, and, greatly to their honour, put an end to a system of spoliation that would have for ever disgraced the British name*.

This and the other papers alluded to on the present occasion, will be found in vol. 2 and 3 of State Papers relative to the War with France.

* The commanders in chief appear to have been misled upon the present occasion, partly by the example of lord Rodney and general Vaughan at St. Eustatius, in 1781-2, during the American war, and partly by the nature of the present contest, the government of France being qualified in their secret instructions as an "usurpation, having no legal authority, and its supporters as rebels and traitors."

The sum intended to have been levied in St. Lucia alone, was 150,000*l.* to be paid by instalments, and 10 or 12,000*l.* was collected for, but not received by, the captors.

The West-India planters and merchants, on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the commanders in chief, immediately adopted the most efficacious measures to put a stop to these exactions. In the first memorial presented to the duke of Portland, and dated "London, August 24, 1794," they observe, "that when the information was received in this country, that a contribution or commutation for relinquishing an assumed right to

OTHER unfortunate circumstances contributed also at this period to render the English unpopular in the conquered islands; while the almost indiscriminate seizure of neutral property, under the

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a general plunder of all property in the captured French islands in the West Indies, was claimed and enforced, they did not give credit to it, especially as the communication was confined to one or two mercantile houses; they however felt so much alarmed, as to desire the gentlemen who had received the letters respecting it, would lay before his majesty's ministers the information they had received, when they had the satisfaction to understand from Mr. Pitt, that this proceeding in the shape in which it then appeared to him, was subject to much objection, and would in his opinion be disapproved by his majesty's government, &c."

They then remark with great force, "that not as publick censors, but as a body deeply interested in the due observance of those distinctions between publick and private property, by which in modern times the rights of conquest have been qualified, they humbly conceive, that the man who in the moment of danger exerts himself for the protection of his country, does not thereby subject to military execution all his property, wherever situated, within the range of the conquerour's sword; and that the late deviation from the general rule of publick warfare hitherto observed by civilised nations, is of a nature," it is added, "eventually to have very fatal consequences to your memorialists."

This was succeeded by another memorial from the same body, dated February 6, 1795; a third from the agents "on behalf of the inhabitants and proprietors of the island of Martinique;" and a fourth from the merchants of Liverpool, in which, after mentioning "the late indiscriminate seizure and general confiscation of West-India produce found in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and the heavy contribution levied upon the unfortunate planters and merchants of St. Lucia, who willingly submitted to the first summons," they conceive it to be necessary "to order a restitution of the inglorious booty acquired by our commanders, and now in the hands of their agents in the West Indies and in Europe, because it will still further tend to confirm the confidence of newly-acquired subjects in the wisdom, equity, and moderation of his majesty's councils and government, and in the good faith of the British nation."

In a fresh memorial from the West-India planters and merchants of London, dated "May 4, 1795," they advert to their former representations, relative to "the unprecedented conduct of sir C. Grey and sir J. Jervis, on taking possession of the French captured islands; which conduct they must consider," it is added, "as the primary and efficient cause of the progress which the enemy has lately been enabled to make, whether in a recovery of part of the French colonies, or in the plunder and devastation of our own."

This subject was at length agitated in the house of commons, June 2, 1795, on which occasion the members of the opposition, forgetting all their former appeals to justice and humanity, joined the ministry, and a vote of censure was accordingly negatived by the previous question; after which the house resolved—

"That

BOOK V. authority of a temporary order of council, excited the jealousy
CHAP. VII. of several independent nations, and produced the bitterest re-
1794. proaches on the part of America, whose vessels were confiscated,
condemned, and sold, with a facility that excited their astonish-
ment and indignation.

“ That the inhabitants of the French West-India islands, not having availed themselves of the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794, the said proclamation cannot be considered as having formed a general rule for the conduct of the commanders of his majesty's forces by sea and land, respecting the persons and properties of the inhabitants of those islands ;

“ Resolved, That the proclamation of the 10th and 21st of May, 1794, not having been carried into effect, it is unnecessary for this house to give any opinion thereupon ;

“ Resolved, That this house retains the cordial sense which they have already expressed, in their vote of the 20th of May, 1794, of the distinguished merit and services of sir Charles Grey, and sir John Jervis, in the conquest of the French islands.”

C H A P. VIII.

Expedition under Victor Hughes—The French reconquer Guadalupe—Campaign in St. Domingo.

THE British cross now floated in triumph on several of the strong holds of St. Domingo, and ruled with undisputed sway in every other island of the West-Indian Archipelago. France, subjected to so many and such violent convulsions in the centre of her European territories, appeared languid at the extremities, and the colonies at this moment seemed to have been disjoined for ever from her empire. But it was soon apparent, that the energy of the revolutionary government was not confined to one hemisphere, and that the countries between the tropics, notwithstanding their distance, were not wholly exempt from the operations of that spirit of enterprise which at this moment distinguished the leaders of the popular party.

WHILE the English commanders, lulled into a false security by the facility with which the conquest of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadalupe, was achieved, had dispatched a reinforcement to St. Domingo, and were publishing proclamations enforcing military contributions on the new subjects of Britain, the French government with some difficulty fitted out a feeble armament for the West Indies. This was composed of only two frigates, two forty-four-gun ships armed *en flute*, and incapable of much resistance, a corvette, and two transports, the whole of which did not contain above fifteen hundred troops. But the chief strength of this little squadron consisted in a simple decree of the national convention, which, by recognising the principles of universal justice, con-

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ferred liberty on all the slaves in the colonies. But if the law in question was admirably contrived to effect the purpose for which it was intended, the commissioner by whom it was to be enforced must be allowed to have been equally well calculated for deriving every possible advantage from so extraordinary a measure. This was Victor Hughes, a man fitted by nature for desperate enterprises, and favoured upon the present occasion by a combination of circumstances singularly auspicious; for general Dundas, the governour of Guadaloupe, died about this period, of the yellow fever; colonel Clos, the second in command, was seized at the same time with a disease that proved mortal; while the troops were thinned by contagion, and the inhabitants disaffected to the English government in consequence of recent events. The people of colour too could not easily forget that beneficent but perhaps premature law, which had rendered them the equals of the white inhabitants; and the negroes, glorying in a principle congenial to and closely interwoven with the texture of the human frame, hailed the decree of emancipation with rapture, and joyfully rallied round the cap of liberty now hoisted as a standard.

Its arrival at
Guadaloupe.
[June 3.]

THE French squadron having escaped all the English cruisers in a most extraordinary manner, arrived at Pointe-à-Petre, after a passage of forty-one days from Rochefort, landed a body of troops near the village of Gozier in the course of the same night, and prepared for an immediate attack.

IN the mean time, many of the French planters stationed within the fort, being ignorant of the force as well as of the ultimate intentions of the enemy, proposed to march out and surprise them, with a view of cutting off their communication with the disaffected inhabitants in the colony, and driving them back to their ships. On this, the commandant having permitted them to assemble one hundred and eighty volunteers, the party sallied forth at eight o'clock in the evening; but on being unexpectedly discovered, a general panick seized on the unhappy royalists, who

recollecting that if they escaped from the fire they would be exposed to the guillotine of the republicans, betook themselves to flight, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of the English officer *, by whom they were commanded, to rally them.

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ENCOURAGED by this unfortunate event, as well as by the junction of a number of negroes and mulattoes, naturally allured by the hopes of freedom, Victor Hughes determined to advance against Pointe-à-Petre, and attempt it by storm. He accordingly began his march about midnight, and at one o'clock in the morning the English commenced their operations by a discharge of grape-shot, from one twenty-four pounder and two field-pieces, which obliged the assailants to slacken their career. But, notwithstanding this was accompanied and followed by a heavy fire of musquetry, they again pressed forward, on which the remainder of the French royalists, aware of the fate reserved for them, ran in crowds to the gate, and abandoned the place. After resisting two successive attacks, lieutenant-colonel Drummond, with his feeble garrison, composed partly of British merchants and seamen, and amounting to about three hundred, finding himself overpowered by the numbers and fury of the assailants, withdrew into Fort Louis, whence he proceeded to Petit Canal, and soon after embarked with the remainder of his followers, now reduced to about forty, with whom he escaped to Basse-Terre. On this the enemy obtained possession of Fort Gouvernement, the town of Pointe-à-Petre, and the whole of that part of the island called Grand Terre †.

Pointe-à-Petre stormed.
[June 6.]

IN the mean time the British commanders by sea and land had actually embarked, and were about to sail from St. Kitt's for England, when they received the intelligence, equally unpleasing and unexpected, of the arrival of an armament from France. On this,

* Captain M'Dowall of the 43d.

† See "An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies, in the Year 1794."

BOOK V. fir John Jervis, after dispatching a vessel to Martinico for reinforcements, and collecting some ships of war, immediately proceeded
 CHAP. VIII. 1794. to Guadaloupe, and arrived on the day after the evacuation. On learning the state of affairs, he anchored off Pointe-à-Petre, and blockaded the French squadron, while fir Charles Grey proceeded to Basse-Terre*, where he collected a force from the

* *Extract of a letter from fir Charles Grey to Mr. Secretary Dundas; dated Guadaloupe, the 11th June, 1794.*

AFTER brigadier-general Whyte had sailed for Jamaica and Saint Domingo, with the 22d, 23d, and 41st battalions, and was followed by lieutenant-colonel Lenox with their flank companies, joined by those of the 35th regiment, I paid a visit, with the admiral, from Martinico to St. Lucia, where I found every thing going on very much to my satisfaction, under the command of brigadier-general fir Charles Gordon.—Soon after our return from thence we paid a visit to Guadaloupe, where all was proceeding in the same manner under the command of major-general Dundas.—We then went to Antigua, and I visited the works on the Ridge and Monkshill near English Harbour (of which I shall make my report when I return to England); at the same time the admiral inspected the dock-yard, stores, &c. at that place. Our next visit was to St. Christopher's, where I inspected the situation and works on Brimstone-hill, which I deem impregnable. At this island we received an express on the 4th instant, with the unwelcome news of the decease of major-general Dundas, who died of a fever at Guadaloupe, after a few days' illness; and in him his majesty and his country lose one of their bravest and best officers, and a most worthy man.—I, too, feel severely the loss of so able an assistant on this arduous service, and a valuable friend ever to be lamented.—Before day of the 5th, another express arrived at St. Christopher's from Guadaloupe, with intelligence that several sail of French line of battle ships, with frigates, transports, and two thousand land forces on board, had appeared off Pointe-à-Petre, Grand Terre, on the 3d instant. An express also arrived the same day from St. Domingo, with a letter from lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, by which it appears, that he had serious apprehensions for the safety of the troops under his command, unless speedily reinforced, as his numbers were so very much reduced by sickness and other causes; but the reinforcements I sent by brigadier-general Whyte and lieutenant-colonel Lenox, must have joined him long before his letter reached me, and will give him perfect security.

The admiral made immediate sail for Guadaloupe, and we reached Basse-Terre in the afternoon of the 7th instant, receiving further intelligence that the enemy had landed, forced Fort Fleur d'Épée before day of the 6th instant, and were actually in possession of it, with Fort Louis, Fort Gouvernement, the town of Pointe-à-Petre, &c. and their shipping anchored in the harbour. I landed immediately at Basse-Terre, and the admiral proceeded with the ships of war to Point-à-Petre, where he anchored at noon of the 8th instant, during which I continued visiting the posts, and giving the necessary orders at Basse-Terre; and in

neighbouring colonies, at the town of Petit-Bourg, for the re-BOOK V.
duction of Grand Terre, and the islands of St. Christopher and CHAP. VIII.
Antigua, alarmed at recent events, raised a considerable body 1794.
of volunteers to assist in the expedition.

IN the mean time a night attack under brigadier-general Dun-Operations of
das, on the post of St. Jean or Gabarie, in which brevet-major the British
Ross of the 31st regiment distinguished himself, seemed to give a commander.
[June 13.]
prelude of future success; and every thing being at length pre-
pared for the re-conquest of Grand Terre, a landing was effected
under cover of two frigates, at Ance Canot, the grenadiers being
led by lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and the light infantry by lieu-
tenant-colonel Gomm. On this the French abandoned Gozier, [June 19.]
and assumed a position that commanded the road to Fort Fleur
d'Épée, whence an attempt was made to dislodge them during the
night; but this proved unsuccessful, in consequence of the troops [June 25.]
disobeying orders, and recurring to the fire of their muskets,
instead of trusting solely to the bayonet. The enemy, however,
were attacked on all sides two days after, and driven along a [June 27.]
chain of high and woody grounds to Morne Mascot, where they
again rallied, but on being charged, they retired into the fort.

NEVERTHELESS it now became evident, that the war in this
colony had assumed a very different complexion from what it
formerly exhibited, and that the present leader, fearless of danger,

the evening of the 9th following I returned to the Boyne, to concert measures with the
admiral for regaining Pointe-à-Petre and Grande Terre. We have sent to the different
islands to collect all the force that can be spared, in particular the flank companies, part of
whom are already arrived; and as every effort shall be made on our part, at the same time
that we can thoroughly depend on the bravery and exertions of our troops and seamen, I
hope soon to render a good account of this second expedition, having their ships completely
blocked up within the inner harbour, which are now found to consist of two frigates, one
corvette, two large ships, appearing to be armed en flute, and two other ships within land
so that it cannot be exactly discovered what they are. Their troops consist of about one
thousand five hundred men, joined by some mulattoes and negroes, since landing of course."

BOOK V. and strengthened with a decree of emancipation, was far more
 CHAP. VIII. formidable than either Collot or Rochambeau, who had not ob-
 1794. tained the confidence of the inhabitants, and whose attachment to
 the cause of the republick was always considered as equivocal.

RECURRING to the mode of successive engagements practised
 by his countrymen in Europe, in the course of the very evening
 in which they had been last defeated, the French commissioner
 sallied out at the head of a motley army of blacks, mulattoes,
 and whites, and attacked the post occupied by colonel Fisher on
 Morne Mascot, under cover of the guns of Fleur d'Epée. But
 notwithstanding they were worsted upon this occasion also, they
 persevered with amazing obstinacy, and two days after advanced
 [June 29.] with a field-piece, to the number one thousand five hundred men,
 assuming a more regular appearance than before, the people of
 colour being by this time clothed in the national uniform; the
 bayonets of the English, however, once more drove them from
 the heights with considerable slaughter.

Attack on the
 town of
 Pointe-à-
 Petre.
 [July 2.]

THE British commander, encouraged by these successes on one
 hand, and urged by the approach of the hurricane season on the
 other, determined to finish the campaign by one bold and brilliant
 manœuvre, in which was displayed all his former zeal, unac-
 companied however with any of his former good fortune.
 Having concerted the necessary measures, brigadier-general Symes
 received orders to advance from Morne Mascot, and assault the
 town. He accordingly proceeded with a body of infantry, and the
 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by captain Robertson, who
 stormed Pointe-à-Petre before day-break; but by a mistake on the
 part of the guides they entered at the strongest side, and were
 soon overpowered by the enemy, who commenced an attack
 upon them with round and grape shot, as well as small arms, in
 the course of which the commanding officer and brigadier-general
 Fisher were both wounded, as well as lieutenant-colonel

Gomm, and captain Robertson of the navy, two meritorious officers. The complete failure of this attempt, in all probability, prevented the termination of the war in Guadaloupe, as sir Charles Grey had made preparations, in case of success, for the storm of fort Fleur d'Épée; but he was now obliged to relinquish the meditated attack, and even to detach a body of troops under captain Stewart, as well as a party of seamen from the Boyne, under lieutenant Woolley, to cover the retreat of the unfortunate division.

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NOR did the disaster terminate here, for in the course of that very night it was found necessary to retire to Gozier, to march one part of the forces by Petit-Bourg to Berville, and to embark the remainder; which was happily effected without the loss of a single man, under the direction of rear-admiral Thompson. After this, the commander in chief occupied the ground between St. John's point and Mahault bay with his whole force; he also erected batteries of heavy artillery, as well as of mortars, at Point Saron and Point St. John, opposite Pointe-à-Petre, whence he attempted to destroy both the town and the shipping, while the gun-boats belonging to the fleet were incessantly employed in battering the forts at Pointe-à-Petre and La Fleur d'Épée; but by this time the French commissioner, although not a military man, had concentrated his strength, and made such able dispositions, as soon gave him a decided superiority. He had also recourse to energetick proclamations, in which, while he detailed the benefits conferred by the convention *, he at the same

The English troops are forced to retreat.

* "LIBERTY AND EQUALITY..

" *Extract of the decree of the National Convention of the 25th Pluviose, the 2d year of the French Republick, one and indivisible.*

"THE national convention declares that negro slavery in all the colonies is abolished; and consequently that all men without distinction of colour domiciliated in the colonies are French citizens, and entitled to all the rights confirmed by the constitution. It enjoins

BOOK V. time inflamed the courage and aroused the hopes of those devoted
 CHAP. VIII. to a cause which he had so ably and so successfully supported. In
 1794. an animated address to the republicans belonging to the sea and land
 Extraor- forces *, he reminded them that the Romans, when reduced to the
 dina talents of the French
 commissi-
 oner.

the committee of Publick Safety constantly to report on the measures to be taken to secure the execution of the present decree.

“ Examined by the Inspectors, &c.

“ Signed, &c. &c.

To the above extract was subjoined the following proclamation, by the commissaries who accompanied the expedition.

“ CITIZENS,

“ A REPUBLICAN government is not supported by chains, nor slavery! The national convention, therefore, has proceeded solemnly to decree liberty to the negroes: and to intrust the mode of putting the law in force to the commissaries whom they have delegated in the colonies. It is necessary then to attend to the natural emancipation and civil organisation of this body. First, To a proper equality; without which the political machine is like a clock whose pendulum has lost its equilibrium and action. Secondly, an administration general and particular, which shall guarantee property already accumulated, and the produce of labour and industry.

“ Citizens of all colours! your happiness depends upon this law, and its execution. The delegates of the nation guarantee to you a system which will be the safeguard of all the friends of the French republick, against those who have already oppressed, and wish again to oppress them. But it is necessary that the white citizens shall give cordially and fraternally a competent salary for the work of their black, and other brethren of colour; and it is also necessary that the latter should learn, and never forget, that those who have no property are obliged to labour for their own subsistence, and that of their families; and contribute with the rest, by this mean, to the support of their country.

“ Citizens, you are not to become equal but to enjoy happiness, and let all partake of it. He that is an oppressor of his fellow-citizens is a monster, that ought to be immediately banished from human society! The delegates of the nation order all administrative bodies, municipalities, armed forces, and all individuals, to put into execution the law proclaimed at the head of these presents without delay; and they depend upon the loyalty of all individuals for the safety of the French Republick, and put under the protection of the law all citizens, their property, and the produce of their industry and labour whatever it may be.

“ They order the seal to be affixed to the publication of the present law and proclamation, at Pointe-à-Petre, in the island of Guadaloupe, the 19th Prairial, 2d year of the French republick, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

“ PIERRE CHRETIENNE.

“ VICTOR HUGUES.”

* Dated “ at Port de la Liberté (heretofore Pointe-à-Petre), 1st day of Thermidor, 2d year of the French republick, one and indivisible (July 19, 1794).

capitol, emerged to liberty more terrible than before; and that although few in number, and destitute of generals, they had vanquished armies and exhibited to the universe a spectacle worthy of admiration. He represented the late conquest made by the English as an enterprize of no difficulty, because the French islands at that period contained none but masters and slaves; he retorted the charge of cruelty on the enemy; and, exaggerating his recent victory, asserted that "one republican battalion, two frigates, and three transports, had defeated a British admiral with six ships of the line, twelve frigates, and eight sloops of war, together with a general at the head of twelve battalions, and a horde of aristocrats; while not a single republican had been made prisoner, during a combat of forty days."

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"YOUR resolution in remaining at your post," continues he, "notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, in spite of the bombs and red-hot balls which they incessantly discharged upon us for a whole month, has excited their admiration; not a complaint has been raised against you; you have respected property, in a country conquered and taken by assault, although immense wealth had been exposed to your view. You have thrown no person into mourning; you have caused no tears to flow; no mother has demanded of you her slaughtered son; no wife her butchered husband; no children their murdered father."

By this time the admiral and general, unable to counteract the efforts of a man who contrived to arm both master and slave in one common cause, had retired to Martinico, whence they in vain solicited succours from England. Until these should arrive, a defensive system of warfare was adopted, and it was hoped that the naval force stationed at the Salée would render Basse-Terre secure from invasion. But these calculations proved fallacious, for this resolute and persevering enemy, by eluding the vigilance of the English shipping, effected the passage during a dark night, [Sept. 27.] and made two different landings, the one at Goyave, and the

BOOK V. other at Lamentin. After seizing on Petit-Bourg, where, under
 CHAP. VIII. pretence of retaliating former outrages, many of the sick and
 1794. wounded were basely put to death, they advanced to Point
 Progrès of the French. Bacchus, unfortunately intercepting colonel Drummond and a
 party of Frenchmen, and obtained possession of the heights in the
 neighbourhood of the English camp, which had been established
 at a plantation called Berville, the property and residence of a
 colonist, unfriendly to the republican cause.

THE troops, consisting of near six hundred regulars and roy-
 alists, were commanded by brigadier-general Colin Graham, who
 repulsed three separate attacks on the part of the enemy ; but they
 [Sept. 29.] returned to the charge with unshaken resolution, and, by means
 of their batteries, not only annoyed the English posts, but also
 the men-of-war ; nor did the arrival of a veteran admiral change
 the face of affairs, for he was fired at with red-hot shot from
 an eminence, and completely foiled in his attempt to succour the
 troops, which were now regularly invested and besieged. At
 length numbers and enthusiasm prevailed, for on finding that he
 was cut off from all communication with the shipping, and re-
 duced to one hundred and twenty-five rank and file fit for duty,
 general Graham reluctantly consented to capitulate, and the Bri-
 tish troops were allowed the honours of war. But he was unable
 to obtain an amnesty for the white and free people of colour,
 although they had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannick
 majesty, and could only procure the privilege of a covered boat,
 in which he conveyed some of the principal royalists *, to a place
 of safety ; while the remainder, who had proposed to cut their
 way through the ranks of their countrymen, either suffered as

Surrender of
 the camp at
 Berville.
 [Oct. 6.]

* One of the chiefs finding that his three brothers were not to be admitted into the covered boat, granted by Article II. of the capitulation, is said to have shot himself with a pistol in the presence of the English general.

rebels by the guillotine, or experienced a more cruel death from the musquetry of the motley army that had made them prisoners.

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IN consequence of this unfortunate event, the whole of the island of Guadeloupe, one post only excepted, was restored to the French, in whose favour the militia, conscious of the fate that awaited their disobedience, now declared; and general Prescott, who commanded at Fort Matilda, finding his cannon dismounted, and that even the Boyne and other men-of-war, which had repaired to his assistance, were occasionally obliged to sheer off from the gun and mortar batteries, after protracting the siege for near a month, deemed it prudent to evacuate the place during the night, which was accordingly effected without loss, under the superintendence of captain Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, who was wounded upon this occasion.

Fort Matilda
evacuated.
[Dec. 10.]

THUS, in consequence of the exertions of a single individual, aided by a small force from the mother country, and armed with a decree of a few lines annulling slavery, Guadeloupe was restored to France; and when it is recollected, that although uninstructed in the art of war, he completely baffled the activity, enterprise, and professional skill, of two of the ablest commanders in the service of Great Britain, it is but candid to add, that if the humanity of Victor Hughes had been as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present age.

WHILE the British cause was by turns triumphant and unprosperous in Guadeloupe, fortune seemed for a time to smile propitious in St. Domingo, where nearly the whole of the peninsula of Tiburon had submitted to lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. Until a sufficient force should arrive in that colony from England to attempt effective operations, it was deemed proper by the British commander to have recourse to negotiation; and he accordingly sent a letter by a flag of truce to general Levaux, in which, after observing that the unhappy state of France ren-

Unsuccessful
attempts to
corrupt Le-
vaux.

BOOK V. dered it impracticable to transmit succours to that ill-fated country,
 CHAP. VIII. he proposed to extend his majesty's protection to him, provided
 1794. he would deliver up the town and forts of Port de Paix; and
 as a further inducement, he offered the sum of five thousand
 crowns, either to be paid to him in person or deposited in the
 bank of England, provided he complied with his invitation.

BUT, although this attempt on the fidelity of the French commander proved unsuccessful, yet a very considerable accession had been made to the British dominions in this valuable colony, by the surrender of the parishes of St. Marc, Gonaives, Leogane,
 [Jan. 19.] Arcahaye, and Jean de Rabel, while Mirebalais had solicited the protection of the British flag, and a post was maintained at Boucassin, within fourteen miles of Port-au-Prince, the residence of the national commissioners; lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke also acquired possession soon after of the fort of Tiburon, which gave additional security to Grand Ance. This expedition took place early in the year; a detachment of troops having embarked under the protection of three frigates, in one of which captain Rowley attacked the fort with great gallantry; a landing was effected in the Ance du Mitan, by the flank companies commanded by major Spencer, who charged and routed the enemy, consisting of about five or six hundred negroes, and two hundred mulattoes and whites.

and Santho-
 max.

ADVANTAGE was now taken of the flourishing state of affairs, to propose a capitulation to Santhonax; but commodore Ford found all his advances rejected with disdain: the harbour of Port-au-Prince on this was immediately blockaded, and that so effectually as to preclude the entrance of any vessel whatever.

ON the arrival of brigadier-general Whyte, with a detachment of troops * originally destined for the other French islands,

* An Account of the number of men who, after the conquest of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, were detached to St. Domingo by sir Charles Grey :

that officer determined on extending the conquests of the Eng-BOOK V.
lish, notwithstanding Bomparde and several of the neighbouring CHAP.VIII.
parishes had lately deserted their cause. Having secured the 1794.
Mole by a chain of redoubts and fleches, he resolved to attack
Port-au-Prince, the capital of that portion of the island, which,
in addition to some national advantages, presented the prospect
of a rich booty arising from the ships in the harbour of that
town, where the commissioners were only supported by the re-
mains of a regiment, a few people of colour, and a body of
sailors *. In addition to nearly two thousand colonists, the
troops intended for the attack consisted of one thousand four
hundred and sixty-five rank and file, escorted by three men-of-
war, three frigates, and three sloops. A favourable opportunity [May 31.]
having presented itself, the fire of Fort Bizotton was silenced by
two line of battle ships and a frigate †; on which the troops
landed, and captain Daniel of the 41st regiment, with only sixty
men, taking advantage of a thunder storm, surprised and carried [June 1.]
the place. Major Handfield, assisted by a body of provincial
cavalry, having carried the post of Salines, advanced next day
and turned the batteries on the left, while another detachment, [June 2.]

The 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments, and the flank companies of the 35th regiment.

Note.—The 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments, embarked - 1,683 rank and file

Their flank companies, with those of the 35th regiment, embarked 518

2,201 Total.

No returns of their numbers, on their arrival in the Leeward Islands, were received from
sir Charles Grey; but as the three regiments were sent on to St. Domingo without being
landed at Guadaloupe, it is to be presumed that there was no material alteration in their
strength. The flank companies had been landed for a short time, but no statement has
been received of a diminution of their numbers.

* I am indebted for this information and a variety of other particulars, to an unpublished
pamphlet, by lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, inspector-general of the colonial troops in St.
Domingo.

† The *Belliqueux* and *Sceptre* attacked the sea front, while the *Penelope* anchored close
to the shore, and flanked a ravine.

BOOK V. proceeding along the road called the Charbonnier, threatened to
CHAP.VIII. surround the place. The main body of the English, however,

1794.

Capture of
Port-au-
Prince.
[June 4.]

had not as yet arrived, and the national commissioners, taking advantage of this interval, escaped in safety with their treasure towards Aux-Cayes; while on the other hand the merchantmen, consisting of twenty-two sail, laden with sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo, with nearly an equal number in ballast, fell a prey to the conquerours.

BUT in the West Indies, as in Europe, it was soon found that the occupation of so many places necessarily rendered the defence of each weak, and that extension only produced insecurity; for although captain Grant of the 13th regiment gallantly repulsed three distinct bodies of the enemy, after both himself and his two

Loss of Leogane,
[Oct.]
and
Tiburon.
[Dec. 30.]

lieutenants were wounded, yet the town and port of Leogane fell into the hands of the republicans, and the officer commanding at Tiburon was obliged in the course of a few weeks to evacuate that post.

C H A P. IX.

Situation of France at this Period of the War.

THE campaign of 1794-5, with an exception to the ocean and the Mediterranean where it was eminently disastrous, and to La Vendée where success still appeared equivocal, proved highly favourable to France, in every part of Europe. Several pitched battles, and a multitude of skirmishes, had not only restored all the fortresses on the northern frontier, but destroyed near one hundred thousand of her enemies, and subjugated many millions of inhabitants. Holland with her numerous fleets, her extensive commerce, and her wealthy merchants, readily submitted to her sway; Germany had been forced to yield the two ecclesiastical electorates of Cologne and Treves, the principality of Liege, the duchy of Deux Ponts, the bishopricks of Worms and Spire, and part of the palatinate; Prussia was unable to resume the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; from Italy had been wrested Nice, Monaco, all Savoy, and part of Piedmont; while Spain had not only lost the provinces of Guipuscoa and Catalonia, but was in some measure at the mercy of the conqueror.

BOOK V.
CHAP. IX.
1795.

Immense acquisitions of France.

NOR was her success destined to be any longer confined to her foreign enemies alone, for by this time numerous and victorious armies, led by able and experienced generals, were ready to pour in upon the devoted provinces, which had so long resisted the laws and the arms of the republic; while Robespierre and his accomplices, who by their sanguinary excesses had rendered the cause of the nation odious, were doomed to perish by an in-

BOOK V. strument hitherto exclusively employed to immolate the victims
 CHAP. IX. of their unceasing jealousy and suspicion.

1795.

AT this important period, when two kings* alone kept aloof from the general conflict, all Europe stood aghast at the progress made by France towards universal dominion, and at length began to perceive the impolicy of permitting a coalition of foreign nations to menace her infant liberties. By this time also, two of the courts most violent in their accusations against perfidy and injustice, after twice dismembering had finally divided Poland, while a third, that originally affected to take up arms to vindicate the general cause of nations and of kings, acceded to a compact of plunder which bereaved a people of their rights and even of their name, dethroned a lawful monarch, and rendered him a prisoner in the capital of a princess whose hands were said to have been embrued in the blood of a husband and a sovereign!

Effects produced by the French Revolution.

Domestic situation of England.

AT this awful epoch, most of the neighbouring potentates seem to have been alarmed for their own personal safety, and to have held in dread the increasing knowledge of the age. Such was their scrupulous jealousy, that in some countries clubs of all kinds were prohibited; literary societies were abolished; learning, science, and superiour abilities, became objects of suspicion. Even in Britain, the upper ranks of society, partly influenced by the donatives so profusely bestowed in the shape of honours, pensions, and employments, and partly terrified by the supposed atheism and acknowledged crimes of those who for a time had governed France, became jealous of the liberties of their native country. The greedy capitalist trembling for his wealth, the rapacious courtier panting after preferment, the new-made peer indignant at beholding the growing contempt of titles, the ancient no-

* Those of Denmark and Sweden.

bility mortified to think that talents began to be preferred to blood,—all these, under the seductive appellation of a *strong government*, sighed after something approximating to an absolute monarchy. The distresses of the people too began to be alarming; parochial relief could not extend to all their wants; publick subscriptions were resorted to, on purpose to equalise the price of labour with the price of provisions; and England, whose sturdy peasantry had hitherto been the reproach of other nations, was soon threatened with a degree of degradation approaching to the Helotism of ancient Sparta.

BOOK V.
CHAP. IX.
1795.

NOR was this the only mischief, for the *Habeas Corpus* act had been suspended, and the prisons were crowded with men accused of disaffection and treason. Conspiracies more frequent and more strange than those that once actuated the fertile brain of Titus Oates, were supposed to have been hatched, and the meal-tub plot during the reign of Charles II. was surpassed in novelty and extravagance by the pop-gun machinations against George III.

IN Scotland, political opinions were punished by banishment to distant and inhospitable regions; in England several unsuccessful attempts were made to render them capital: but what was still more terrible, seclusion, as in the time of the Stuarts, began to be practised on those accused of delinquency against the government; and while the general voice yet applauded the destruction of the Bastille in France, a prison, which from an obvious similarity soon obtained that odious name, was reared in the vicinity of the British metropolis, and its police entrusted to a man who, according to report, was worthy of being provost to the palace to Louis XI. A young senator* of considerable promise exposed these malpractices in a manner that made a forcible impression upon the publick; and had he been properly

* Sir F. Burdett.

BOOK V. seconded by the opposition, the nuisance would have either been
 CHAP. IX. removed or abated.

1795.

BUT while the ministry, a prey perhaps to the terrors arising from their own unpopularity as well as from the nature of the contest in which they had engaged, were filling the gaols with the victims of suspicion, it must be allowed that they deserved credit for the energy with which they provided for the internal defence of a kingdom that now began in its turn to be menaced with invasion. Not only was the militia greatly augmented, but numerous volunteer and fencible *corps*, both of infantry and cavalry, were everywhere formed; batteries were erected, and companies of artillery trained along the coasts; while the immense superiority of the navy was every-where conspicuous, and the narrow seas, the Atlantick and Pacifick oceans, as well as the Mediterranean, beheld the triumph of our fleets.

EVERY idea of peace was, however, treated with the most supercilious contempt; and hopes were still entertained and propagated that a nation "not only on the brink but in the very gulph of bankruptcy" would soon be subjugated. "Indemnity for the past and security for the future" began to be the cry; and the matchless eloquence and enormous expenditure of the premier threatened alike to protract the contest. All motions of a pacifick tendency in the course of this session of parliament were accordingly negatived; and even a proposition to give some relief to the burdens of the people, by taxing all places and pensions above 200*l.* per annum, during the continuance of the war, was treated with contempt.

Characters of
the ministers.

THE ministry, a motley composition, formed from different parties, and notoriously professing different sentiments relative to the conduct of the war, whether victorious or vanquished, either in the senate or in the field, constantly maintained triumphant majorities. To Mr. Dundas, a man who had appertained by turns to all parties, and who is said by a rare union of contra-

rieties, to have joined a love of domestick conviviality to a scrupulous attention to publick business, was confided the department of the war. BOOK V.
CHAP. IV.
1795.

THE duke of Portland was reproached with exercising the individual office he had before condemned as unconstitutional, and with having about this period profited by the renewal of certain valuable crown leases, which had been long possessed by his family; but he was a nobleman of great weight and consequence, and his defection from the opposition bench gave both credit and stability to his former opponents.

LORD GRENVILLE, the son of a minister* during whose administration the fatal project for taxing the American colonies had been broached, and the nephew of a popular peer† who in the person of Mr. Wilkes had defended the violated rights of every British subject, was entrusted with the department of foreign affairs. He possessed extensive information and research, and strenuously defended his party and his principles from all attacks in the house of which he had lately become a member; but he was thought at times to exhibit a degree of haughtiness scarcely compatible with the established customs of a limited monarchy.

THE earl of Chatham, the elder brother of the premier, having been bred to the profession of arms, and but little accustomed to the fatigues of office, gladly exchanged, about this period, the department of naval affairs, for the less arduous situation of president of the council-board. His successor‡, a nobleman in whose praise all parties have constantly united, acquired great popularity in the exercise of his new functions; and the British fleets, during his administration, obtained many brilliant and important victories.

* Hon. G. Grenville.

† Earl Temple.

‡ Lord Spencer.

APPENDIX.

A. Introduction, page liii.

IT is evident, from the uniform tenor of history, that France enjoyed for ages the advantages of a mixed government. Indeed, the checks upon the royal prerogative appear to have been more numerous there, perhaps, than in any other country of Europe. The first counterpoise I shall here notice consisted of the possessors of fiefs, called *noblesse de l'épée*, who, in the early periods of the monarchy, were accustomed to make war upon each other, and even upon their kings, with impunity.

It appears plain that hereditary nobility is comparatively of modern date in Europe, and that it can be traced no higher in France than to the first prince of the Capetian race : "We must not omit making mention of the *cunning device*," says Hotoman, "recurred to by Hugh Capet, on purpose to establish himself in his own dominion : for whereas all the magistracies and honours of the kingdom, such as dukedoms, earldoms, &c. had been hitherto, from ancient times, conferred upon select and deserving persons in the general conventions of the people, and were held only *during good behaviour*, whereof (as the lawyers express it) they were but beneficiaries ; Hugh Capet, in order to secure to himself the affections of the great men, was the first who made those honours perpetual, which formerly were but temporary, and ordained, that such as obtained them should have a hereditary right in them, and might leave them to their children and posterity, in like manner as their other estates. Of this, see *Franciscus Conanus* the Civilian, *Comment. 2. cap. 9.* By which notorious fact it is plain, that a great branch of the authority of the publick council was torn away ; which, however (to any man who seriously considers the circumstances of the times), seems impossible to have been effected by him alone, without the consent of that great council itself." *Franco-Gall. Hotomani. cap. 16.*

The celebrated answer of the viscount of Perigueaux to Hugh Capet, when the latter ordered him to raise the siege of Tours, and asked him who made him a noble? plainly designates the source whence titles were derived; for we are told by Mezeray that the reply was—"Non pas vous, mais ceux qui vous ont fait roi"—Not you, but those who made yourself a king. This taunting answer, in addition to the continuance of the siege and the capture of the place notwithstanding the king's menace, have been frequently quoted to prove that the spirit of the nobility was not yet humbled.

During the reign of Charles XI. the great vassals of the crown, consisting principally of the dukes of Bourbon, Alençon, Nemours, the counts of Armagnac, St. Pol, Dunois, Dammartin, &c. combined against that monarch in 1465, in the same manner that the English barons associated in opposition to king John. This produced the contest, called "the war of the publick good;" during which the insurgents insisted on an assembly of the states-general. But in the subsequent agreement that took place with the king, nothing was stipulated for in behalf of the people; a circumstance that has given occasion for wonder, on the part of Robertson, and other historians: but the reason appears evident; as the count de Charlois, who was at the head of the league, had a separate interest from the nation, and even the nobility of France, he being himself the son of the duke of Burgundy, a sovereign prince, to whose subjects any concession similar to that granted by our Great Charter would have obviously afforded a precedent for similar favours.

As the pensions granted during the reign of Charles VII. had first influenced, so the bloody proscriptions that took place towards the latter end of the life of Louis XI. entirely subdued, the spirit of the French nobility: they indeed, in some measure, resumed their influence during the civil wars; but the policy of Richelieu finally subjugated them.

They were at length seduced from their castles, became accustomed to reside at court, and appeared proud to wear the livery and execute certain menial offices about the person of their sovereign, provided they were accompanied by sounding names and suitable appointments. It is not to be doubted also, but that the immense number, although it contributed to render them powerful as a body, yet detracted from their individual consequence.

Philip the Hardy was the first monarch who granted letters of nobility, having commenced this innovation in the person of Ralph, a goldsmith; titles afterwards became venal, were annexed to offices, and purchased by the lowest plebeians as exemptions from taxation. Circumstances so notorious not only brought the nobles into discredit, but they were looked upon with an evil eye by the people, as enjoying many peculiar advantages, and contributing nothing to the burdens of the state. It must be allowed, that at the period of the revolu-

tion, many of the higher classes, by their knowledge, their virtues, and their talents, had rendered themselves estimable: they lamented, and often suffered by, the despotism of the court; but it was in their capacity of *peers* only, and as connected with the parliament, that they served of late years to operate in the smallest degree as a restraint even on the worst ministers.

As to the dignified clergy, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, &c. with a very few exceptions they were devoted to the court, and never sided with the people. During the reign of Philip *le Bel* attempts were made to resist the usurpations of the see of Rome; and the *concordat* afterwards obtained by Francis I., as well as those claims termed the *rights* of the Gallican church, added greatly to the power of the monarchy, by the privilege of bestowing mitres, &c. and thus either exciting the hopes, or securing the gratitude, of ecclesiastical candidates. They were not exempt, like the nobility, from taxes; (these, however, were granted by themselves, under the name of *benevolences*); but they contrived to throw the greater part of the burden upon the inferior pastors, which irritated the latter, and was the reason, perhaps, why they not only deserted their order at the meeting of the states, but engaged in the schism that ensued.

The next body I shall here mention as a check on the ancient kings is the university of Paris, the students of which amounted sometimes to 30,000, while its commissioners were often summoned to the assemblies of the notables, and even presented remonstrances of their own accord to the reigning prince. During the time of Charles VI., according to Mezeray, this corporation acted an important part in reforming the state, and bringing corrupt ministers to justice; while Louis XI. selected six members out of this body to constitute part of the eighteen counsellors, by whom he *promised* to be regulated.

But Louis XII. not only curtailed the privileges of the university, but, after stifling an insurrection occasioned by that event, banished the rector. We behold its members, however, remonstrating against the *concordat*, in the reign of Francis I.; and in that of Henry III. the faculty of divinity declared, that the French were discharged from the oath of fidelity to Henry de Valois, and might take up arms against him.

This same body afterwards passed a decree against Henry IV. which was rescinded, and it gradually fell into insignificance in a political point of view; we find the rector, however, sitting in the late national assembly, although he seems to have acted no very conspicuous part.

The next class that possessed any sway in the state was the notables, who were convoked occasionally, and always nominated by the king. In 1413, during the reign of Charles VI., an assembly was called, consisting of members of the

three orders, for the express purpose of reforming the state. In 1440 we find Charles VII. summoning another at Orleans; the same was done by Francis I., in 1583 by Henry III., and in 1596 by Henry IV. Besides these, others were occasionally convoked, even in our own times, but they never appear to have been of any efficient service.

Two great bodies still remain to be noticed, which served to curb the regal prerogative in a far more effectual manner than any of those as yet alluded to. The first of these was the grand national council, which was accustomed to assemble yearly. The king constantly presided on these occasions, and it was then only, according to Hotoman, that the term of *Royal Majesty* was applied to the prince; nor was this affected by any monarch in his private capacity previously to the time of Louis XI.

Under the two first races of kings the genius of the government was of a mixed or limited nature; partaking of monarchy in the person of the king, of aristocracy in the body of the nobles, and of democracy in the class of freemen, or their representatives. It is clear, that even under Charlemagne the national assembly was consulted by that monarch; and it would appear from the capitularies still extant, that the prince could not withhold his assent from what was proposed and established in the great council.

After the creation of a hereditary nobility by Hugh Capet, the general assembly seems to have fallen into disuse for the space of three centuries, until the reign of *Philip le Bel*: about the middle of the eleventh, the kings of the third race began to issue *ordinances* for their own domains; but it was not until 1190, in the reign of Philip Augustus, that these acts of legislation were extended throughout the whole kingdom.

The manner in which the deputies of the cities were called to those assemblies, in 1301, has already been mentioned. It would appear, from the circumstance of having been convoked in the church of *Notre Dame*, that the various orders met and deliberated in common. Certain it is, that in all the feudal kingdoms of Europe this was originally the custom; the *freemen*, or their representatives, having met in one body, in the open air. In England, the separation of the lords and commons is not of a very ancient date; and in Scotland, as is well known, they assembled in the same hall until the time of the union.

Each of the three orders was accustomed to appear in a particular dress or *costume*: that of the nobles was magnificent, consisting of robes richly embroidered; the higher clergy were decked out in the habits of their respective stations, all of which contributed to inspire awe; while the third estate, the members of which had been mostly lawyers in the time of *Philip le Bel*, were seen even in 1789 in the black cloaks and long cravats appertaining to that profession.

During the two first races, the national assemblies possessed the legislative power, but the states-general presented the *CAHIERS*, or injunctions of their respective balliages, which contained what were termed their *doleances*, or complaints. To redress these, the king was accustomed to issue edicts; the commons of France, like those of England, proceeding on petition, with this material difference, that the initiative in the former kingdom was vested in, or assumed by, the executive power.

The number of members of which the whole or each of the orders was to consist, appears to have been indeterminate. The states-general convoked at Paris in 1355 contained eight hundred, and half of these were deputies from towns; in 1616 the latter constituted no more than one-third of the assembly, which appears to have been eclipsed by the parliament of Paris, and to have performed nothing to make the nation regret its discontinuance. In 1789 the members amounted to about a thousand, a body far too numerous to debate in common with any degree of regularity or effect; and of these, the third estate was equal to the other two united, which gave it a decided preponderance.

The reign of king John is the epoch at which the states-general may be said to have flourished; but notwithstanding the efforts of the bishop of Laon, the intrigues of Marcel provost of Paris, and the writings of Bodin, who ingeniously discriminated between a revolution and a rebellion, the leaders were never able to unite and arm the people in their cause, as was done in England by the long parliament during the reign of Charles I.

The most formidable opposition on the part of the states, in former times, occurred during the reign of Henry III.; and on this occasion they were assisted by the faculty of divinity of the university of Paris: it is allowed too, that they pointed towards democracy; but two or three of the great cities only, such as Paris, Orleans, &c. associated.

The kings of France recurred to a variety of means in order to render the assembling of the states unnecessary; and the Valois branch of the Capetian family, being in possession of larger domains than their predecessors, were enabled to obtain the object of their wishes. It was also common to recur to a number of what were no doubt considered as unconstitutional expedients: such as the assembling of the notables during the time of Louis XII. and Francis I., who were usually divided into three chambers, with a view of representing the three orders of the community, in whose name they were supposed to grant subsidies; the application to particular states for grants, instead of the general ones, as was done by the dauphin in 1356, when he obtained the consent of Provence alone; &c.

Another, and indeed an almost infallible, mode was recurred to, particularly of late years; that of deliberating and deciding by *orders*, and not by the total amount.

of votes; for the nobility and clergy, or at least a great majority of them, being devoted to the court, it necessarily followed that their two chambers *concluded* that of the third-estate or commons*.

The states-general, so powerful according to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, at length dwindled into such insignificance, that the queen-mother, during the minority of Charles IX., being jealous, like our Elizabeth, of their debates relative to "state matters," actually asked for, and obtained, a decree from the council, prohibiting the deputies from intermeddling in the affairs of government: Mezeray indeed observes, with some degree of indignation, that from the time of John they had done nothing but grant subsidies.

It is a fact, however, no less singular than interesting, that the expences of that very army which made the late monarchs of France independent of the states-general for near two centuries, laid the foundation of the immense debt that rendered their convocation in 1789 in a great measure inevitable: neither ought it to be omitted, that a consciousness of their usurpation over this body appears at particular times to have actuated some of the most tyrannical kings who have ever governed France; for Charles VII. and Louis XI., according to both Mezeray and Commynes, advised their sons to levy no more subsidies than had been granted by the states; and even Louis XIV. seems to have entertained scruples about the edict concerning the tenths.

Philip de Commynes, who wrote his Memoirs in the time of Charles VIII., was so impressed with the idea that the people alone could grant taxes, that he asks, "if there be any king or prince upon earth who has power (unless it be from his own domains) to raise one penny, but by the consent of the subject who is to pay it, without recurring to tyranny and violence?" And Hotoman, in his celebrated work, written in 1573, after mentioning that even during the tyrannical reign of Louis XI. thirty-six curators, or guardians of the commonwealth, were chosen for the purpose of enquiring into and redressing grievances, concludes thus: "Upon the whole, it is evident, that it is not yet a hundred years complete since the liberties of Franco-Gallia, and the authority of its *annual general council*,

* The duke of Luxembourg, president of the *noblesse*, saw the effect of this when he advised the king not to permit the *union of the three orders*: "Votre majesté n'ignore pas quel degré de puissance l'opinion publique & les droits de nation décernent à ses représentans: elle est telle, cette puissance, que l'autorité souveraine elle-même dont vous êtes revêtu demeure comme muette en sa présence. Ce pouvoir sans bornes existe avec toute sa plénitude dans les états-généraux, de quelque matière qu'ils soient composés; mais leur division en trois chambres enchaîne leur action & conserve la vôtre. Réunis, il ne connoissent point de maître; divisés, ils sont vos sujets."

flourished in full vigour, and were exerted against a king of ripe years and great understanding; for he was then above fifty, and of such admirable parts, that none of our princes have equalled him. So it may be easily perceived, that our commonwealth, which was at first founded and established upon the principles of liberty, maintained itself in the same free and sound state (even by force of arms), against all the power of tyrants, for more than eleven hundred years."

Enough has been said to prove that France possessed a mixed or limited government, long antient to the Revolution of 1789.

B. *Introduction, page lvii.*

It seems evident that all the parliaments of the kingdom were modelled after that of Paris, either during the reign of, or posterior to the time of, *Philip le Bel*; those of Bourdeaux and Burgundy were instituted by Louis XI. in 1462 and 1476; those of Rouen and Aix by Louis XII.; and that of Brittany by Henry II.

But respecting the mother-parliament, as it may be termed, it is not so easy to trace its origin; for although Louis XVI., in the course of his disputes with that assembly, marked the epoch at which the other tribunals were first called into existence, yet he declined that task respecting this august body, which, according to some, existed in the times of Pepin and Charlemagne. Certain it is, that the court of peers, which constituted a part, was known at an early period of the monarchy. Hotoman asserts that this tribunal was created by the kings of the Capetian race, and on purpose to diminish the authority of the states-general.

Although a great enemy to this institution, he however allows it, among others, to possess the following privilege, which fully justifies that body in its strenuous opposition to the undue exercise of the royal prerogative: "that none of the king's edicts should have any effect, unless the counsellors of parliament had advised and approved of them." *Franco-Gallia*, cap. xxi. Even many of those who doubted the right of resistance on the part of the parliament were not averse from beholding any power invested with the means of bridling the royal authority, when it aimed at oppression; and one author expressly justifies it, on the ground of its being a less evil curbing a greater one: "*Comme le despotisme, cause à la nature humaine des maux effroyables, le mal même qui le limite est un bien.*"

The parliaments of France, particularly that of Paris, exercised for ages great power and influence; and if it was originally intended, as some of the French authors assert, to be an instrument of oppression which might be occasionally wielded against the people, it undoubtedly failed in its operation; for it frequently served as the only check on the throne, and at length contributed to its overthrow.

Against such a prince as Charles XI., who had notoriously violated the constitu-

tion, and governed by means of soldiers and executioners, it was impossible to oppose the authority of the laws ; but on his death, the count de Meulanc, one of his favourites, better known by the name of *Oliver le Diable*, which an historian somewhat quaintly considers as " more suitable to the nature of the beast," was tried before the parliament of Paris, and executed in consequence of its sentence ; while Doyac, the governor of Auvergne, was condemned by the same tribunal to lose his ears and be whipt.

During the reign of Francis I. we find the parliaments acting in opposition both to the court of Rome and the inclinations of the reigning monarch ; and notwithstanding the *concordat* which had given rise to this dispute was registered, it clearly appears to have been done by an exertion of absolute authority.

The king's advocate in the parliament of Provence was executed in consequence of a sentence of the parliament of Paris, during the reign of Henry II. ; and the punishment of a man convicted of massacring the protestants, as well as the refusal to register the cruel edict of *Chateau Briand* against the same sect, contributed to inspire the nation with a high idea of its power and justice ; nor was this diminished by a sturdy opposition to the guilty ministers of the same monarch.

Under Charles IX. we find the parliament asserting its dignity, and boldly affirming, in the presence even of this king, that it represented the states-general of the kingdom. The edict issued by Henry IV. for the restoration of the Jesuits, was opposed by the same body ; and during the minority of Louis XIV. Mazarin found it resolute in the refusal to record certain taxes, which were at once odious and burdensome to the people. The opposition of the parliament of Paris, and those of the provinces, to the despotism of Louis XV. ; was still more open, regular, and determined. During one period of his reign, they triumphed over the king, the clergy, and the Jesuits ; the last of whom, chiefly in consequence of their enmity, ceased to exist as a body corporate in France. Towards the close of his life, the disputes between this dissolute prince and these tribunals were again revived ; in consequence of which new ones were instituted, and laws proclaimed rather than enforced.

When Louis XVI. ascended the throne, he found the parliament of Paris in exile, and was forced to give way to the current of public opinion, and issue orders for its restoration. His majesty was anxious, however, to circumscribe the power of the members, and render their remonstrances unavailing ; but their authority was too deeply rooted to be easily shaken, and, instead of lying prostrate before the power of the crown, they seemed to arise more vigorous after every fall.

On the dismissal of the first assembly of *notables*, the crown thought proper to recur to the former mode of raising money by means of the prerogative ; but as the stamp duty constituted part of the minister's plan, the parliament of Paris refused

to register it, and a long and portentous struggle ensued, in which the men of the robe displayed an unusual degree of eloquence and boldness, as may be seen from the following declaration :

“ Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris, presented to his Most Christian Majesty, against the Declaration of a Stamp Duty, on July 24, 1787.

“ A most respectful address, sire, together with the just alarms of the nation, has been humbly laid at the foot of the throne, by your majesty’s most dutiful and faithful parliament. The bare proposal of a duty on paper has alarmed every individual. After a glorious peace of five years, and a progressive increase of at least one hundred and thirty millions of livres in thirteen years, it seems as if the name of impost were never to come out of a beneficent monarch’s mouth, except in rendering it less onerous, or diminishing the number of those already existing. What was our surprise then, sire, when we were told that new taxes were projecting by the notables ; and that a new one, of a most distressing kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament !

“ The first reflection that naturally occurs at the very mention of a new duty, is to enquire into the actual state of the finances. What an administration must the last have been, if the evils that resulted from it required such a desperate remedy ! Your majesty must remember how we strove, in 1784 and 1785, to give you a faithful picture of the real situation of the state, which seemed then (or your ministry endeavoured to make it appear so) as if inclined to take a turn for the best ; but the truth was, that the state was more involved in difficulties than ever. Your parliament then, sire, did every thing in their power, but in vain, to set truth in its clearest light : some of your ministers had too great an interest to conceal it from your majesty ; all our humble remonstrances proved useless ; and there were some of your council who went so far as to make you suspect the purity of our patriotick intentions : the terrible situation of affairs, however, required a speedy and efficacious remedy. The notables, assembled by your majesty’s orders, have withdrawn the veil that covered that undermining administration ; a dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of the astonished nation ; an immense deficiency was visible in the treasury ; and every body hastened to propose the means of filling it up, and affording a speedy remedy. How grievous to your majesty’s paternal heart must such a discovery have been ! How must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors in which your ministers had long and purposely kept you !

“ Such is the consequence, sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons who are obnoxious to the nation in general : such is the great but sad example, that teaches monarchs how far they must respect the publick opinion, seldom su-

sceptible of error, because men united together rarely give or receive an impression contrary to truth. In point of administration, sire, the purest hands are hardly pure enough. A first condescension, or rather a first wrong step, leads to a second; no bounds can circumscribe the imprudent minister when once he swerves from his duty; successive abuses produce an utter confusion, and a fatal disorder; the deep wounds fixed in the constitution demand a remedy; and this, even when certain, will effect but a slow cure.

“ O let your majesty deign to pause a while on one of these salutary reflections, the importance of which has been acknowledged by all good monarchs! Evil may happen in a single instant, but whole years are scarce sufficient to repair the misfortunes it causes. The vices of an administration, or, which is the inevitable effect of them, the involuntary error of a just monarch, will forely distress whole generations.

“ It is not your parliament’s intention, sire, to grieve your majesty’s most sensible heart by expatiating at present on so affecting a subject, and recalling so unpleasant a thought; but it takes the liberty of humbly entreating your majesty to weigh often these important reflections, in some of those moments when you are meditating in silence on the welfare and happiness of your subjects. It behoves now your parliament to enter, with a noble freedom, upon a subject proposed by your majesty yourself; we mean the projected retrenchments and economical schemes. We earnestly entreat you, sire, to be on your guard against the emotions and propensities of your tender heart, in order that the economy already begun may continue, and those reforms adopted and settled be of constant duration. When a pure and enlightened administration endeavours to establish certain principles of economy, it generally meets with some ancient customs that seem to have been long attached to the constitution, and to enjoy the right of prescription. If the minister acts with firmness, he is immediately blamed for his imprudence; if with precaution, the world will censure his weakness: what difficulties will not then in such a case surround the monarch, and be incessantly multiplying about him? Courtiers will publicly approve of, nay applaud, the projected reforms; but in secret they will try to weaken, and even prevent their effect; all means will be employed to deceive him; it is then that art, address, and finesse, appear in a thousand different forms, actuated by the most imperious of all motives, personal interest: the sovereign, thus beset, and attacked on every side by claims, suits, petitions, &c. is forced to listen to importunate clamours, and, through the goodness of his heart, often grants what could never be obtained through his justice.

The moment the word economy is mentioned, it echoes through the room; the cunning courtier apparently adopts the plan, and wishes to be numbered among the great characters of the nation, whose example he affects to imitate; but he calculates at the same time how long the economical reform may subsist, and how

he may render abortive the retrenchments that diminish either his credit or his revenues : all expences but his own seem susceptible of diminution : in a vast administration the weakest pretexts are easily tinged with the colouring of reason ; and that economy which has been so often courted, and always expected, appears and disappears in an instant, leaving a black cloud over the beautiful countenance of truth, which some faint rays had begun to render conspicuous.

“ These reflections, sir, written in the annals of every nation, are the faithful history of the human heart : never could the meditation on them be more interesting to your majesty than at present, for the application suits exactly to the urgent circumstances of the times. The more vigour and firmness your majesty will shew for the intended reforms and salutary resolutions, the more difficulties and obstacles will certainly impede the way : and experience may perhaps have already proved, that the persons interested in these economical views begin to hint as if the proposed sums were equivocal and precarious, and the deductions agreed upon incompatible with old customs, and unlikely to last a long time.

“ It is in your majesty’s power to enforce, with a laudable perseverance, the order that must establish with permanency this indispensable reform. Every thing should undergo the strictest enquiry. Your majesty’s justice, which is to us the surest and most sacred pledge, emboldens your parliament to lay before you, without danger of incurring your royal displeasure, some of those remarks and observations that must naturally have recurred to you. Had you known, sir, the real state of your finances, no doubt you would not have undertaken those immense edifices that are now building, nor made so many acquisitions onerous to the state ; you would not have permitted so many exchanges of the crown lands, nor granted those excessive liberalities that the importunate and intriguing are always sure of obtaining. The facility of acquiring money from the treasury (the fatal bane of all administrations) would never have been suffered to increase ; for it exposes every moment the sovereign to some dangerous surprise ; it squanders secretly the publick revenue ; and can never overbalance, with its pretended utility, the great inconvenience always attending it. Your majesty would certainly never have surrounded Paris with such a magnificent wall ; to see palaces erected for your excise officers at an exorbitant expence, in order to coincide with the views of the farmers general, who, in expectation of a precarious and distant gain, expend annually those sums that should be appropriated to wants of more real necessity.

“ All these subjects, sir, and many others, the enumeration of which would astonish, are susceptible of amendment ; some require a considerable diminution, others an entire suppression. But it is not the total only of each department that should be properly diminished ; every part of it should be scrupulously examined, and divested of all its superfluous charges ; it should be reduced to the simple and absolute necessary expence : in so doing your majesty might easily double the in-

tended reform of the forty millions of livres, and this might then prove a real relief to your suffering subjects.

“ There are honourable economies, sire, that, far from diminishing the splendour of a throne, add lustre and dignity to it. Majesty itself may submit to privations. The sovereign is always great when his subjects are happy ; and the sight of happiness spread over a whole people is so pompous and brilliant, that it commands publick admiration and universal applause.

“ These diminutions, suppressions, reforms, and economies, so often solicited by your parliaments, demanded by the notables, and promised to their spirited and just perseverance, are wished for and expected every day by the unhappy husbandman, whose tears bedew the very field that contributes to so many useless expences before it has furnished the necessary subsistence to the person who sowed it, for the maintenance of himself and family, and who, deprived of the common necessaries, is forced to take from his poverty itself wherewith to furnish to the exigencies of the state.

“ These unhappy beings, sire, Frenchmen by birth, and MEN, have a double right to enjoy their sacred property, even in the bosom of indigence ; but as they cannot claim it themselves at your majesty’s feet, let their claims and their rights be ever present before you ; let their complaints find their way to the throne, and reach your royal person ; let them hear your gracious answer ; and let them know that your majesty’s goodness and justice are the surest supporters they can hope to find near the throne.

“ The French never consult any interest inseparable from the throne ; they are always blessed by their sincere attachment to their monarch : in their fervent zeal and enthusiastick emotions for the royal cause, they have been capable of the greatest sacrifices, and they may fancy the ways and means of the nation as unbounded as their affection. These ways and means, therefore, must be carefully managed, and used at proper times. It should be likewise considered, that the contributions proceeding from the imposts granted to the monarch are only intended as subsidies to the state ; and that the sovereign is but the distributor of whatever is not employed for the publick weal, which naturally belongs to those who co-operate in levying the contributions ; and if they are diverted from their chief and primitive intent, their fertile source will soon become insufficient, and in a short time exhausted ; particularly if the expences increase in proportion to the receipt.

“ All kinds of imposts should be proportioned to the necessary wants of the nation, and end with them. Each citizen contributes part of his property, for the sake of maintaining publick safety and private tranquillity. The people, on such principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reason, should never increase their contributions but when the expences of the state

have undergone all the savings, alterations, and retrenchments they are capable of. It is for this reason, therefore, that your parliament, 'fire, looks upon the duty on stamp paper as entirely opposite to these primitive notions. It would affect the private tranquillity, by necessarily opening a way to errors, and thereby would prove far more dangerous than the *gabelle* (duty on salt, a kind of excise), which was, as has been seen, liable to numerous frauds. The most exact and habitual attention could hardly be sufficient to distinguish the numberless stamp papers that are to serve for each respective act of justice or common transaction.

"What mistakes will not the greatest part of our subjects be liable to, by interchanging these papers, and making use of the one for the other? Many writings, by such involuntary faults, may appear counterfeited in the eye of justice; and the unwary individual will find himself daily exposed to pay exorbitant fines, or to encounter disagreeable and heavy suits at law.

"Such a duty, 'fire, is likewise incompatible with publick safety; as it would deeply wound mutual confidence, which is the sure foundation of it. Individuals would be afraid of producing unstamped bills or notes before a tribunal; and in this age, where there are such frequent instances of persons taking all sorts of advantages, and commencing or prolonging vexatious and never-ending suits, a wise legislator should be very careful not to introduce new subjects of chicanery. Besides, our publick trust, 'fire, and our national dignity, absolutely forbid the introduction of such a dangerous duty.

"The moment a declaration is issued, which is generally vicious in almost all its dispositions, a seducing facility of extending its meaning or duration offers itself, and pretences are not wanting for imposing plausibly on the publick. Experience furnishes us with too many examples. The two sous and the eight sous per livre for instance, the second warrant for the poll-tax, and so many other inventions, which the fertile genius of financiers has imagined, and is never at a loss to find on purpose to overcharge the subjects, are but a continuation and extension of a duty, simple in its origin; and such an extension, 'fire, is often divested of any legal authority, and only collected in virtue of the minister's mandate.

"Without mentioning, 'fire, the multiplicity of marks, precautions, and fines, annexed to and attending the duty on stamped paper, it is certain that it would cause a delay in publick and private business, and obstruct the common daily transactions. All delay is dangerous, and all obstruction must produce a delay. A bill of exchange, improperly stamped, would be liable to a fine; the fine must be paid immediately by the possessor of the bill; he therefore would be obliged to advance the sum for the fine, pay instead of receive, and be out of his money till the expiration of his unlucky bill. He would be a sufferer for other persons'

faults, and such faults might be renewed in one and the same day, in the very same hour ; his payments must be affected by it, and his credit called in question. Thence mistrust and doubts will necessarily arise ; and you know, sire, that there subsists a kind of chain in the course of exchanges, that strongly binds all the commercial parts of mankind in the known world. Our trading towns would lose, in the eyes of a foreigner, that level and advantage they were wont to enjoy. In short, were not such a duty extremely onerous in itself, its unlimited duration must cause a general alarm. We have often seen taxes, limited till such a time, prolonged even after the intention of the supply had been amply fulfilled ; but we did not expect to see one that is to last perpetually, at the very time when a certain period was mentioned for diminishing the national debt.

“ Lewis XIV. established the poll tax in 1695, and the tenth in 1710. The misfortunes, the heavy losses, sustained towards the latter end of his reign, and the invasion of the kingdom, made him attempt a step, the success of which he very much doubted in his own mind. That great monarch, finding himself obliged to impose such a duty, seemed to have been doubtful whether he had a right to lay it ; and if parliament then thought it their duty to have it registered, it was because the contribution was to last but a short time ; it was chiefly because the exigencies of the state seemed to require a speedy redress : had it not been for these substantial reasons, sire, Lewis XIV. would have owned ‘ that it was the nation alone, reunited in the three general states, that can give the necessary consent for establishing a perpetual tax—that parliament was never invested with such a power ; and that, charged by the sovereign to announce his will to the people, they never had been charged by the people to represent them so implicitly.’

“ ‘ This is what your respectful parliament now takes the liberty of mentioning to your majesty ; and, penetrated with this truth, alarmed at the enormous deficiency, and struck with the deplorable disorders that have produced it, and might render it perpetual, they wish very much to see the whole nation assembled, before they register any new impost. The nation alone, thus assembled, and instructed in the true state of the finances, may extirpate the great abuses that are existing at present, and offer resources to obviate them in future.

“ ‘Tis for you, sire, that the honour is reserved of renewing those national assemblies which render the name of Charlemagne so great and illustrious ; assemblies that repaired all king John’s disastrous calamities, and concurred with parliament to re-establish Charles VII. on the throne. All the world is convinced now of the truth of this maxim—that *mystery generally accompanies mistrust and weakness ; that the greater authority is, the more confidence and candour*

it should inspire—and that in trusting the provincial assemblies with part of the administration, instead of weakening it, would enlighten and render it more active. Your notables, sire, so wisely selected by your majesty, have assisted the throne with their counsels, and unveiled the long-hidden countenance of truth, which you were determined to see. How happy are now the members of this assembly in presenting you, sire, with the effusions of truth they strongly feel in their hearts! *The monarch of France can never be so great as when surrounded by his happy subjects: he has nothing to fear but the excess of their attachment: he has no other precaution to take but to be upon his guard against issuing orders that may be beyond their power to accomplish.* By a perfect union between the sovereign and the people, each party will be a gainer, and a monarch can never err in following the steps of the hero of the second race, who forced from the unanimous lips of admiring Europe the name of Great, which he certainly deserved by protecting justice and his people with the same arm that struck terror to his enemies; nor those of Charles V. whom posterity, the impartial judge of kings, has dignified with the title of Wise; nor those of Lewis XII. who in one of those assemblies had the sweet satisfaction of hearing himself proclaimed the Father of his People; nor those in short of Henry IV. whose name, still so cherished by the French, is an honour to humanity, and daily receives from our grateful hearts a copious tribute of tears.

“Your parliament, sire, waiting with impatience for the happy and wished-for moment when a just monarch will deign to spread his benign influence over a faithful nation, and grant their requests, most respectfully intreat your majesty to recal and annul the declaration of the stamp-duty, as altogether incompatible with the present situation of affairs; a duty that, were it to be enforced, would cause universal discontent and sorrow to all the nation, and the name only of which has spread a general alarm through the kingdom.”

The king had now recourse to the expedient of a bed of justice; but this measure was opposed by a new remonstrance, in consequence of which the members were banished to Troyes in Champagne; but a compromise soon after took place, and they were allowed to return.

Towards the latter end of the same year, his majesty proposed another loan, and insisted on its being registered in his presence, without fulfilling the promise he had made, of hearing the debate that ensued, or even recurring to the usual formality of counting the votes; this produced an unexpected opposition on the part of the first prince of the blood, and his subsequent banishment, as well as that of two other members.

The three following addresses were presented to the king, in consequence of these events, and produced a considerable sensation not only throughout the nation, but over all Europe.

“ The Address of the First President of the Parliament of Paris, to his Most Christian Majesty, at Versailles, on the exile of the Duke of Orleans and two Counsellors of the Parliament.

“ SIRE,

“ YOUR parliament is come in obedience to your orders. It has this morning been informed, at the opening of the sitting, that a prince of your august blood has incurred your displeasure, and that two counsellors of your court are deprived of their liberty. Your parliament, in consternation, humbly supplicates your majesty to restore to the prince of your blood, and to the two magistrates, the liberty which they have lost, having in your presence freely declared what their duty and consciences dictated, in a fitting wherein your majesty had announced that you came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of suffrages.”

“ His Most Christian Majesty’s Answer.

“ WHEN I put away from my person a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe that I have very strong reasons for so doing. I have punished two magistrates with whom I ought to be dissatisfied.”

“ The second Address of the Parliament of Paris to his Most Christian Majesty on the same subject, Nov. 23, 1787.

“ SIRE,

“ THE publick affliction has preceded your parliament at the foot of the throne. The first prince of your blood is exiled, two magistrates of your parliament are imprisoned by your orders : the errors of this august prince, the crime of these two magistrates, are unknown to us. It cannot have been a crime to speak the truth in the presence of your majesty. Your majesty came among us to demand our free suffrages : to give them on every occasion is the right and duty of your parliament, and the interest of your majesty to hear them. It is true, the keeper of the seals expressed the sentiments of your majesty ; but our counsel to you would no longer come from the sanctuary of truth, if restrained by the terror of offending. If the duke of Orleans is guilty, we are also. It was worthy the first prince of your blood to represent to your majesty, that you was transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of justice. This declaration has but announced our sentiments ; his feelings have judged of ours ; and if by the effect of that concord, which nothing can destroy, between the wishes and the duty of your parliament, the duke of Orleans has shewn a courage worthy his birth and rank, he has no less manifested a heart zealous for your glory. In fact, sire, foreigners cannot conceive, posterity will not believe, that we could be exposed to

any danger in telling your majesty that truth which you have demanded in person. Your presence has ever been accompanied with favour; must it henceforth produce fear and affliction? A bed of justice would be less terrible than a sitting of parliament; and our loyalty to your majesty would suppress our voices, were our confidence, encouraged by yourself, no other than the signal of our exile and imprisonment. And what imprisonment, sir? Honour and humanity, as well as justice, tremble at it: the basest men have laid hands on the person of one of your magistrates; his house has been besieged; instruments of the police have driven away his family. It was by prayers and entreaties to those ungracious men, that he was permitted to see his wife, his children, and his sisters, on his departure. They have forced him away without a servant; and that magistrate who on Monday thought himself under the personal protection of your majesty, is gone to a distant prison, unattended but by three men, the devotees of arbitrary power. The second of these magistrates, seized by your orders, though treated in his own house less cruelly than the other, has nevertheless been constrained to depart with a fever, and threatened with an inflammatory disorder, to a place where life is a continual punishment. His dwelling is a rock; his prison beat by the waves of the sea, the air he breathes unwholesome, all assistance is remote; and your majesty without wishing it, without knowing it, in signing the order of imprisonment, has perhaps signed that of his death. If exile is the recompence of the fidelity of the princes of your blood, if outrages and captivity threaten the uprightness of the first magistrates of the kingdom, we may ask ourselves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, the public liberty, the national honour, and the manners of your majesty's subjects; those manners so mild, so necessary to be preserved for the common interest of the throne and of the people. Such designs, sire, are not in your heart; such examples are not the principles of your majesty. They arise from another source. Your parliament, sire, most humbly beseeches your majesty, as you value your glory, your high renown, to remove those afflicting counsels, to consult and listen only to your own heart; and then, justice with humanity, encouraged by the return of the first prince of your blood, and by the release of the two magistrates, will begin to efface an example, which would end by a destruction of the laws, the degradation of the magistracy, universal discouragement, and the triumph of the enemies to the honour of the French."

"The third Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris to his Most Christian Majesty on the same subject; presented Dec. 10, 1787.

"SIRE,

"YOUR parliament, the princes and peers of your realms, being seated, have charged us with the commission of laying at the foot of your throne their most respectful representations on your majesty's answer to their supplication.

“ The magistracy of your kingdom, as well as every true citizen, are equally astonished at the reproaches it contains, and the principles which are manifested in it.

“ We are, however, far from attributing those reproaches to the personal sentiments which inspire your majesty.

“ Publick decency received a severe wound in the choice of the executors of your orders. If the crime was not carried to the personal arrest of one of your magistrates, the exposition of other facts, far from being exaggerated, is yet incomplete ; and your parliament may add, that this magistrate, whose house was invested by armed men, himself delivered up to the agents of the police, like a malefactor, saw himself reduced to the humiliation of being liable to the summons of an officer, from a submission to your majesty’s order.

“ May we be allowed, sire, to represent to you, that, in devoting ourselves to the publick service ; in promising to release your majesty of the first duty you owe your nation, namely, that of justice ; in bringing up our children to be subject to the same sacrifices ; we never could have supposed we were destining ourselves and our children to the misfortunes, still less to outrages, of so heinous a nature.

“ But we do not come so much to claim your benignity, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone that we address ourselves ; it is not a favour which your parliament solicits ; it comes, sire, to *demand justice*.

“ This justice is subject to regulations independent of the will of man—even kings themselves are subservient to them ; that glorious prince, Henry the Fourth, acknowledged he had two sovereigns, God and the laws.

“ One of these regulations is, to condemn no one without a hearing ; it is a duty in all times, and in all places ; it is the duty of all men, and your majesty will allow us to represent to you, that it is obligatory on you as on your subjects.

“ But your majesty has not to execute this function, and your parliament with pleasure brings to your recollection your glorious privileges, that of shewing mercy to condemned criminals. To condemn them yourself is not a function belonging to majesty. This painful and dangerous task the king cannot exercise but through his judges. Those who find a pleasure in hearing your majesty pronounce the dreadful word of punishment ; who advise you to punish without a trial, to punish of your own accord, to order exiles, arrests, and imprisonments ; who suppose that acts of rigour are compatible with a benign disposition ; equally force a wound to external justice, the laws of the realm, and the most consoling prerogative belonging to your majesty.

“ It does not allow, that opinions delivered in parliaments should be considered as motives for your rigour, and in some measure a consolation for us. But if strong reasons should actuate you to the exile of the duke of Orleans—if it can

be called a kindness that you can no longer leave two magistrates exposed to perish in distant prisons, or unwholesome places—if it is considered as an act of humanity which tempers justice, in releasing them from such a situation—they must indeed be guilty! But it is the duty of your parliament to judge them, and we demand only that their crimes should be published.

“The meanest of your subjects is not less interested in the success of our reclamations, than the first prince of your blood; yes, sire, not only a prince of your blood, but every Frenchman punished by your majesty, and especially who is punished without a hearing, becomes necessarily the subject of publick alarm. The union of these ideas is not the work of your parliament: it is that of nature, it is the voice of reason, it is the principle of the most wholesome laws, of those laws which are engraved on every man’s heart, which is the principle of yours, and which assures us of your *personal* approbation. The cause of his royal highness the duke of Orleans, and of the two magistrates, is then without our consent; and, by forcing those principles, the act of the throne, whose only foundation is justice, and without which no nation can be happy.

“It is therefore in the name of those laws which preserve empires, in the name of that liberty for which we are the respectful interpreters and the lawful mediators, in the name of your authority, of which we are the first and most confidential ministers, that we dare to demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Orleans and the two exiled magistrates, who are imprisoned by a sudden order, as contrary to the sentiments as the interests of your majesty.”

At length, the parliament of Paris subverted their own power, and annihilated the monarchy, by the declaration that the states-general alone could grant new imposts; but this only enraged the court, which was preparing a plan for the creation of new tribunals, intended to supersede their *political authority*. The ministry having failed in the attempt, the parliament ordered all the king’s decrees on this subject to be publickly burnt: it soon found however a much more formidable rival in the national assembly, than in the feeble monarch who at that period sat upon the throne.

C. Introduction, page cxxix.

THIS alludes to the answers transmitted by the courts of Vienna, Turin, &c. which the author intended to have published at length, but has been prevented by the introduction of more interesting documents.

D. *Introduction, page cxi.*

A NOBLEMAN, enabled from his high official situation in England to obtain the most accurate information relative to the affairs of the continent, has solemnly assured me, that the treaty of Pavia, or Pilnitz, was a mere forgery. Notwithstanding such respectable authority, a number of circumstances seem to militate against this assertion. In the first place, M. Bertrand, formerly minister of the marine under Louis XVI., has publicly contended for the existence of this celebrated engagement; and, in the next, the authenticity of the articles, which first appeared in the Leyden Gazette, was never denied by any of the courts implicated in this transaction. It is also difficult to believe that the war would have been originally undertaken, without certain reciprocal stipulations; and as to the objection on the score of interested and selfish motives, that must be allowed to have vanished long since, as it now appears pretty evident that no state in Europe was actuated by the consideration of *morals* alone.

Without presuming however to decide upon this subject, the following documents are submitted to the perusal of the reader.

“ Substance of a Partition Treaty between the Courts in concert; concluded and signed at Pavia, in the Month of July, 1791.

“ His majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting those provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector-palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

“ His majesty the emperor will preserve for ever the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

“ Her serene highness the archduchess Maria Christina shall be, conjointly with his serene highness her nephew the archduke Charles, put into the hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

“ Alsace shall be restored to the empire; and the bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges, and the ecclesiastical sovereignties of Germany shall do the same.

“ If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishoprick of Potentrui, the defiles of Franche-Comté, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Verfoy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

“ Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, le Bressé,

le Bugey, and the Pays de Gex usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

“ In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny, to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant to the ancient Dauphins.

“ His majesty the king of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bearn, with the island of Corfica, and he shall take possession of the French part of Saint Domingo.

“ Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kamienieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

“ His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

“ His majesty the king of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the empress of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

“ His majesty the king of Prussia shall besides acquire Lusatia, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

“ His majesty the present king of Poland shall abdicate the throne on receiving a suitable annuity.

“ His royal highness the elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

“ LEOPOLD.

“ PRINCE NASSAU.

“ COUNT FLOR. BLANCA.

“ BISCHOFFSWERDER.”

“ *Convention between his Majesty the Emperor and his Prussian Majesty.*

[Said to be in the hands of the princes.]

“ His majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, having heard the wishes and representations of monsieur (the French king’s brother) and the count d’Artois, do jointly declare, that they look upon the actual situation of his

majesty the king of France as an object of common concern to all the sovereigns of Europe.

“ They hope that this concern will be participated by all the powers from whom assistance is required ; and that, in consequence, they will not refuse employing, in conjunction with their said majesties, the most efficacious means relative to their forces, in order to enable the king of France to consolidate in the most perfect liberty the basis of a monarchical government, suitable both to the rights of sovereigns and to the welfare of the French nation.

“ Then and in this case their said majesties, the emperor and the king of Prussia, are determined to act speedily with mutual concord, and with necessary forces, to obtain the proposed end in common.

“ Meanwhile they will give to their troops necessary orders that they may be ready for putting themselves in a state of activity.”

“ *Pilnitz, August 27, 1791.*”

The following are said to be the secret articles of the treaty signed personally at Pilnitz by the emperor and king of Prussia, on the 27th of August, 1791.

I. To undertake in concert effectual measures for the maintenance of treaties which exist with France, to give weight to the representations yet to be made to that nation, and to invite all Europe to concur therein in case these friendly representations should be unproductive.

II. The two parties, as soon as possible, will endeavour to bring the court of Petersburg into their design of raising the house of Saxony to the succession of the crown of Poland.

III. They respectively reserve to themselves the power of changing, at their pleasure, any of their present or future acquisitions, observing in these changes the extent of the revenue, and likewise the constitution of the Germanick body. And in consequence they will treat with whomsoever this exchange may concern.

IV. They will also treat respecting the diminution of their different armies, as soon as their concerns with foreign powers will admit.

V. His Prussian majesty promises to the archduke Francis his vote to be king of the Romans, and likewise that he will not oppose any thing that may be provided for any of the archdukes, upon condition that it does not infringe on the Germanick constitution.

VI. In return, the emperor will employ his good offices with the court of Petersburg and the republic of Poland in favour of the king of Prussia's pretensions to the cities of Thorn and Dantzick ; but again, in return, his imperial

majesty expects that his Prussian majesty will exert himself with Britain and the states-general of the United Provinces in behalf of the wished-for modifications concluded in convention at the Hague, on the subject of Belgick affairs.

E. *page 26.*

I ORIGINALLY intended to have published this, and a variety of other documents; but I find that the size of the volumes would have been unnecessarily increased, as the reader will find them already printed in "A Collection of State Papers, relative to the War against France."

F. Page 390.

*Minutes of the Operations of his Majesty's Fleet under the Command of the Earl Howe,
between the 28th May and 2d June, 1794.*

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

1794

- 28th May . Wednesday . 8^h 0^m A. M. One of the ships to windward made the signal for a strange fleet in the W.S.W. which was answered by the admiral, and soon after he made the signal to prepare for battle. Made every preparation in obedience to the signal.
- 9 15 Twenty-eight sail of the strange fleet, now discovered to be the enemy, were counted from our maintopmast head bearing down.
- 0 30 The admiral made the Bellerophon's signal to shorten sail : the enemy appeared forming in order of battle on the larboard tack.
- 10 20 The admiral made the signal No. 78. for the fleet to tack in succession, the headmost and weathermost ships to tack first; or the ship leading the van first, and the other in succession.
- 11 0 The signal that the ships' companies would have time for dinner, the enemy lying-to about three leagues to windward with the larboard tacks on board : fresh gales : the ship under double-reefed topfails, courses, and stayfails.
- 0 25 P. M. The enemy filled their topfails, and made sail, keeping their wind ; our fleet made sail on the same tack.
- 1 35 The admiral made the signal No. 41. for the weathermost ships to attack the rear of the enemy.
- 0 40 He made the signal for a general chase; No. 7. Made all possible sail in chase as per signal, the enemy carrying a press of sail to windward.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

28th May . Wednesday . 1^h 45^m P.M. The signal No. 35. for ships to engage the enemy as they came up with them, and to take suitable stations for their mutual support in succession: the enemy now appeared tacking from their van and going off on the starboard tack, our fleet in chase carrying a press of sail against a heavy head sea. The weather squally.

2 37 The signal No. 78. for the fleet to tack in succession, the headmost and weathermost ships to tack first.

0 45 The admiral made the Brunswick's signal to tack.

0 55 The signal No. 78. for the headmost ships to tack first, and for ships to put in stays before they have passed the wake of their respective leaders. Admiral Pasley in the weather line began firing on the rear of the French line as they passed him.

3 5 Tack'd ship in chase and passed to leeward of the Queen and Royal Sovereign, who had the signal to tack still flying. Fresh gales and squally.

4 35 The admiral made the signal No. 139. for each ship to carry a light, and to repeat signal made by him during the night, but by shewing the signal lights only, and while these are abroad the constant light to be taken in. Fresh gales and thick weather: admiral Pasley's division apparently closing with the enemy's rear.

5 45 Admiral Pasley with the headmost ships of our line engaged with the enemy's rear.

6 9 The Queen Charlotte made the signal No. 39. for particular ships to attack and harass the rear of the enemy, or such part thereof as the ships denoted were of competent force to engage, for giving an opportunity to bring on a general action.

APPENDIX.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

28th May . Wednesday . 6^h 55^m P. M. The signal No. 41. for particular ships, as before denoted by signal, to attack the rear, larboard, or lee division of the enemy: the fleet in chase.

7 5 The signal No. 30. to keep sight of the enemy by day or night, for leading the fleet up to them, and to make their motions known to the admiral per signal.

0 8 The signal No. 12. for particular ships denoted to assist ships engaged and going in to action (as pointed out by their particular signals).

0 20 The signal No. 55. for the fleet to form in line of battle a-head and a-stern of the admiral as most convenient from the then accidental position of the ships, without regard to the succession denoted in the established form delivered. Bore up and formed a-head of the Queen Charlotte.

0 32 The signal to recal all cruisers: our weathermost ships warmly engaged with the enemy's rear.

8 0 The van still engaged, the Valiant in the line a-head of the Queen Charlotte, the rest of the fleet a-stern and on the lee quarter, carrying a press of sail to get into their stations.

9 10 All firing ceased, the enemy's ship in the rear, a three-decker, having apparently to us (after a severe contest, and two explosions in her tops) surrendered. In our station leading the line a-head of the admiral, ships passing a-head and to leeward of us.

29th May . Thursday . 5^h 0^m A. M. In our station in the line a-stern of the Queen, carrying a press of sail to get up with the enemy, whose lights were seen all night to windward of us: hazy weather with a heavy sea.

6 40 The signal No. 78. for the fleet to tack, the headmost and weathermost ships to tack first,

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

(29th May . Thursday . 6^h 40^m) or the ship leading the van first, and the others in succession.

- 0 50 Tacked ship in chace (per signal).
- 0 55 The admiral made the signal No. 34. to engage the enemy, and to pass between them for obtaining the weather-gage; but the different captains and commanders who were not able to effect the specified intention, to be at liberty to act as circumstances require.
- 7 10 The signal No. 28. that the ships of the fleet are at liberty to fire upon the enemy, though not proposed to bring them to a general action immediately; their line crossing our van to windward on the starboard tack.
- 0 40 The sternmost of the enemy's ships began to fire on us, and the three ships a-head of us in the van; but soon discontinued their fire as we increased our distance on different tacks.
- 0 45 The admiral made the Cæsar's signal to make more sail.
- 8 12 He repeated ditto.
- 0 20 The Cæsar clued up her maintop-sail.
- 0 25 The enemy wore in succession from their van to their rear; and hauled on a wind in line of battle on the larboard tack, to windward of us.
- 10 20 The enemy fired on us, and the ships a-head.
- 0 35 Engaged with the enemy's van, their ships carrying sail to keep the weather-gage of our line.
- 11 15 Still engaged with the enemy; the admiral made the signal No. 78. to tack; the headmost and weathermost ships to tack first, or the ship leading the van first, and the others in succession.
- 11 45 The admiral made the signal to annul the foregoing signal to tack, viz. No. 78.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

29th May . Thursday . 12^h 7^m P.M. The signal No.78. to tack in succession, the headmost and weathermost ship to tack first, which was answered by us and the ships a-head in the van : we prepared to tack in succession.

- 0 34 The admiral made the Cæsar's signal to tack, with the signal No.78. to tack in succession still flying ; the Cæsar made the signal of inability, but soon after wore, as did we and the Queen and Russell a-head of us : hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, to enable us to engage more closely.
- 0 40 Closely engaged with the enemy in passing their line on the starboard tack a-stern of the Queen, in order to support her in attempting to break the enemy's line if practicable.
- 1 30 Closely engaged, and passing on different tacks with the enemy a-stern of the Queen, the Russell on our lee-quarter, one of the enemy's ships in passing us struck her colours ; her people appeared to have left their quarters, as their ramrods and sponges were left in the guns, and she appeared for some time afterwards in the greatest disorder, until one of their frigates (*which appeared to have been a two-decker cut down*) in passing fired into and compelled her to hoist her colours again ; however she did not fire again until their van bore down to cover her, and two other of their ships which were disabled.
- 0 50 Closely engaged in passing the enemy ; several of their ships much disabled ; the Queen Charlotte broke through their line a-head of their four sternmost ships firing both sides, and raking their ships as she passed ; she then hauled up to windward, and engaged in passing a three-decker which was keeping her wind from their rear : the admiral after passing her immediately made the signal to

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

- (29th May . Thursday . 1^h 50^m) tack ; we made every preparation to obey the signal: the Queen on our lee-bow, after having sustained a heavy fire in passing along and attempting to cut the enemy's line, appeared now much disabled, as did the Invincible ; the Valiant came out of action much cut in her rigging, and preparing to tackship.
- 0 55 Tacked per signal ; the admiral and several ships of the centre and rear divisions still engaged ; the enemy's van having wore, appeared bearing down to support their rear ; several of them had already run in between their disabled ships and our rear, and were taking them in tow ; the Queen wore, being much disabled, and laid her head towards the enemy. The Invincible made the signal that he was ready to renew the action ; but, with the head of his maintopmast gone, appeared unable to tack.
- 0 15 The admiral made the signal No. 7. for a general chase ; made all the sail we could, agreeably to the signal ; several ships still engaged : the greater part of the enemy's line had now bore down, and were forming a line on the starboard tack to leeward.
- 3 20 The signal No. 48. to form the line on the
0 30 starboard tack ; the Glory appeared to leeward passing along the enemy's line, and exchanging broadsides with them, which she continued as she passed, quite to their rear.
- 0 35 Wore per signal, to form on the starboard tack ; ships still engaged : some shot fired at us by the admiral.
- 0 50 The admiral made the signal No. 35. to form in his wake the headmost and weathermost ships more particularly : he hailed and ordered the Valiant to form a-head of the Queen Charlotte ; made sail to get a-head of the admiral. Some ships still engaging.

APPENDIX.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

29th May . Thursday . 0^h 55^m All firing ceased, the enemy wearing to leeward, and going off towing their disabled ships.

4 0 P. M. The fleet wore on the larboard tack ;
to the enemy on the same tack to leeward.

7 0 Both fleets on the same tack : employed repairing damages and putting the ship in a condition to renew the action.

0 40 Made the signal for two strange sail, line-of-
8 P.M. battle ships, on the W. by S. point.

to

30th May . Friday . 8^h 0^m A. M. The fleet in company on the larboard tack standing to the westward ; thick foggy weather : employed repairing damages.

0 15 Made the signal for four sail on the N. by W. point.

0 30 The enemy distinctly seen on the starboard bow : beat to quarters.

9 10 The admiral made the signal No. 55. for the fleet to form in line of battle, a-head and a-stern of him as most convenient from the then accidental position of the ships, and to steer the same course as he did ; also the signal No. 68. for the rear of the fleet to make more sail.

0 20 He made the Cæsar's signal to quit the line.

0 30 He made the Venus's signal to pass within hail.

0 45 He made the signal for the order of sailing in two columns or divisions.

10 5 The admiral made the signal for ships to express if they were in a condition to renew the action, which we answered in the affirmative immediately.

0 8 The Cæsar made the signal of inability to renew the action.

0 22 The admiral made the preparative signal to come to the wind in succession to the larboard tack ; thick hazy weather : in our

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

(30th May . Friday . 10^h 22^m) station in the order of sailing, a-head of the Queen and a-stern of the Brunswick.

0 34 The signal No. 83. to come to the wind in succession on the larboard tack, after the leading ship when arrived in the wake thereof, and of the seconds a-head respectively : hauled our wind per signal.

10 43 The admiral made the signal No. 61. for the ships of the van division to close to their leaders.

11 12 The Ruffel made the signal No. 58. (private ships), to denote having sprung a lower yard or mast.

P. M. Thick foggy weather ; lost sight of the enemy.

31st May . Saturday . A. M. Thick foggy weather ; the fleet at intervals seen in company.

1 2 P. M. The admiral made the signal for the enemy in fight, and the signal No. 47. for the Leviathan to pass within hail.

0 15 He made the signal to bring-to.

0 30 The signal No. 73. for the fleet to make sail, after lying by the leading ship first.

0 40 The signal No. 18. for the fleet to alter the course together, one point to starboard, keeping the same relative bearing from each other : altered our course per signal.

0 45 The admiral made the signal No. 19. to alter the course one point to port. Hauled up per signal.

2 24 The Brunswick W. by N. : twenty-five sail of the line in company ; twenty-nine sail of the enemy on the starboard bow to leeward : the admiral made the signal to chase.

3 0 The admiral made the signal No. 84. to come to the wind together on the larboard tack. The fleet in chase mostly with topgallant and stay-sails set ; the enemy drawing together and forming their line to leeward.

APPENDIX.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

- 31st May : Saturday . 3^h 25^m The admiral made the signal No. 49. for the fleet to form in order of battle on the larboard line of bearing. The Invincible got a new maintopfail set.
- 0 30 He made the signal No. 61. for the fleet to keep in clofer order in the line of battle : weather clear to windward, and hazy to lee-ward.
- 0 42 The signal No. 18. for the larboard division of the fleet to alter the course one point to starboard ; answered the signal, and set the forefail. The Queen made the signal for a strange fail in the N. N. W. quarter.
- 4 15 The admiral made the signal No. 67. for the Brunswick to make more fail in line of battle.
- 0 19 The admiral made the signal No. 19. for the fleet to alter the course one point to port, preserving their relative bearings : hauled up one point per signal.
- 0 25 The signal No. 19. repeated ; answered it and hauled up one point.
- 0 48 The signal No. 40. for the van division to engage the van, starboard, or weather division of the enemy.
- 0 52 The signal No. 39. for our centre to engage the enemy's centre.
- 5 3 The signal No. 19. for the fleet to alter the course to N. W. by W.
- 0 12 The admiral made the signal No. 41. for our rear to engage the enemy's rear.
- 6 0 In our station in the line, bearing down large on the enemy, now formed in line of battle on our lee-bow, in number twenty-seven or twenty-eight fail of the line ; the different divisions in our line bearing towards the enemy's van, centre, and rear, agreeably to the signal.
- 0 15 The signal No. 47. for the Phaeton to come within hail.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

31st May . Saturday . 6^h 30^m The signal No. 139. for each ship to carry a light, and to repeat signals made by the admiral during the night : the enemy in line of battle to leeward.

0 44 The signal No. 83. for the whole fleet to come to the wind in succession on the larboard tack : hauled our wind per signal.

7 10 The signal No. 68. for the rear of the fleet to make more sail.

0 15 The Southampton hailed from the admiral with a message, that he would carry the same sail all night, if the weather permitted ; and desired that we would keep as close up to him as possible, and rather to windward of his wake, with as many reefs out as we could carry. Weather hazy ; one of the enemy's frigates (*appearing like the Thames*) standing between them and us to observe our motions. The Southampton passed on to deliver the same message to the rear.

9 0 Hazy weather. In our station in the line on the larboard tack, and continued so all the ensuing night.

1st June . Sunday . 4^h 0^m A. M. The admiral made the signal No. 16. for the ship leading the line, and the others in succession, to alter the course one point to starboard ; and the signal No. 47. to speak the Venus.

5 0 The signal No. 18. to alter one point to starboard, which brought our course N. W. bearing down on the enemy, now forming on the larboard tacks. Weather hazy.

6 10 The preparative flag to alter the course to north.

0 15 The preparative hauled down, and one gun from the admiral ; the alteration took place throughout the line. The enemy twenty-eight or twenty-nine sail in line of battle to leeward.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

- 1st June . Sunday . 6^h 18^m The four headmoft ships of the enemy's line laid their maintopfails to the maft.
- 0 23 The fignal No. 61. for the van-divifion to keep in clofer order.
- 0 55 The fignal No. 84. to prepare to haul the wind together on the larboard tack.
- 7 0 The preparative flag hauled down. The admiral fired one gun, and the alteration took place throughout the line. Ship's company went to breakfast.
- 0 4 The fignal No. 49. for the fleet to form in order of battle on the larboard line of bearing; the enemy nearly within gunfhot to leeward.
- 0 14 The admiral made the fignal No. 34. to engage the enemy, and to pafs between the fhips in their line, for the purpofe of breaking it, and obtaining the lee-gage.
- 0 48 The fignal No. 61. for the van divifion to keep in clofer order.
- 8 0 The fignal No. 73. with the preparative flag, for the fleet to prepare to make fail, after lying by the leading fhip firft.
- 0 15 The fignal No. 36. for each fhip of the fleet to fteer for, independently of each other, and engage the fhip oppofed to them in fituation in the enemy's line.
- 0 20 The admiral fired a gun and hauled down the fignal; bore up in obedience therewith, in company with the fleet fteering for our opponent, the tenth fhip in the enemy's line from the rear.
- 0 40 Hoifted our colours and prepared to engage. The Royal George made the fignal No. 61. for his divifion to keep in clofer order.
- 0 50 The admiral made the fignal No. 67. for the fleet to make more fail, the leading fhip firft, bearing down on the enemy.

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

- 1st June . Sunday . 9h 12^m Engaged with the enemy, who had fired on us in bearing down.
- 0 15 The signal No. 61. to keep in closer order in the line of battle; and the signal for close action.
- 0 20 Got alongside of our antagonist, the tenth ship in the enemy's line from the rear: engaged him closely; pressed him out of the line;
- 0 55 And cut it a-head of him: the fleet from van to rear appeared now closely engaged with the enemy, and every way penetrating their line.
- 10 5 The enemy's ship, our antagonist in the line, lost his main and mizen-mast. Passed his majesty's ship Marlborough, totally dismasted, with her colours flying at the stumps of her main and fore-mast, lying alongside of a Frenchman, also totally dismasted with her colours struck, and apparently in a sinking condition; the people on the Marlborough's decks cheered us, and soon after we saw her firing on such of the enemy's ships as she could bring her guns to bear upon. The Orion bore up a-stern of us to cover us from two of the enemy's ships that were raking us; she engaged them very closely.
- 0 10 The Orion lost her maintopmast, and appeared otherwise much cut; the enemy every-where giving way and bearing up.
- 0 20 Observed the commander in chief a-head of us (*having also cut the line*), engaged with several of the enemy's ships, with his main and mizen topmast a-back, very much disabled. The Valiant hauled up to support him; passed to the windward, engaging the enemy as we passed, and shot a-head to support the Royal Sovereign,

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

(1st June . Sunday . 10^h 20^m) who was engaged with two three-deck ships.

0 45 The Royal Sovereign made the signal No. 102. for the ships of his division to close. The Queen closely engaged a-stern; some of the enemy's ships in the rear bearing away much disabled.

11 5 The Queen Charlotte having lost main and foretop-mast, made the signal No. 55. for the fleet to form in line of battle, a-head or a-stern of him, which we obeyed and formed a-head of him.

0 10 Some of the enemy's ships from their van wore, and, standing along on the starboard tack, engaged with the weathermost ships of our line. The Ruffel attacked one of them, and soon after dismasted her. The Valiant engaged with a three-deck ship.

0 20 The Cæsar having bore up from the van, came and brought-to about a quarter of a mile on our weather-bow; admiral Pasley to windward on our weather-quarter, much disabled.

0 30 The Royal Sovereign made the signal No. 55. with our pendant to form the line a-head or a-stern of him as most convenient. The Cæsar still on our weather-bow; the Royal

12 0 Sovereign and Defence a-stern of us. Still engaged with two of the enemy's three-deck ships, and some others. One of the three-deck ships with her main and mizen-mast gone, and the head of her foretop-mast. The Defence had also lost her main and mizen-mast. Admiral Gardner closely engaged.

0 20 P.M. The Royal Sovereign made the signal No.

0 25 102. for ships to close round him. The Valiant came out of action the headmost ship in the line, much disabled; ten sail of the enemy

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

(1st June . Sunday . 0^h 25^m) totally dismasted; the Defence still firing on one of the three-deckers: the other had some time before bore away to join ten of their ships assembling to leeward.

0 40 The Defence lost her foremast by the board; and soon after made the signal No. 61. for having need of assistance in battle; several of our ships bearing down to her; and the enemy's three-deck ship going off to leeward in a shattered condition. Some of our frigates now bearing down, and firing as they passed at the enemy's dismasted ships to windward. One of the French ships having got to windward of our fleet, bore up for their dismasted ship, and passed close under her lee, but soon hauled his wind and left her. The Queen closely engaged in the rear, with the loss of her mainmast.

1 20 The admiral made the signal No. 81. to come to the wind together on the starboard tack; which we answered, and instantly obeyed: brought-to by the Royal Sovereign. Employed securing our masts and rigging, and putting the ship in a condition to renew the action. The enemy's disabled three-decker having now joined their ships to leeward, they appeared forming in a line; in number twelve sail. The Queen still engaged with the ships of the enemy's line passing to leeward of her.

2 20 The signal No. 73. to make sail after lying by; and the signal No. 55. to form in line of battle a-head and a-stern, as most convenient.

0 40 Passed the Defence dismasted, and a frigate by her; six sail of the enemy dismasted were afterwards taken possession of by our ships;

SIGNALS AND OBSERVATIONS.

- (1st June . Sunday . 2^h 40^m) the wreck of masts and yards every-where floating about.
- 0 55 The Venus hailed with a message from the admiral, desiring us to form in close order, a-head or a-stern of him as most convenient.
- 3 15 The Niger passed and cheered us.
- 4 0 One of the enemy's ships having for some time kept hovering to windward, tacked and stood along our line on the starboard tack out of gun-shot; and passing our rear at that distance, he bore away to join their ships to leeward.
- 0 30 The signal No. 64. for particular ships to stay by prizes.
- 5 0 Employed repairing damages; found our late antagonist in the enemy's line dismasted and among the ships captured.
- 6 50 The signal No. 15. to bring-to and set up the rigging. Brought-to per signal; found six sail of the enemy captured, and two sunk.

G. Page 402.

Previously to the arrival of lord St. Vincent and sir Charles Grey in the West Indies, the French had meditated a descent on the Bahamas, as may be seen from the following authentick document.

THE French Minister, Genet, immediately on his arrival in America, was indefatigable to get the government and people of the United States to become allies of France, to declare against Great Britain and make a general attack on the West-India islands; and in July and August of 1793, he had collected a considerable body of troops and a number of ships of war under the command of the celebrated commodore Bompard, who had his flag flying on board *Le Jupiter* of 50 guns at New York.

This armament gave a very serious alarm to the British islands and commerce, as every one was at a loss to know which would be the first object of attack; when the earl of Dunmore, the governor of the Bahama islands, received the most authentick and confidential information from America, that the Bahamas were immediately to be attacked with all the force that Bompard and Genet could collect for that purpose; not only because the island of New Providence was filled with prize goods and British merchandise to an immense amount, which would become a valuable acquisition to the captors, but they had a particular animosity against the people of that island on account of their numerous privateers, which captured almost every thing that belonged to the French or Spaniards in those seas: and the Americans were equally anxious to promote the success of the expedition against that place, because great numbers of their ships and vessels were carried in there by the cruisers, on account of having French or Spanish cargoes on board, or being laden with contraband of war.

At this time lord Dunmore had nearly finished a fort, constructed for the purpose of defending the entrance of the harbour of Nassau, which is the seat of government in the Bahamas; and on his receiving the intelligence of the enemy's design, he used the most indefatigable exertions to complete this and other points of defence, being determined to defend the place to the last extremity, as there were about three hundred regular troops in the garrison, and six hundred Militia in the town, both in high spirits and discipline. He also ordered the privateers and cruisers into port to assist in the defence of the island; these, to the number of about twenty sail of armed vessels, and one thousand men, he put under the command and direction of the honourable John Miller, a member of the council in whom his lordship placed the greatest confidence, not only from a perfect

knowledge of this gentleman, who had a great stake in the colony and much popularity with the seamen and inhabitants, but because he, above all men, dreaded the thought of surrendering to an enemy, having lost a large fortune when captured at this place in 1782 by a Spanish armament, under articles of capitulation which were violated in the most shameful manner.*

* The Bahama Islands surrendered in May 1782, to lieutenant-general Cagigal, who had a very considerable force under his command. The Spanish commanders, wishing to detain Mr. Miller in their hands, under the most unjust pretences seized all his property, and sent him prisoner on board a man-of-war to the Havannah, on which occasion he was lodged in the Moro castle at the entrance of the harbour, in which fortress he remained a considerable time: but although this event was peculiarly disagreeable on his own account, yet it proved most fortunate for his country; as the Jamaica fleet which sailed from that island in December 1782, consisting of about seventy sail of merchantmen, under convoy of the London of 98 guns, two other ships of the line, and some smaller vessels of war, appeared in sight early one morning from the Moro castle, but at a great distance to leeward, in their passage through the Gulph of Florida, not knowing that admiral Solano lay there in a ship of 100 guns, with sixteen other ships of the line and ten or twelve frigates, it having been understood that he was at Cape François in St. Domingo.

Mr. Miller being on the upper ramparts when the signal for an enemy's fleet was bending to the hallyards of the flag-staff in the fort to give the admiral notice, he prevailed on the officer stationed at the signal-post to believe, as the morning was very hazy, that these vessels (a few only of them having as yet appeared in sight) were from New Orleans and the Mississippi, from which place a number had been daily expected. The operation was accordingly suspended until the afternoon, when the English fleet appeared in full view, and could be discerned with glasses too plainly to be mistaken: signals were then made to the admiral, who instantly put every thing in motion to sail that evening; he was however unable to accomplish his wish, and in the course of the night the wind shifted to the north, and continued so for about twenty-four hours, during which time and the greater part of another day employed in passing out of the harbour, our fleet were enabled to reach the Gulph stream and escaped. Admiral Solano, after being at sea about eight days in pursuit of them, and not choosing to enter the Gulph, returned, having taken only one brig from Jamaica bound to Lancaster.

Shortly after the fleet had sailed from Jamaica, the commanding officer on that station, having been informed where the Spanish fleet were, sent the Fox frigate, captain Stoney, to recel them, but too late; the Fox passing near the Havannah, two sloops of war were sent out to take her, but after a smart action she captured one of them and the other escaped into port. To save the person who had the charge of the signals at

Lord Dunmore having considered himself sufficiently prepared to meet the armament of Bompard, sent away the prisoners of war, and allowed all the American and other foreign vessels to depart, there being reason to fear they would assist the enemy: and this prudent measure of his lordship was the principal cause of the attack upon the colony having been abandoned by the French minister and commodore, as many of these Americans and French on their arrival at New York were examined by the commanders, when they all represented the strength of the place, and the great and uncommon exertions which the governor and people were making for their defence. It was accordingly considered from this information, as well as the enterprising character of his lordship, to be a desperate and hopeless attempt, and was therefore abandoned.

Thus, by prudence and foresight, were the Bahama islands, so important in time of war on account of their commanding the windward and Gulph passages, in all probability preserved to England.

The French having spent a considerable time in collecting this force for an expedition which they had relinquished, now altered their plan, and meditated an attack on Halifax in Nova Scotia, together with the capture of Newfoundland; but the spirit of the Americans connected with Genest having from the delay begun to cool, and the French seamen and soldiers being disappointed, as they thought, of the rich plunder of the Bahamas, a mutiny broke out in their fleet, which compelled the commanding officers to sail for France without attempting any of the objects of their expedition.

the Moro, Mr. Miller avowed and justified the fact and the motive; for which he was immediately restricted of the small portion of liberty that was left him, and during that time was considered to be in no small degree of personal danger.

Thomas Davison, Printer, White-Friars.

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